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TABLE OF CONTENTS AND INDEX

Volume IX.

[FIRST PART]

October—December, 1918

Pages 1-562

[Titles of articles appear in *italics*]

A

- ABDICATION of Czar Ferdinand of Bulgaria, 277; of German Kaiser, 385; of minor German rulers, 389; of Austrian Emperor Charles, 397.
- ADALBERT (Prince), son of the Kaiser, leads dissipated life at Bruges, 462.
- ADLER, (Capt.) Julius O., heroism at St. Juvin, 467.
- Advancing Over Redeemed Ground*, 29.
- AERIAL Record, *see* AERONAUTICS.
- AERONAUTICS, progress of the war in aerial conflicts, 62; achievements of American airmen, 228; aerial record, 353; service rendered by aviators in Palestinian campaign, 405; "Aviators' Share in the Victory," 433; "Amazing Air Battle," 456; aircraft inquiry in U. S., 551; summary of operations, 560.
See also CAMPAIGNS.
- After the War Is Over*, 138.
- AIGISIER, (Sergt.) Joseph, wins Military Medal and War Cross in battle of Las-signy, 32.
- AIMS of the War, *see* PEACE.
- AIR raids, *see* AERONAUTICS.
- AIRCRAFT inquiry report rendered by Charles E. Hughes, 551.
- Airplanes versus U-Boats*, 114.
- ALBANIA, historical sketch, 278; part taken by in war, 279; invasion by Greek forces, 280; population, 281.
- Albanian Nationality*, 278.
- ALBERT (Dr.), German paymaster in America, 169.
- ALBERT, King of Belgium, enters Ghent, 379; Antwerp, 380; Brussels, 381.
- ALBERTO TREVES, Italian cargo carrier, torpedoed off Atlantic Coast, 351.
- ALEXANDRETTA in Asiatic Turkey to be a free port, 270.
- ALGERIA, contribution of soldiers to French armies, 3.
- ALI VERBI Pasha, commander of the Maan garrison in Palestine, 269.
- ALIEN Property Custodian, seizure of German-owned ships, 114.
- ALLEN, Edward Frank, "Keeping Our Men Fit Physically and Morally," 127.
- ALLENBY (Gen.), conquest of Palestine by, 206; crushing of the Turkish armies, 269.
- ALLIED Ambassadors leave Vologda for Archangel, 79.
- ALLIED armies, occupation of German territory by, 373.
- ALLIES, cash advances and credits made to, by U. S., 194; approve President Wilson's note to Germany regarding armistice, 248; progress in Russia, 283; delegates meet at Versailles to frame terms of armistice for Central Powers, 356.
- ALL-RUSSIAN Provisional Government Seeks Allied Recognition, 503.
- ALSACE-LORRAINE, German methods in, 412; history of its wresting from France in 1871, 422.
- AMERICA, *see* UNITED STATES.
- AMERICAN Army, officers and titles of all units of five corps, 52; increased by draft, 238.
- American Army of Occupation on Way to the Rhine*, 373.
- American, British, and German Losses in the War*, 553.
- American Capture of St. Mihiel Salient*, 235.
- American Congress Notified that Armistice Had Been Signed*, 363.
- American Embargo Conference, Established to Prevent Export of Munitions*, 1C3.
- American Expeditionary Forces in Russia*, 502.
- AMERICAN Field Canteen Service, Number of Meals Served to American Troops, 5.
- Americans Fighting in the Argonne*, 226.
- American Indians in the War*, 130.
- American Intervention in Russia*, 81.
- American Library Association, Work in Supplying Books to Soldiers and Sailors*, 235.
- American Losses in the War*, 553.
- American Prisoners of War, Conference Regarding*, 192.
- American Ship Construction*, 111.
- American Shipping Losses from Submarines*, 109.
- American Soldier, Marching Equipment of*, 7.
- Americans in the Fighting Near Cambrai*, 211.
- Americans in the Soissons Sector*, 36.
- American Troops in Siberia*, 283.
- America's Cash Advances and Credits to Allied Nations*, 194.
- America's Recognition of Poland's Aspirations for Independence*, 497.
- America's War Activities at Home*, 48, 238, 547.
- America's War Aims*, 141.
- AMERONGEN, Holland, where German ex-Kaiser sought refuge, 389.
- AMIENS, damaged condition described by Sir Gilbert Parker, 478.
- AMIRAL CHARNER, French liner, torpedoed on way to Malta, 351.
- AMPHION, American transport, has two hours' running fight with submarine and reaches port safely, 351.
- ANDRASSY, (Count) Julius, letter to Secretary Lansing, 394.
- ANGLO-SAXON spirit criticised by the Kaiser, in his speech to Krupp workers, 73.
- ANNAPOLIS, description of course of study pursued there, 486.
- Announcing the Armistice in America*, 361.
- ANTONIA of Luxemburg, Princess, betrothal to Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, 310.
- ANTWERP, Belgium, entry of Belgian King and Queen, 380.
- Appropriation Bill for U. S. Army*, 239.
- ARAB Co-operation with British in Palestinian Campaign, 206.

- Arabic, Sinking of, Avenged*, 113.
Arable Arcas of England and Wales in 1918, 8.
Archangel, Allied Expedition Lands, 84.
Argonne, American Fighting in, 226.
Armenia, Services to Allied Cause, 402.
 ARMIES, see CAMPAIGNS.
 ARMISTICE, Austrian; request by Austria-Hungary for, 394; signing of, 395; text of, 398.
 ARMISTICE with Germany, requested by German Government, 242; correspondence between President Wilson and German authorities, 355; negotiations between allied and German delegates, 359; signed Nov. 11, 1918, 360; joy in America over announcement of signing, 361; how the news was received in the allied nations, 439; summary of negotiations, 560.
 ARMISTICE, Turkish, Terms of, 399.
 ARMOUR, Norman, Secretary of U. S. Embassy in Russia, describes chaotic conditions prevailing there, 505.
Artificial Limbs for Wounded Soldiers, 124.
Asia Minor, Campaign in, 353, 399, 432.
 ATAZ-Trendi, Spanish steamship plying between Spain and England, torpedoed, 59.
 ATROCITIES, German, murder of Captain Fryatt, 116; barbarous treatment of natives in Southwest Africa, 322; outrages in Alsace-Lorraine, 412.
Audenarde Famous as a Battleground, 425.
Aulnoy, Scene of Advance of Yorkshire Regiments, 453.
 AUMETZ, village in Lorraine occupied by American troops, 377.
Austrian Troops in the Fighting Near Mont St. Quentin, 26.
Australia's Plans for Giving Farms to Soldiers, 318.
 AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, note suggesting a "nonbinding" peace conference, 64; military operations in Balkans, 205; requests armistice and peace terms of President Wilson, 249; correspondence relative to same, 355, 394; armistice signed, 395; ultimatum to Serbia, 554; declaration of war against Serbia, 558.
 See also CAMPAIGN IN EUROPE, AUSTRO-ITALIAN.
 AUSTRIA-HUNGARY'S circular note to its Ambassadors abroad, explaining its ultimatum to Serbia, 555; declaration of war against Serbia, 558.
Austrian Defeat in Second Battle of the Piave, 429.
Austrian Military Operations in Balkans, 205.
 AUSTRIA'S Ultimatum to Serbia, 554; Serbia's reply, 556.
 AVIATION, see AERONAUTICS.
Aviators' Share in Allies' Victory, 433.
- B.**
- BAILLEUL, France, evacuated by Germans, 14.
"Baiser Au Drapeau," (poem,) 73.
 BAKU, occupation of and withdrawal from by British, 401.
 BALFOUR, Arthur James, comment on Austrian peace note, 67; attends Interallied Conference, 356.
 BALKANS, campaign, 61, 205, 352, 433.
Balloon Corps of the Army Increased by 25,000 Men, 548.
 BALTIC Provinces, German claims on, 90.
Ban on Shipping News Lifted by Secretary Daniels, 559.
Bantheville Captured by Americans, 350.
Bapaume Recaptured by British, 23.
 BARNES, George Nicoll, statement regarding armistice with Turkey, 401.
Battle for Argonne Forest, 226.
Battle of St. Mihiel, 41.
Battle that Won Sedan, 467.
Batum Surrendered by Terms of Armistice to Allies, 401.
 BAUER, Herr, made Secretary of State for Imperial Labor Office, 349.
 BAVARIA threatens to secede from Germany, 386; under leadership of Eisner, 387.
Bavarian Criticism of Prussian Militarism, 7.
 BAZAINE, Marshal, surrender of Metz by, 311.
 BEATTY, (Rear Admiral Sir) David, receives surrender of German High Seas Fleet, 383.
 BEGBIE, Harold, "A Miracle of the New Surgery," 125.
 BEHR-BEHRENHOF (Count), speaks against the Reichstag resolutions of July, 1917, 7.
Beirut Captured by Allies, 408.
Belgian Offensive in Autumn of 1918, 203.
Belgian Prince, Sinking of, Avenged, 113.
 BELGIUM, German Vice Chancellor's attitude regarding, 69.
 See also CAMPAIGN IN EUROPE, WESTERN.
 BELGRADE, capital of Serbia, reoccupied by Serbs, 560.
 BENES, (Dr.) Edward, "Story of the Czechoslovaks," 496.
 BENTINCK, (Count) von, host of ex-Kaiser in Holland, 389.
 BERCHTOLD (Count), signer of declaration of war against Serbia, 558.
 BERENGER, Henri (French Senator), on the importance of the Bassin de Briey, 2.
 BERLIN, excitement over armistice and peace proposals, 246.
 BERNHARDI (Gen.), defeated on the Lys, 6.
 BISMARCK, Prince, negotiator of armistice with France in 1871, 420.
Blasted Valley of the Somme, 479.
 BLISS, (Gen.) Tasker H., at Interallied Conference, 357.
 BLOCKADE of Germany to remain unchanged under conditions of armistice, 365.
 BLOS, Wilhelm, 136.
 BOHAIN, wrecked by Germans, 217.
 BOLSHEVIST attempt to check march on Czechoslovaks, 509.
 BOLSHEVISTS, see RUSSIA.
Bombs in Steamships, 164.
 BOOKS for Soldiers, see LIBRARY Facilities.
 BORDESE, Stephan, "Baiser Au Drapeau" (poem), 73.
 BORIS, Crown Prince of Bulgaria, becomes Czar, 277.
 BOSNIA incorporated with the Kingdom of Serbia, 562.
Boulay Bombed in Reprisal Raid by Allied Aviators, 353.
 BOY-ED (Capt.), carries on German propaganda in the U. S., 162.
Bray Captured by British Troops on Aug. 23, 60.
Breaking the Hindenburg Line, 481.
Brest-Litovsk Treaty Defended by Solf, 5.
 BRIDGEHEADS on the Rhine, stipulated for in armistice terms, 365.
Bricolles on the Verdun Front Occupied by the Americans, 559.

BRIEY, Basin of, 2.
British Army in Mesopotamia, 327, 432.
British Capture of Damascus, 270, 404.
British Embassy at Petrograd Sacked by Mob, 79.
British Losses in the War, 553.
 BRITISH Navy, titanic labors of, 511.
British Protest Against Murder of Capt. Cromie, 80.
British Victories in Palestine, 269.
British Victories on the Somme, 20.
 BROUWER, Jean de, describes conduct of German officers in Bruges, 451.
 BROWN, (Gen.) Preston, commands 3d Division of American army of occupation, 375.
 BRUGES pillaged by Germans, 437.
 BRUSILOVKA, peasants exterminate German garrison, 77.
 BRUSSELS, evacuation of by Germans, 381; entry of King Albert, 381.
 BRYCE, Lord, correspondence with Lord Robert Cecil regarding the Armenians, 403.
 BUCHAREST, Treaty of, 94.
 BULGARIA, unconditional surrender of, 205, 273; asks for armistice, 274; armistice signed, 275; evacuates Serbia, 275; Czar Ferdinand abdicates, 276.
 BUREAU of Aircraft Production, cancellation of contracts, 548.
 BURIAN, Baron, on Germany's approval of Austrian peace note, 69; address to German newspaper men at Vienna, 132; sends telegram to German Chancellor regarding peace, 245.
 BUTLER, William Mill, "Democracy," 408.
 BYNG, (Gen. Sir) Julian, commander of British Third Army, 14.

C

CALVIN, John, destruction of house in which he was born in Noyon, 34.
 CAMBRAI, historic sketch, 192; occupied by allied forces, 198; story of recapture by British and Canadian troops, 214.
 CAMPAIGN in Asia Minor, advance along the Euphrates and Tigris of British Army under Gen. Marshall, 269; report of Gen. Marshall on Mesopotamian operations, 327; progress of the war, 353; "Turkey's surrender to the Allies," 399; end of resistance in Turkey, 431; summary of operations, 560.
See also TURKEY, MESOPOTAMIA.
 CAMPAIGN in Europe, Austro-Italian border, "Collapse of Austria-Hungary," 392; "Italy's Great Victory," 429; summary of operations, 560.
See also ITALY, AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.
 CAMPAIGN in Europe, Balkan States, "Macedonia Wakes Up," 19; progress of the war, 61; the exit of Bulgaria from the war, 205; "Bulgaria's Surrender," 273; "Albania in the War," 279; progress of the war, 352.
 CAMPAIGN in Europe, Eastern, Russian civil war, 62, 74; "Progress of the Allied Expeditions," 81; fighting on the Volga, 283; progress of the war, 353; heavy fighting encountered by the allied expeditions, 502; summary of operations, 560.
See also RUSSIA, POLAND, FINLAND.
 CAMPAIGN in Europe, Western, "Germany's Blackest Month," 9; "British Victories on the Somme," 20; "Recapture of Bapaume and Peronne," 23; "Piercing the Drocourt-Queant Line," 28; "Advancing Over Redeemed Ground," 29; "Fighting on the French Front," 31;

"Americans in the Soissons Sector," 36; "Battle of St. Mihiel," 41; progress of the war, 60; "Great German Retreat," 195; "Driving the Germans from Belgium," 208; "From St. Quentin to the Argonne," 220; "Battle for Argonne Forest," 226; "Taking of St. Mihiel Salient," 235; progress of the war, 351; the war in its last phases, 432; "How Peace Came to the Battlefronts," 439; "Redemption of Belgium," 446; "French Armies' Final Victories," 459; "Battle that Won Sedan," 466; "Breaking the Hindenburg Line," 481; summary of operations, 559.
 CAMPAIGN in Palestine, "Conquest of Holy Land," 206; "Turkey's Disaster in Palestine," 269; progress of the war, 353; "Turkey's Surrender to the Allies," 399; "Capture of Damascus," 404; the end in Turkey, 431; summary of operations, 560.
See also TURKEY.
 CAMPANA, American tank ship attacked by submarine, 105.
 CANADA'S plans for giving farms to soldiers, 318; contributions to the war, 501.
Cancellation of War Contracts in U. S., 548.
 CARREL-DUKIN treatment of wounds, 121.
 CARROLL, (Corp.) P. J., does gallant work on the Vesle front, 40.
 CASTELNAU, (Gen.) Edward de, withdraws French Army across Lorraine border in Lys, 1914, 9.
 CASUALTIES, first American, 2; British, American, and German estimated totals, 553.
 CECIL, Lord Robert, reply to Dr. Solf, 135; statement regarding Turkish armistice, 401; correspondence with Lord Bryce relative to the Armenians, 402.
 CHAMBERLAIN (Senator), criticises the slacker roundup in N. Y. City, 51.
Champagne Offensive of 1918, 201.
Champigneulle Captured by the American Troops, 471.
Changes in the German Government, 349.
Charevo Occupied by Serbs, 353.
Charlemagne Drowned at Noyon, 4.
 CHARLES, Emperor of Austria-Hungary, abdication, 397.
 CHATEAU-FRANCFORT, first stopping place of German armistice envoys, 360.
Chaulnes Captured by French Under Gen. Mangin, 1.
Chauny Captured by British, 15.
 CHEKREZI, Constantine A., "The Albanian Nationality," 278.
Chemin des Dames Object of Offensive Thrust of Mangin's Army, 19.
 CHITA, captured by Czechoslovaks, 82.
 CLARK, (Speaker) Champ, presides at session of Congress where armistice was announced, 361.
 CLEMENCEAU, Premier, comment on Austria's peace note, 68; at armistice conference, 357.
Clery-le-Grand Occupied by American Troops, Nov. 1, 475.
 CLOTHING, increase in cost in four years of war, 8.
 CLUMSINESS of German diplomacy commented on by Balfour, 68.
 COBLENZ, designated as bridgehead, 365.
Collapse of Austria-Hungary, 392.
Colleges Under Government Control, 265.
 COLOGNE bombed in reprisal by allied aviators, 62; designated as bridgehead, 365.
Conflans Region Shelled by American Guns, 559.
Congress of Oppressed Nations, 496.
Constantinople Raided Several Times by Allied Aviators, 62.

Convoy Service a Great Success, 488.
Corps of the American Army, 52.
 CORWIN, (Prof.) Edward S., comments on Russian secret documents, 528.
 COST of living in U. S., increase in, 8.
Coney-le-Chateau Ruined by Vandalism of Germans, 18.
 COURLAND, population of, 91.
 CRACOW seized by Poles, 562.
 CREDITS to allied nations, 194.
Crime in England Lessened by the War, 193.
Croisilles on the Hindenburg Line Stormed by British, 22.
 CROMIE (Capt.), murdered at Petrograd, 79.
 CROWELL, Benedict C., First Assistant Secretary of War, put in charge of the munitions program, 59.
 CROWN Prince, German, authorized interview with, 131; flight to Holland, 389.
 CUBA, declaration of war against Austria-Hungary, 316.
Cuba's Part in the World War, 315.
 CURRIE (Gen.), commander of Canadian troops, 425.
 CUXHAVEN, German naval revolt at, 387.
 CZAR of Russia, mystery concerning reports of his death, 6.
 CZECH Exodus; A Siberian Epic.
 CZECHOSLOVAKS, recognized by U. S. as a belligerent nation, 80; by Great Britain, 86; national aspirations of, 87; history of their struggle for liberty, 87; attitude of toward question of Alsace-Lorraine, 87; independence of recognized by France and Italy, 88; recognition assailed by Solf, 135; independence insisted on in President Wilson's note to Austria-Hungary, 249; formation of republic, 492; text of declaration of independence, 492; Prague taken possession of, 494; early history, 496; progress across Russia in attempt to reach Vladivostok, 507.
 CZERNIN (Count), statement of, at Vienna, 133.

D

DALHEIM, atrocities committed by Germans in, 415.
Damascus Captured by British, 207, 270.
 DARRE, Marechal Logis Clement, distinguished heroism of, 32.
 DASZYNSKI, Ignace, chosen President of Polish Republic, 500.
 DAVID, (Dr.) Edward, made German Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 349.
 DAVIS, John W., appointed Ambassador to Great Britain, 2.
 DEBS, Eugene V., found guilty of violating the espionage act and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, 59.
 DEBTS due Great Britain from Dominions and allied countries, 6.
 DEGOUTTE (Gen.), tribute to the fighting qualities of the American Army, 36.
Delville Wood Captured by British, 24.
 DEMOBILIZATION, steps toward in U. S., 548.
 DEMOCRACY (poem), 408.
 DENMARK, rationing agreement of United States with, 63.
Devastation by Germans in Cambrai, 215.
 DICKMAN, (Maj. Gen.) J. T., commands American army of occupation, 375.
 DISEASE in army, inoculation against, 121.
 DMOWSKY, Roman, comes to America to present Poland's claims to independence, 497.

DOUAI devastated by Germans, 450.
 DOVE, Herr, Vice President of the Reichstag.
 DOYLE, (Sir) Arthur Conan, "Breaking the Hindenburg Line," 461.
 DRAFT for men between 18 and 45, 48, 238.
Driving the Germans from Belgium, 208.
 DROCOURT-Queant line, piercing of, 28.
 DUFFIELD, J. W., "The Franco-German Armistice in 1871," 419.
 DUPETIT Thonars, French cruiser torpedoed by submarine, 59.
 DURANTY, Walter, "Fighting on the French Front," 31; "From St. Quentin to the Argonne," 220; "French Armies' Final Victories," 459.
 DURAZZO, occupied by Italian troops, 205.
 DURY, scenes attending the recapture of by British, 28.

E

EARLE (Rear Admiral), Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance, 491.
 EAST AFRICA, evacuation demanded in armistice, 366.
 EBERT, Friedrich W., new German Chancellor, 388.
 ECKSTAEDT, (Count) von, address at Dresden, 133.
 EISNER, Kurt, head of new Bavarian Government, 387.
 EKENGREN, W. A. F., Swedish Minister, intermediary for Austria's peace note, 67.
 ELBASON, Albanian town taken by the Italians, 353.
End of the War, 355.
 ENGLAND, votes of credit during war, 6; crime lessened by war, 193; church census, 194; casualties in the war, 553.
See under CAMPAIGNS in Europe, Western, Balkans, Mesopotamia, Palestine.
 ERIE, Canadian steamer destroyed by shell-fire from submarine, 59.
 ERZBERGER, Mathias, appointed to German Cabinet, 349; delegate to the armistice conference, 359.
 ESSAD PASHA, Albanian leader, 279.
 ESPEREY, (Gen.) Franchet d', compels surrender of Bulgaria, 205.
 ESTHONTA, German treatment of, 77; population of, 91; ethnic character of people, 491; republic established, 506.

F

FACES, new, made for disfigured soldiers, 122.
 FATE of 150 U-boats officially attested, 258.
 FAVRE, Jules, French plenipotentiary in Franco-German armistice negotiations in 1871, 420.
 FAY, Robert, German conspirator, 165.
 FERDINAND, Czar of Bulgaria, abdicates, 276.
 FIGHTING on the French front, 31.
Final Acts of German Oppression, 435.
 FINLAND, alliance of, with Germany, 77; crown of offered to Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse, 78; arrest of revolutionists in, 78; Diet chooses King formally, 289; character of population, 491; conditions under which King was chosen, 506.
 FITZSIMMONS, (1st Lieut.) William, among first Americans killed in the war, 2.
 FLANDERS, Autumn of 1918 fighting in, 203.
 FOCH, Marshal, presentation of baton to, 190-b; flank strategy of, 195; authorized

to receive German delegates to discuss armistice, 358; sends directions to German High Command, 358; manner of receiving envoys, 359.

FOOD, rise in cost of in U. S.; food situation in Russia, 80; pooling war industries, 190-b; battle for bread in Petrograd district, 289; President Wilson announces plan of feeding hungry nations, 363; Herbert D. Hoover issues appeal after armistice is signed, 550.

FOOD administration report of shipments of food abroad, 240.

Food Conditions in Russia, 289.

Food Situation in U. S. at End of War, 550.

Forgery of Passports, 166.

FOSTER, Carol Howe, "Growth of Commissioned Personnel of United States Navy," 484.

Fourth Liberty Loan, 240, 549.

FRANCE, recruits from colonies of, 3; recognizes independence of Czechoslovaks, 88; sketch of French soldiers by Gabriel Hanotaux, 89; alliance with Russia, 308; Armistice concluded with Germany in 1871, 419.

See also under CAMPAIGN IN EUROPE, Western.

FRANCIS, Ambassador, reports Russia's supplementary treaties with Germany, 79.

Franco-German Armistice in 1871, 419.

Franco-Russian Alliance, 308.

FRAPELLE, village in Lorraine, captured by Americans, 60.

Fraudulent Manifests, 166.

French Armies' Final Victories, 459.

FRENCH front, offensive on the, 33.

FRENCH Revolution, compared to the Russian, 3.

French West Indies Contributed 31,000 Soldiers, 3.

Fresmieres, captured by the French, 15.

FRESNOY, storming of, 33.

Freya Line Broken Through by American Forces, 559.

FROISSART, (Sir) John, born in Valenciennes, France, 454.

From St. Quentin to the Argonne, 220.

FRYATT (Capt.), murdered by the Germans, 116.

FULLENWIDER (Commander), produces a new variety of mine, 490.

G

GAIDA (Gen.), leader of Czechoslovak forces in Russia, 510.

GALWAY CASTLE, torpedoed and sunk with great loss of life, 59.

GASCONIER, Dutch steamer sunk by mine in North Sea, 62.

Gasless Sundays in America, 5.

GEDDES, (Sir) Eric, 356.

GEORGIA, independence recognized in supplementary treaty between Russia and Germany, 79.

GERMAN-AMERICAN National Alliance, influence of in favor of Germany, 163.

German Claims on Baltic Provinces, 90.

German Crimes in Southwest Africa, 322.

German Devastations in Invaded Regions, 4, 35, 236, 435, 438.

German Evacuation of Lille and Turcoing, 218.

German Evacuation of Russia, 505.

GERMAN Government, reforms in, 349.

GERMAN High Seas Fleet surrendered, 382.

German Looting at St. Mihiel, 45.

German Losses in the War, 553.

German Methods in Alsace-Lorraine, 412.

GERMAN Navy, revolt in, 387.

GERMAN-owned shipping, seized by Allen Property Custodian, 114.

German Peace Talk After the Retreat, 131.

German Plotting in the United States, 162.

German Shipping Intrigue, 111.

German Shipping seized by Spain, 115.

German Ships Demanded by Terms of Armistice, 367.

German Treatment of Esthonia, 77.

German Trench Defense Methods, 313.

German Use of Poisoned Gas, 7.

Germans Driven from Belgium, 208.

Germans Exact Indemnities from Ukrainians, 77.

Germans in Our Army, 40.

GERMANS, wanton destruction wreaked by, in Chateau-Thierry, 4.

GERMANY:—Colonial empire occupied by the Allies, 3; wanton destruction at Chateau-Thierry, 4; use of poison gas, 7; peace conditions of corporation of Hamburg, 8; driven back to Hindenburg line, 9; defeated by British on the Somme, 20; loss on the Oise and Aisne and in the Soissons sector, 31, 36; defeated at St. Mihiel, 41; approves Austrian note for a "nonbinding" conference, 69; diminishing peace demands, 69; claims on Baltic provinces, 90; treatment of Rumania, 94; murder of Capt. Fryatt, 116; peace talk after the retreat, 131; guilt established in sinking of Lusitania, 145; plotting in the U. S., 162; retreat from Belgium and France, 195; driven from Argonne Forest by Americans, 226; devastation of evacuated regions, 236; appeals to President Wilson for armistice and peace, 242; proclamations by the Kaiser, 250; submarine depredations, 255; use of Lenine and Trotzky as tools, 291; treatment of Luxemburg, 310; taking of Metz in 1870, 311; trench defense methods, 313; crimes in Southwest Africa, 322; changes in government before the Kaiser's abdication, 349; capitulation and signing of armistice, 355; correspondence regarding armistice with President Wilson, 368; occupation of Rhine Valley by allied forces, 373; surrender of High Seas fleet, 382; revolution and establishment of new government, 385; methods in Alsace-Lorraine, 412; armistice with France in 1871, 419; last phases of the Autumn fighting, 423; protest against allied air raids, 433; devastation wrought by retreating armies, 435; driven from Belgium, 446; defeated on the Meuse, 459; at Sedan, 466; breaking of the Hindenburg line, 481; end of submarine warfare, 487; intrigue with the Bolshevik Government in Russia, 512.

See also CAMPAIGNS IN EUROPE, Western.

GERMANY, alliance of, with Finland, 77.

German Bargains with Russia Regarding Poland, 78.

GERMANY, changes proposed in constitution of, 243.

GERMANY, correspondence of with U. S. regarding armistice and peace, 368.

GERMANY, occupation of by allied armies, 373.

GERMANY, supplementary treaties of, with Russia, 79, 288.

Germany's Blackest Month, 9.

GERMANY'S colonial ambitions, attitude of New Zealand toward, 207.

Germany's diminishing peace demands, 69.

Germany's Peace Move of Oct. 4, 1918, 242.

Germany's Relation with Luxemburg, 310.

Germany's Treaty with Rumania, 94.

Germany's War Aims in March, 1918, 136.
GHENT, Belgium, King Albert's entry into, 379.
GIBBS, Philip, "Recapture of Bapaume and Peronne," 23; "Driving the Germans from Belgium," 208; "The Redemption of Belgium," 446.
GILL, Charles C. (Commander U. S. N.), "Overseas Transportation of United States Troops," 409.
GLEAVES, (Rear Admiral) Albert, commander of U. S. convoy operations, 409.
Goethein of Progressive People's Party Offered Seat in Revolutionary Cabinet, 389.
Government Control of Railways Increases Wages of Employes, 8.
Government Takes Over the Nation's Colleges, 265.
Grand Duchess of Luxemburg Welcomes American Army, 378.
GRAND PRE, American Fighting at, 233.
GRASTY, Charles H., "Germans in Our Army," 40.
GRAVES, (Maj. Gen.) William S., commander of American expeditionary force in Russia, 81.
GREAT BRITAIN, see England.
Great Britain Recognizes Czechoslovaks as Allied Nation, 87.
GREAT BRITAIN, recruits from Colonies of, 3.
Great Britain's Part in the War, 307.
Great Britain's Plans for Giving Farms to Soldiers, 318.
Great German Retreat, 195.
GROENER, (Gen.) von, succeeds Ludendorff after latter's resignation, 562.
Growth of Commissioned Personnel of United States Navy, 484.
GUIANA, oldest retained French colony, 3.
GUTCHKOV, Alexander J., assassinated in Russia, 287.

H

HAIG, (Field Marshal) Douglas, 356.
HAKKI, Ismail, Turkish leader, surrenders to the British, 309.
HALLER, (Gen.) Joseph, supreme commander of Polish forces, 498.
HAMILTON, Sir Ian, appointed Lieutenant of the Tower of London, 193.
HANOTAUX, Gabriel, "The Silent Soldiers of France," 89.
HARBOU, (Gen.) von, appointed head of military administration of Baltic provinces, 77.
HARPER (Gen.), defeats Germans in fighting near Le Quesnoy, 455.
HARPER, (Dr.) Samuel N., on genuineness of Russian secret documents, 526.
HARWICH, England, place of interment for German submarines, 384.
HANDROY, line of French outposts crossed by German armistice envoys, 357.
HAVRINCOURT, captured in the British advance toward Cambrai, 18.
HAYES, (Lieut.) Michael J., gallantry in action on the Vesle, 40.
HAYWOOD, William D., and fourteen of his aids in the conspiracy of the Industrial Workers of the World sentenced to imprisonment and fine, 59.
HEDJAZ, King, allied with British in Palestinian campaign, 433.
HELFFERICH, (Dr.) Karl, German Ambassador to Russia, flees from Moscow, 74.
HELIGOLAND, scene of naval revolt, 387.
HELLDORFF (Capt.), courier of German armistice envoys, 357.

HERBIGNIES, scene of determined resistance by Germans, 455.
HEREROS, extermination of, by Germans, 323.
HERTLING, (Chancellor) von, address of, to Prussian Upper House Sept. 5, 1918, 132; resignation, 349.
HINDENBURG, (Field Marshal) von, manifestoes of, 131; supports peace move of German Government, 370; places himself and army at disposition of revolutionary authorities, 388.
HINDENBURG line, smashing of, 220, 313.
HINTZE, von, German Foreign Minister, resignation, 349.
HITCHCOCK, (U. S. Sen.) Gilbert M., "Peace Only Through Victory," 144.
HOLLAND, idle shipping of, 193; losses from submarines, 256.
HOLY LAND, see PALESTINE.
HOOVER, Herbert D., appointed food representative of U. S. in Europe, 550.
HORNE (Gen.), commander of British First Army, 14.
HORVARTH (Gen.), assumption of dictatorship, 76.
Hospitals in United States for Soldiers, 119.
HOSTAGES, British subjects held by Bolshevik Government, 80.
HOTTENTOTS, cruelties practised on by Germans, 325.
HOUSE, E. M., delegate to Versailles conference, 356.
How Peace Came to the Battlefronts, 439.
HUGHES, Charles Evan, report on aircraft inquiry, 551.
HUMBERT (Gen.), commander of French Third Army in Picardy, 14.
Hunding Line Reached by French Troops, 559.
Hungary, Declared a Republic, 398.
HURBAN, (Capt.) Vladimir S., "The Czech Exodus; A Siberian Epic," 507.
HUSSAREK, (Baron) von, Austrian Premier, announces that Austria is to be transformed into Federal States, 353.
HUSSEIN, King of the Hedjaz Arabs, in close liaison with the British, 268.
HUTCHINSON, (Dr.) Woods, description of German cultivation of occupied territory, 435.
HUXLEY, Florence A., "Library Facilities for Our Soldiers," 261.

I

IMBRIE, Robert W., American Vice Consul at Petrograd, 79.
INDEMNITIES, demand disclaimed by von Payer, 70.
INDIA, conspiracy in U. S. to foment insurrection in, 167.
Indians in United States Army, 130.
INDUSTRIAL Workers of the World, fourteen of them, together with their chief, W. D. Haywood, convicted of conspiracy and sentenced, 59.
Industrial Conditions in Russia, 290.
INFERNAL machines, ingenuity of the Germans in contriving, 471.
INFLUENZA, ravages, 239; in the United States, 551.
Inoculation Against Disease in Army, 121.
Interallied Conference at Versailles, 356.
INTERNATIONAL Partnership in business after the war advocated by Premier Lloyd George, 138.
IRKUTSK, outrage by German troops, 509.
ISHERWOOD, (Lieut. Com.) H., designs complicated mine anchor, 460.

Isthib, Recaptured by Serbs, 353.
 ISSUES of the War, President Wilson's statement of, Sept. 27, 1918, 251.
 ITALY, reply to Austrian peace note, 69; recognizes Czechoslovaks as a nation, 88; great victory in second battle of the Piave, 429.
 See also AUSTRIA-HUNGARY Campaign in Europe, Austro-Italian Border.

J

JAMES, Edwin L., "The Battle for Argonne Forest," 226; describes scenes on American battlefield when armistice was announced, 439; "The Battle that Won Sedan," 466.
 JAMESON, (Dr.) J. Franklin, on genuineness of Russian secret documents, 526.
Japanese Co-operating with Americans in Russia, 81.
 JERUSALEM, sanitary improvements instituted by British in, 4.
Jews to be Encouraged to Form Zionist State in Palestine, 270.
 JOHNSON, (Senator) Hiram, denounces round-up of slackers in New York as Prussianism, 52.
 JOHNSON, Thomas M., narrates instances of American heroism, 40.
 JONVE (Deputy), describes wanton destruction wrought at Noyon, 33.
 JUGOSLAVS, aspirations of, 89; Montenegro included in movement, 97; claims recognized, 496.
Juviville in the Valley of the Retourne Burned by Germans, 439.
 JUVIGNY, key position captured by Americans in terrific fighting, 18; taking of described, 37.

K

KADLETS (Col.), commander of Czech forces west of Irkutsk, 510.
 KAFFIRS, brutality of Germans toward, 325.
 KAIMATIS (Gen.), commander of Lithuanian troops, 77.
 KAISER WILHELM II., speech of, to Krupp workers, 71; address municipality of Munich, 131; exhorts soldiers, 250; approves change in German Government, 357; issues reform decree, 386; flees to Holland, 389.
 KAMENEFF, Leo, appointed Acting Premier of Bolshevik Government, following the attempt to assassinate Lenine, 63.
 KAPLAN, Dora, attempts to assassinate Lenine, 74.
 KAROLYI, (Count) Michael, proclaimed Governor of Hungarian Republic, 398.
Karlsruhe Extensively Damaged by Air Raid, 62.
 KAUKEB, conflict between Turks and Australian cavalry, 406.
Keeping Our Men Fit Physically and Morally, 127.
Kerensky Compared with Mirabeau, 3.
Khabarovsk, on the Amur, occupied by Japanese Troops, 62.
 KIEL, revolt of German sailors, 387.
King of Bavaria Abdicates, 389.
 KORITSA, Republic of, 282.
Krasnoyarsk, Occupied by Japanese Cavalry, Aug. 28, 62.
Kriehthide Stelling, broken by American Assaults, 228.
 KRUPP workers, Kaiser's speech, 71.

KUHLE (Deputy), threatens in Reichstag that abdication will not save the Kaiser from trial, 385.
Kut-el-Amara, Surrender of British Forces, 402.

L

Labor Day Appeal of President Wilson, 57.
 LAMMASCH, Prof., head of liquidation ministry, 398.
Land Settlement for ex-Service Men, 318.
 LAON, capture of, by Allies, 200; German treatment of inhabitants, 215.
 LEINSTER, British mail steamer torpedoed in Irish Sea, 257.
 LEJEUNE, (Maj. Gen.) John A., in American army of occupation, 375.
Lemberg, Recaptured by Ukrainians on Oct. 4, 562.
 LE MONIER, Burgomaster, 381.
 LENINE, Premier, attempt on life of, 74; accredited agent of Central Powers in Russia, 289; documents showing him a tool of German intrigue, 512.
Lenine and Trotzky German Agents, 291, 512.
 LE QUESNOY, storming of, 455.
 LES EPARGES, captured by the Americans in the St. Mihiel attack, 42.
 LETTS, history of, 92.
 LIBERTY Loan, Fourth, 549.
Library Buildings in Army Camps, 129.
Library Facilities for Our Soldiers, 261.
 LIEBKNECHT, Karl, leader of radicals in Germany, 385.
 LIEGE, treatment of population, by Germans, 437.
 LILLE, capture of, 205; evacuation by Germans, 218.
 LINSINGEN, (Gen.) von, reported to have declared Berlin in a state of siege, 63.
List of American Merchant Ships Sunk by the Enemy, 109.
 LITHUANIA, fighting against Soviet Government, 77; demands that Germans evacuate territory, 506.
 LITVINOFF, Soviet Ambassador to Great Britain, arrested, 80.
 LIVONIA, population of, 91.
 LLOYD GEORGE, Premier, "After the War Is Over," 138; at Versailles Interallied Conference, 356.
 LOCKRIDGE (Gen.), secretary of Gen. Bliss at Interallied Conference, 357.
 LODGE, Henry Cabot, speech of, in U. S. Senate on America's war aims, 141.
London Celebration When Armistice Signing Was Announced, 445.
Looting by Germans at St. Mihiel, 45.
 LOSSBERG, (Gen.) von, retreat tactics, 423.
Losses in the War of Americans, British, and Germans, 553.
 LOUVAIN, treasures destroyed, 161.
 LUCIA, "unsinkable" ship, torpedoed and sunk by submarine, 487.
 LUDENDORFF (Gen.), resignation, 371.
 LUDWIG (King) of Bavaria, fought against Prussia in 1866, 7.
 LUSITANIA, sinking of, judicial analysis by Judge J. M. Mayer, 145.
Luxemburg and Germany, 310.
 LUXEMBURG, advance of American Army through, 376.

M

MacARTHUR, (Brig. Gen.) Douglas, with American army of occupation, 375.
 MACEDONIA, see CAMPAIGN, BALKAN STATES.

MALLOY, Lewis J., parting words on eve of banishment, 5.

MANGIN (Gen.), offensive of, 33.
See also CAMPAIGN IN EUROPE, Western.

MANNHEIM, chemical works bombed by allied airmen, 62.

Marat Compared with the Bolshevik Premier, Lenin, 3.

March to the Rhine, 373.

Marching Equipment of American Soldiers, 7.

MARLE-Mortiers salient reduced by French armies, 463.

MARSHALL, (Lieut. Gen. Sir) W. R., commander of British Army in Mesopotamia, 327.

MARTIN, Don, American journalist, describes wanton destruction wrought by the retreating Germans at Chateau-Thierry, 4.

MASARYK, Thomas G., head of Czechoslovak movement, 85, 86; chosen President of Czechoslovak Republic, 492.

MASSEY, W. T., describes British victories in Palestine, 271; "Story of the Capture of Damascus," 402.

MAUDE (Gen.), value of services in Mesopotamia, 327.

MAURICE, (Maj. Gen. Sir) F. B., comments on Palestine campaign, 273.

MAXIMILIAN OF BADEN (Prince), appointed German Chancellor Sept. 30, 1918, 242; speech before the Reichstag, Oct. 5, 1918, 242; requests armistice of President Wilson, 242; telegram to Baron Burián regarding peace, 245; speech of Oct. 22, 1918, 369.

MAYENCE, designated as bridgehead, 365.

MAYER, (Judge) J. M., gives judicial verdict as to Germany's guilt in sinking of the Lusitania, 145.

MAYO, (Admiral) Henry T., submits new type of mine to British Admiralty, 490.

MEDAL, struck by Germans in 1914 to commemorate expected capture of Paris, 192.

Medical Work Done for Wounded Soldiers, 119.

MENOCAL, (Gen.) Mario G., "Cuba's Part in the World War," 315.

Menshevik Wing of the Social Democrats Antagonistic to Bolshevik Government, 75.

MERCHANT ships, American, sinkings of, 104.

MERVILLE, reoccupation of, by British troops, 14.

Mesopotamia Operations, 327, 399.

Metropolitan Opera House Address of President Wilson 251.

Metz in 1870; A Reminder of Its Fall, 311.

MEZIERES-Luxemburg railroad system important as German rail artery, 466.

Mid-European Union, 500.

MILNER, Secretary, at Interallied Conference at Versailles, 356.

Mine Areas in North Sea, Aid in Defeating the Submarine, 489.

MIRABEAU, parallel drawn between him and Lvoff and Kerensky, 3.

Miracle of the New Surgery, 125.

MIRIBEL, Generalde, 308.

MISSANABIE, Canadian Pacific liner, torpedoed Sept. 5, 59.

MONTANAN, American steamship, sunk with loss of five of her crew, 59.

MONTEBELLO, Count de, 308.

Montenegro's Situation, 97; *Relations of with Serbia*, 100.

Mont St. Quentin Captured by British Forces, 15.

MORENI, tank steamer, fights with submarine, 105.

Morhange Bombed by Allied Aviators, 353.

MORMAL Forest, scene of daring aerial operations, 457.

MOUNT VERNON, American troop transport, torpedoed off French coast, 59.

Movement for Polish Independence, 96.

MULHOUSE, reached by allied army of occupation, 373.

Murder of Captain Fryatt, 116.

MURFIN, (Capt.) O. G., goes abroad in connection with mine device, 491.

MURMANSK, allied expeditionary force moving from, 84.

N

NASSER, Shereef, makes rapid march to Damascus, 405.

Nationality of Finns and Estonians, 491.

Naval Academy, Work in Developing Officers, 486.

Naval Auxiliary Reserve, 485.

Naval Guns in American Fighting, 471.

NAVAL Reserve force, officers, 485.

NAZARETH, history of, 191.

Neutral Diplomats at Moscow Protest Against Bolshevik Terrorism, 504.

NEUTRALS, losses through submarine operations, 256.

Neutral Zone in German Territory, 365.

New York Troops in Argonne Forest Fighting, 230.

NEW ZEALAND, attitude toward Germany's colonial ambitions, 207; provision made for soldier settlers, 321.

NEY (Marshal), statue of, in Metz, 379.

NICHOLAS, King of Montenegro, 99.

NISH, occupation by Serbians, 205.

North Sea Submarine Barrage, 489.

Northern Russia, Government of, 75.

Notes that Led Up to Armistice, 368.

NOTGELD, substitute for paper money in Berlin, 391.

Nouvion Forest Scene of Fierce Fighting Just Before the Armistice, 465.

NOYON, history of, 4.

O

OBERNDORFF, Count von, German armistice delegate, 359.

Occupation of German Territory After Armistice Was Signed, 373.

OCEAN cables, United States seizure, 550.

Officers Trained in Colleges, 265.

OMELTCHENKO, Mr., comments on Russian secret documents, 528.

OMSK, government established, 502.

Orenburg Government in Russia, 76.

Ornic River in Monte Grappa Region Crossed by Italians in Pursuit of Austrians, 431.

OTANI, (Gen.) Kikuzo, commander of expeditionary forces in Russia, 81.

OTRANTO, American transport lost through collision in British Channel, 257.

ORLANDO, Premier, at Interallied Conference at Versailles, 356.

Overseas Transportation of United States Troops, 409.

P

PAGE, Walter Hines, resigns as Ambassador to Great Britain, 2.

PALESTINE, September, 1918, campaign in, 206; Turkish armies overthrown, 269, 431.

PAPEN, (Capt.) von, disburses funds in America for German propaganda, 169.
 PARAVANES, devices to divert mines, 383.
 PARIS, scenes when armistice signing was announced, 444.
Paris, Siege of, in 1870-'71, 419.
 PARKER, (Gen.) Frank, commands First Division of army of occupation, 375.
 PARKER, (Sir) Gilbert, "The Blasted Valley of the Somme," 478.
Part the Pigeons Played, 237.
 PASSPORTS, forgery of, 166.
 PATTERSON, (Capt.) Robert, distinguishes himself on the Vesle front, 40.
 PAYER, Frederick von, concessions of, regarding Belgium, 69; disclaims indemnities, 70; resigns, 349.
 PEACE:—Prussia's reliance on the sword, 7; ideas of the corporation of Hamburg, 8; Labor Day appeal to President Wilson, 57; Austria's peace conference proposition, 64; text of the note, 65; reply to the U. S., 67; British Foreign Minister Balfour's comment, 67; attitude of France and Italy toward Austrian note, 68; Burian declares that the note was approved by Germany, 69; Germany's diminishing peace demands, 69; Vice Chancellor von Payer disclaims any idea of demanding indemnities, 70; Kaiser's speech to Krupp workers, 71; German peace talk after the retreat, 131; declarations by the Kaiser, Hindenburg, and the Crown Prince, 131; address by Chancellor von Hertling to Prussian Upper House, 132; speech by Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister Burian to newspaper men in Vienna, 132; Count Czernin advocates peace by understanding, 133; Count Vitthun von Eckstaedt on civilian depression in Saxony, 133; Dr. W. S. Solf replies to Mr. Balfour and defends Brest-Litovsk treaty, 134; Lord Robert Cecil declares for peace by victory, 136; Germany's war aims in March, 1918, 136; symposium on peace that would satisfy Germany by Blos, David, Muller, Pfeiffer, Schlee, and Baemeister, 136-138; Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in U. S. Senate on what the United States will demand as a just and righteous peace, 141; Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock declares for peace only through victory, 144; Prince Maximilian's peace drive, 243; Austria's elucidation of peace efforts of the Central Powers, 245; excitement in Berlin Oct. 6, 1918, over prospect of peace, 246; notes between President Wilson and the German Government after the latter had asked for armistice and peace terms, 246 et seq.; approval by the Allies of President's second note, 248; text of Austria-Hungary's note requesting armistice and peace, 249; President Wilson's reply, 249; the Kaiser's proclamation on Oct. 6, 251; peace program of the President outlined in Metropolitan Opera House, New York; address of Sept. 27, 251; Bulgaria's proposal for armistice and peace terms, 274; summary of peace moves, 354; historic words and acts preceding the signing of the armistice, 355, 368; meeting of the Interallied Conference at Versailles to frame armistice terms, 357; arrival of German armistice envoys at French headquarters, 358; meeting with Marshal Foch, 359; armistice of Allies with Germany signed, 360; announcement of the signing in America, 361; President's address to Congress announcing the conclusion of armistice, 363; text of armistice, 364; preliminary notes of Austria leading up to armistice, 394; circumstances accompanying signing of armistice by Austria-Hungary, 395; text of armistice, 396; Turkey's request for armistice, 399; terms imposed upon her, 399; how peace came to the battlefronts, 439; Philip Gibbs on peace

rejoicings at Mons and Ghent, 441; peace celebrations in New York and Paris, 444; rejoicings in London, 445; steps toward demobilization in the U. S. following armistice, 548; President Wilson's Thanksgiving proclamation, 551.
 PEACE aims, President Wilson's statement of American, 251.
Peace Only Through Victory, 144.
 PERKINS, (Maj.) James H., head of American Red Cross mission overseas, 5.
 PERONNE, recapture of, 23.
 PERRIS, George H., describes devastation by Germans in retreat, 35; "From St. Quentin to the Argonne," 220.
 PERSHING (Gen.), historic general order on the fighting of the American troops in Foch's offensive, 36; congratulated on St. Mihiel victory, 46.
 PERSIC, troop transport, torpedoed, 112.
 PETERS, Jacob, connection with reign of terror in Russia, 287.
 PETROGRAD, British Embassy sacked, 79.
Piave, Second Battle of the, 392.
Picardy, Recovery of, by the Allied Forces, 14.
 PICHON, Stephen, French Foreign Minister, 357.
Piercing the Drocourt-Queant Line, 28.
Pigeons in Warfare, 237.
 PLATTSBURG, N. Y., scene of Government training of college students, 267.
 PLUNKETT, (Rear Admiral) Charles P., has charge of naval guns used in land fighting, 470.
 POINDEXTER (Senator), offers resolution forbidding correspondence with Germany except on terms of unconditional surrender, 369.
Poison Gas, German Use of, 7.
 POLAND, treaty regarding, made between Germany and Russia, 78; movement for independence, 96, 497; oppressed by Germans, 498; formation of republic, 500.
 POOLE, De Witt C., American Consul General, arrested at Moscow, 79; reaches Stockholm, 287.
Pope Appealed to by Baron Burian to Support His Peace Move, 69.
Pozieres Retaken in British Advance, 22.
 PRAGUE, seized by the Czechoslovaks, 495.
 PRESEAU, scene of desperate counterattacks by Germans, 453.
President Wilson's Labor Day Appeal, 57.
 PREUSS, Hugo, 392.
 PRILEP, Bulgarian Army cut off at, 353.
 PRINCE HENRY of Prussia, escape from revolutionists at Kiel, 387.
Prince Maximilian's Peace Drive, 242.
Prince of Wied Leaves Albania, 279.
Progress of the Allied Expeditions in Russia and Siberia, 81, 283.
Progress of the War, 49, 351, 559.
Propaganda, German, in America, 168.
Prussian Militarism Criticised by Bavarian Organ, 7.
Pushing War Activities at Home, 238.
 PUTNAM, (Dr.) Herbert, made general director of Library War Service for Soldiers, 261.

Q

Queant Carried by Storm by British Troops, 18.

R

Railway Lines Supplying German Armies in Occupied France, 9.

- Raising a New and Greater Army*, 48.
- RANEY, (Dr.) M. L., sent to Europe in connection with library work for sailors abroad, 263.
- Rasputin, Assassination of*, 306.
- RAWLINSON, (Gen. Sir) Henry, commander of British Fourth Army, 14.
- RAZVOZOV, Rear Admiral, murdered in Petrograd, 75.
- Red Cross, American Activities of, Summarized*, 5.
- Redemption of Belgium*, 446.
- Red Guards in Finland to be Deported to Germany*, 78.
- Reign of Terror, Russian, Inaugurated*, 74.
- Rejoicing of Allies at Signing of Armistice*, 439.
- RENUNCIATION of treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest demanded of Germany in armistice terms, 365.
- REPATRIATION of prisoners without reciprocity exacted from Germany in armistice terms, 365.
- REPORT of special committee on the genuineness of Russian secret documents, 526.
- Republic of Koritsa*, 282.
- RESTITUTION of moneys received from Belgium, Russia, and Rumania demanded of Germany in armistice terms, 365.
- RETHONDES, France, place of German armistice conference, 359.
- Retreat of Germans from Belgium and France*, 195.
- Revolt in German Navy*, 387.
- Revolution in Germany*, 385.
- RHEIMS salient, fall of, 223.
- RHINE bridgeheads arranged for in terms of armistice, 365.
- RHINE, the, advance of allied armies of occupation toward, 373.
- RICHECOURT, captured by American troops in the St. Mihiel attack, 46.
- ROBINSON, Perry, war correspondent, describes German pillage at Bruges, 437.
- Roulers, Captured by Belgians*, 204.
- Roye, Captured by the French Under Gen. Mangin*, 15.
- RUBINE, Rudolph, Jr., among first Americans killed in the war, 2.
- RUMANIA, treaty of, with Germany, 94.
- RUPPRECHT, Crown Prince of Bavaria, betrothal of to Princess Antonia of Luxembourg, 310.
- RUSSIA, developments in, 62; attacks on allied diplomats, 74; negotiates with Germany regarding Poland, 78; supplementary treaties with Germany, 78, 288; British Embassy sacked, 79; agrees to pay indemnity to Germany, 79; famine conditions, 80; nationalization of foreign trade, 80; intervention by Americans and Japanese, 81; protests against allied aid to Czechoslovaks, 84; progress of Allies, 283; Ufa Government established, 284; reign of terror, 286; battle for bread in Petrograd district, 289; ruin of industry, 290; terrorism versus order, 502; fighting of Bolshevik troops against allied expeditionary forces, 502; evacuation by Germans, 505; stops payment of indemnity to Berlin, 506; crossed by Czechoslovaks on way to Vladivostok, 507; summary of events, 560.
- See also CAMPAIGN IN EUROPE, EASTERN.
- Russian Documents Showing that Lenine and Trotzky Were German Agents*, 291, 526.
- Russian Revolution, Compared with French*, 3.
- Russia's Former Alliance with France*, 308.
- Russia's Reign of Terror*, 74.
- Ruwalla Tribe of Arabs Assist the British*, 405.
- S
- ST. GERVAIS, cathedral at Soissons, badly shattered by German guns, 6.
- St. Gobain Forest Invested by Gen. Humbert's Army*, 18.
- ST. JUVIN, fighting at, 203; capture of, 467.
- ST. MIHIEL, battle of, 41.
- ST. MIHIEL salient, taking of, by the Americans, 235.
- St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Te Deum for Victory After Signing of Armistice*, 445.
- ST. QUENTIN, history of, 191.
- SALOW, (Admiral) von, German armistice envoy, 359.
- SAMARA Assembly, meeting of, 76.
- SCAPA FLOW, where German High Seas Fleet was interned, 383.
- SCHHEEL, (Dr.) Walter T., German conspirator, 164.
- SCHEIDEMANN, Philipp, made German Secretary of State without portfolio, 349; announces abdication of Kaiser, 388.
- Scheldt Canal, Taking of, by British*, 209.
- Schleswig, Seized by Revolutionists*, 562.
- SCHMIEDER, (Capt. Lieut.) Rudolph, who sank the Arabia, fate of, 113.
- SCHWIEGER (Capt. Lieut.), who sank the Lusitania, lost with all hands, September, 1917, 113.
- SECRET documents, Russian, bearing on charge that Lenine and Trotzky were German tools, 526.
- Selency, Captured by British*, 351.
- Semendria, in Serbia, Occupied by Serbian Troops*, 433.
- SERAJEVO, kingdom of Greater Serbia proclaimed there, 562.
- SERBIA, Austria-Hungary declares war upon, 558.
- SERBIA, relations of, with Montenegro, 100.
- SERBIA, ultimatum of Austria July 23, 1914, 554; Serbia's reply, 556.
- Shearing of Rumania, The*, 94.
- SHOTGUNS, German protest against American use of, 194.
- SIBERIA, refugees arriving in, from Russia, 504.
- SIBERIA, American troops fighting in, 283.
- Silent Soldiers of France*, 89.
- SIMMONS, Roger, describes conditions in Russia, 75.
- SIMS, Vice Admiral, 356.
- SING KEE, Chinese soldier in American Army, does heroic work, 40.
- SINKING of the Lusitania; judicial analysis of by U. S. District Court, 145.
- Sinkings of American Merchantmen*, 104.
- SISSON, Edgar, in possession of Russian Government documents showing intrigues of Lenine and Trotzky with Germany, 291.
- Skagerrak Naval Battle Referred to by the Kaiser As a German Victory*, 71.
- SKOROPADSKI, Hetman, confers with Kaiser in Berlin, 77.
- SLACKER roundup, 51.
- SLAVIC Congresses, 88.
- SMOOT (Senator), speech in denunciation of the "slacker roundup," 51.
- SMYRNA, Vilayet of, revolts from the Government at Constantinople, 269.
- SOISSONS, Cathedral of, injury done to, by German guns, 6.

Soldier's Amazing Career, 330.
Solomes, Scene of Pierce Fighting in Last Battles of the War, 449.
 SOLF, (Dr.) W. S., addresses of before German Society of Berlin, 133; reply to Mr. Balfour, 134; defends Brest peace, 134; assails Czech recognition, 135; replies to President Wilson's queries regarding character of German Government, 247; appointed German Imperial Foreign Secretary, 349; correspondence with U. S. regarding armistice, 371.
 SONNINO, Sydney, Italian Foreign Minister, 356.
 SOUKHOMLINOFF (Gen.), court-martialed and shot, 63.
Southwest Africa, German Crimes in, 322.
 SPAIN, negotiations of, with Germany regarding sinking of Spanish ships by submarines, 256.
 SPAIN, seizes ninety German ships, 115.
 SPANISH influenza, spread of, 239.
 SPERRY, Earl E., on German plotting in the U. S., 162.
 SPIRIDONOVA, Miss, Social Revolutionist, 74.
Spitalbosch Wood Strongly Barricaded by German Troops, 453.
 STADIE, (Capt.) H. E., marked bravery of, in rescuing wounded gunners, 40.
 STCHERBACHEFF, (Gen.) D. G., Czechoslovak commander in Russia, 81.
Stenay Stronghold Captured on Day Before Armistice Was Declared, 560.
 STEVENSON, Burton E., successful organizer of camp libraries, 264.
Story of the Capture of Damascus, 404.
Story of the Czechoslovaks, 496.
 STRAUB, (Corp.) R. A., shows distinguished heroism in fighting on the Vesle front, 40.
 STRAUSS (Rear Admiral), chosen as commander of mine force, 491.
Stiumnitza, Taken by British in Balkan Advance, 353.
Students in Colleges Under Government Control Trained to be Officers, 265.
 STUTTGART, appearance of red flag of revolution, 387.
 STUTTGART, speech of Vice Chancellor von Payer, 69.
Submarine Attacks on American Shipping, 109.
Submarine Blockade, 59, 351.
 SUBMARINE depredations, 255; end of, 487.
 SUBMARINES, German, whose fate was known, 258.
 SUBMARINES, German, demanded by terms of armistice, 367; surrendered, 383.
Submarine War, 111.
 SUDAN, troops furnished by, to French armies, 3.
Surrender of German High Seas Fleet, 383.
 SUTHERLAND (Lieut.), bravery under fire on the Vesle, 40.
 SWEDEN, rationing agreement with the Allies based on use of shipping and products, 63.

T

Taking of St. Mihiel Salient, The, 235.
 TAMPA, American steamship, sunk off the English coast, 351.
 TCHAIKOVSKY, Nicholas, proclamation of, 75.
 TCHEREMISOFF, (Gen.) V. A., commander of Czechoslovaks in Russia, 81.
 TCHITCHERIN, Russian Foreign Minister on departure of allied Ambassadors, 79.
 TERNY-SORNY, fighting near, 38.

Terrorism in Russia, 287.
Terrorism Versus Order in Russia, 502.
 TEWFIK PASHA appointed Turkish Grand Vizier, 269.
Text of Armistice with Germany, 364.
Thanksgiving Proclamation by President, 551.
Theatre for Soldiers, 129.
 THRAUCOURT, town in the St. Mihiel salient taken by the Americans, 45.
 THIÉPVAL, recaptured by the British, Aug. 24, 1918, 21.
 THIERS, Adolphe, French plenipotentiary in armistice negotiations with Germany in 1871, 419.
 THOMPSON, (Sen.) William H., speech of, in Senate on sinking of German submarines, 260.
Tiberias, Occupied by the British and Arab Troops, 353.
 TICONDEROGA, brutality shown by Germans at sinking of, 257.
 TISZA, (Count) Stephen, assassination of, 398.
Titanic Labors of the British Navy, 511.
Tonnage Losses of Allied Nations from Submarine Depredations, 255.
 TRANSCAUCASIA, disorders in, 400.
Treasures Destroyed at Louvain, 161.
 TREATIES, supplementary between Russia and Germany, 288.
 TREATY of Bucharest, 94.
 TRENT, occupied by Italians in their last battle of the war, 431.
 TREPOV, Alexander, ex-Premier, assassinated in Russia, 287.
 TRIANON Palace, scene of Interallied Conference on armistice, 356.
 TRIUMPH, British steam trawler, captured by German submarine and turned into raider on vessels off the American coast, 59.
 TROTZKY, Leon, unmasked as German agent, 291, 512.
 TUGO, Oscar C., among first Americans killed in the war, 2.
 TUNIS, soldiers contributed by, to swell ranks of Allies, 3.
 TURCOING, evacuation of, by Germans, 218.
 TURKEY, signs armistice with allied nations, 399; terms of armistice granted to, 399; collapse of, 431.
Turkey's Disaster in Palestine, 269.
Turkey's Surrender to the Allies, 399.
Turks, defeats of, in Palestine, 206.
 TYRWHITT, (Rear Admiral) Reginald W., receives surrender of German submarines, 383.

U

UFA Government in Russia, 284; united with Government at Omsk, 502.
 UKRAINE, attitude of, toward German occupation, 76.
 ULTIMATUM of Austria to Serbia that brought on the war, 554; Serbia's reply, 556.
 UNCONDITIONAL surrender demanded of Germany by resolution of Senator Poin-dexter, 369.
Union of Liberated Nations, 500.
 UNITED STATES:—
Finances, cost of enlarged army, 239; Fourth Liberty Loan, 240, 549; cost of maintaining individual soldiers, 547; cancellation of war contracts after armistice, 548; total war costs, 550; seizure of ocean cables, 551; bringing home troops from abroad, 552.

- Military operations, first casualties, 2;** Americans at St. Mihiel, 9, 41, 235; near Laon, 18; with Mangin's offensive, 31; in the Soissons sector, 36; chief officers and titles of all units in first five army corps, 52; progress of the war, 61; expeditionary forces in Russia, 81; what army hospitals do for wounded soldiers, 119; recreation and athletics for soldiers, 127; conference with Germany regarding prisoners of war, 192; the Champagne offensive, 201; fighting near Cambrai, 211; the battle for Argonne Forest, 226; gallantry of airmen, 229; the fight for Grand Pre, 233; operations on the Dvina in Russia, 283; advance of army of occupation toward the Rhine, 373; fighting on the Aisne-Meuse front, 427; exploits of airmen, 435; order forbidding fraternizing after armistice was signed, 441; the battle that won Sedan, 466; fighting in Russia and Siberia, 502; total of troops in army, 547; losses in the war, 553.
- Navy, base hospital on Irish coast, 7;** naval crews on armed steamships fight German submarines, 104; list of merchant vessels sunk by U-boats, 109; negotiations for use of Holland's idle shipping, 193; ship construction, 255; sinking of Ticonderoga, 257; loss of Otranto through collision, 257; part played by the navy in overseas transportation of U. S. troops, 409; growth of commissioned personnel, 484; how the navy helped to defeat the U-boats, 489.
- Official correspondence and documents, reply to Austria's proposition for a nonbinding peace conference, 67; recognition of Czechoslovaks as a belligerent nation, 85; judicial decision on the sinking of the Lusitania, 145; reply to Germany's protest against the use of shotguns, 194; German Chancellor's correspondence with President Wilson on armistice and peace, 242; protest against reign of terror in Russia, 287; publication of documents showing secret relations of Lenin and Trotsky with the German Government, 291; address of the President to Congress announcing signing of armistice, 363; correspondence with Austria relative to armistice, 394; report of committee on genuineness of Russian secret documents, 527; report on manufacture of airplanes, 551.**
- Organizations, Red Cross activities in Europe, 5; War Risk Insurance Bureau, 241.**
- Peace aims, President Wilson's Labor Day appeal, 57; speech in the U. S. Senate by Henry Cabot Lodge, 141; speech by Senator G. M. Hitchcock, 144; President Wilson's Metropolitan Opera House, New York, address of Sept. 27, 251; America's example held up for emulation by Cuban President, 317; negotiations with Germany regarding armistice, 355, 368; announcement of armistice in America, 361; rejoicing over virtual end of the war, 444.**
- Resignation and appointment of officials, W. H. Page resigns as Ambassador to Great Britain, succeeded by John W. Davis, 2.**
- War activities at home, gasless Sundays, 5; increase in cost of living, 8; advance in pay of railroad employees, 8; extension of draft ages to include men between 18 and 45 years, 48; slacker roundup, 51; German plotting in the U. S., 162; pooling of war industries, 190-b; third draft registration, 238; library facilities for soldiers, 261; Government takes over the nation's colleges, 265; steps toward demobilization, 548; use of wireless telephone, 548; removal of "static" from wireless telegraphy, 549; cancellation of war contracts, 548; abolition of censorship, 550.**
- United States the Greatest Insurance Company, 241.**
- United States Protests Against Terrorism in Russia, 287.**
- United States Navy, Growth of Commissioned Personnel of, 484.**
- United States Naval Academy, 487.**
- UNITED STATES, correspondence with Germany regarding armistice, 368.**
- United States Navy, Part Played by, in Transportation of Troops Overseas, 409.**
- UNITED STATES, reply to Austria's peace note, 67.**
- UNITED STATES, German plotting in, 162.**
- UNITED STATES, recognizes the Czechoslovaks as a belligerent nation, 85.**
- URAL Government comes to understanding with Samara assembly, 76.**
- URITZKI, Moses, Russian official, assassinated, 74.**

V

- Vagaries of Inventive Minds, 143.**
- Valenciennes, Recapture of, by British and Canadians, 453.**
- Vardar River, Scene of Allied Offensive Against Bulgarians, 19.**
- Vanban, Built Fortifications of Le Quesnoy, 455.**
- Venice Bombed by Austrian Aviators, 62.**
- VERSAILLES, Interallied Conference meets at, 356.**
- VERVINS abandoned by the Germans, 559.**
- VICTORIA Cross, distribution of, 8.**
- Villeveque, Retaken in British Offensive, 15.**
- Virton, Occupied by American Troops, 375.**
- Vocational Training for Wounded and Crippled Soldiers, 123.**
- VOLOGDA, anti-Bolshevist movements in, 76.**
- VOLOGODSKY, Peter V., head of All-Russian Provisional Government, 502.**
- VON GRUMEL (Gen.), German armistice envoy, 359.**
- VORWAERTS, subsidized by German Government, 194.**

W

- WAGENFUHR, (Capt.) Paul, who sank the Belgian Prince, lost with U-boat, 113.**
- WAR aims, see PEACE.**
- WAR, cost of, to U. S., 550.**
- War in Its Last Phases, 423.**
- WAR industries, pooling of, 190-b.**
- WAR, origin of, in Austria's ultimatum to Serbia, 554; Serbia's reply, 556.**
- WAR, virtual ending of, 355.**
- War Risk Insurance Bureau, 241.**
- War Surgery, 119.**
- Water Supply Furnished Jerusalem by British Engineers, 4.**
- Welsh Troops Distinguish Themselves in Fighting Near Bapaume, 23.**
- WEMYSS, Admiral, 356.**
- WESTCOTT, Allan, "Sinkings of American Merchantmen," 104.**
- WEYGAND, (Gen.) Maxime, present at armistice negotiations, 360.**
- What Canada Has Done in the War, 500.**

WHITE, (Chief Justice) Edward Douglas, at Congress session where armistice was announced, 361.

WHITTLESEY (Maj.), leader of battalion lost in Argonne Forest, 233.

Who's Who in General Pershing's Army, 52.

WIERINGEN, Holland, place of internment of German Crown Prince, 389.

Wilhelmshaven, Naval Revolt at, 387.

WILLIAM of Urach, Duke, selected as King of Lithuania, 77.

WILSON, (Gen. Sir) Henry, 356.

WILSON, (President) Woodrow, reply of, to German Chancellor's request for armistice, 246; Germany's reply to through Solf, 247; second letter of on Oct. 14, 247; reply to Austria-Hungary's note requesting armistice, 249; statement of peace aims at Metropolitan Opera House, New York, Sept. 27, 1918, 251; announces signing of armistice to Congress, 362; Thanksgiving Proclamation, 551.

WINTERFELD (Gen.) German armistice envoy, 359.

WIRELESS telegraphy, removal of "static," 549.

Wireless Telephone, Proved Merits, 548.

WOODS, Leslie G., among first Americans killed in the war, 2.

Wounded Soldiers, Medical Science Doing Wonderful Work for, 119.

Wounded and Crippled Soldiers, Vocational Training for, 123.

Y

YPRES, scene of ruin and desolation, 439.

YUSUPOFF, Prince, connection of, with assassination of Rasputin, 306.

Z

Zeebrugge, Occupied by the Allies, 352.

ZEPFEL, military Judge who presided at trial of Capt. Fryatt, 461.

ZIMAND, S., "Land Settlement for Ex-Service Men," 318.

ZIONISTIC State to be favored by France and Great Britain, 270.

Portraits

ALBERT, King of the Belgians, 354-355.

BARRY, (Maj. Gen.) Thomas H., 190-190-a.

BEATTY, (Admiral Sir) David, 354-355.

BORIS III., Czar of Bulgaria, 418-419.

BULLARD, (Maj. Gen.) Robert Lee, Frontispiece.

CARLETON, (Maj. Gen.) Guy, 418-419.

CLEMENCEAU, (Premier) Georges, 354-355.

CROWDER, (Maj. Gen.) Enoch H., Frontispiece.

DANGLIS (Gen.), 190-190-a.

DAVID, (Dr.) Eduard, 418-419.

DAVIS, John W., 190.

DEBENEY (Gen.), 15.

DIAZ, (Gen.) Armando, 354-355.

DISTINGUISHED Allied Leaders, 190-190-a.

EBERT, Friedrich W., 418-419.

ERZBERGER, Mathias, 418-419.

ESPEREY, (Gen.) Franchet d', 190-190-a.

FARNSWORTH, (Maj. Gen.) C. S., 14.

FOCH, (Marshal) Ferdinand, 354-355.

FOCH, (Marshal) Ferdinand, 190-190-a.

GEORGE V., King of England, 354-355.

GERMAN War Makers, 418-419.

GRAVES, (Maj. Gen.) William S., 30.

GROENER (Lieut. Gen.), 418-419.

GROTE-HUTCHESON (Maj. Gen.), 190-190-a.

HAIG, (Field Marshal Sir) Douglas, 354-355.

HARRIS, (Maj. Gen.) Peter C., 418.

HAY, (Maj. Gen.) William H., 418-419.

HELMICK, (Maj. Gen.) E. A., 190-190-a.

HINES, (Maj. Gen.) John L., 190-190-a.

JEKOW (Gen.), 418-419.

JOFFRE, (Marshal) Joseph, 354-355.

JOHNSTON, (Maj. Gen.) W. T., 190-190-a.

KAROLYI, (Count) Michael, 418-419.

KENLY, (Maj. Gen.) W. L., 190-190-a.

LANSING, (Secretary) Robert, 354-355.

LEJEUNE, (Maj. Gen.) John A., 418-419.

LLOYD GEORGE, (Premier) David, 354-355.

MANOURY (Gen.), 190-190-a.

MASARYK, (Prof.) Thomas G., 46.

MAXIMILIAN (Prince) of Baden, 190-190-a.

MCCAIN, (Maj. Gen.) Henry P., 190-190-a.

McRAE, (Maj. Gen.) J. N., 14.

MOHAMMED VI., Sultan of Turkey, 418-419.

MORTON, (Maj. Gen.) C. G., 14.

ORLANDO, (Premier) Vittorio, 354-355.

OTANI, (Gen.) Kikuzo, 31.

PERSHING, (Gen.) John J., 354-355.

POINCARE, Raymond, President of France, 354-355.

SANDERS, (Gen.) Limon von, 190-190-a.

SCHEIDEMANN, Philipp, 418-419.

SCHRADEER, (Lieut. Capt.) von, 418-419.

SCHWIEGER (Lieut. Capt.), 418-419.

SEMENOFF (Gen.), 190-190-a.

SIMS, (Vice Admiral) W. S., 354-355.

SMITH, (Maj. Gen.) W. R., 14.

SOLF, (Dr.) W. S., 418-419.

STEINBAUER (Lieut. Capt.), 418-419.

TOWNSHEND (Maj. Gen.), 418-419.

VALENTINE, (Lieut. Capt.) M., 418-419.

VICTOR EMMANUEL, King of Italy, 354-355.

WAR Industries Board, 418-419.

WEMYSS (Admiral), 418-419.

WEYGAND, (Maj. Gen.) Maxime, 418-419.

WIEGEL, (Maj. Gen.) William, 190-190-a.

WILSON, (President) Woodrow, 354.

WINTERFELD, (Gen.) H. K. A. von, 418-419.

Illustrations

- AMERICAN troops in Alsace celebrating Independence Day, 79.
 AMERICAN soldiers in Paris July 4, 1918, 94.
 ARRAS Cathedral, 47.
 BETHUNE, France, in ruins, 418-419.
 BOURESCHES, captured by Americans, 142.
 CELEBRATION in Rome of American Independence Day, 78.
 CHARGE of marines at Belleau Wood, 190-190-a.
 CHATEAU-THIERRY after the battle, 143.
 FRENCH airplane releasing bombs, 190-190-a.
 FRENCH decorating graves of American soldiers, 418-419.
 GOURAUD (Gen.), and army, 126.
 GERMAN cemetery at St. Mihiel, 418-419.
 GLIMPSES of underground warfare, 95.
 GUN that fired first American shot, 418-419.
 HAULING heavy gun across river, 190-190-a.
 JAPANESE at Vladivostok, 190-190-a.
 LIBERTY Loan parade on Fifth Avenue, New York, 190-a.
 LUSITANIA, 145.
 MAMMOTH gun that shelled Paris, 418-419.
 MODERN soldiers clothed in armor, 127.
 NO MAN'S LAND at night, 190-190-a.
 PRESIDENT WILSON drawing first capsule in draft, 238.
 RUINED church at Albert, France, 418-419.
 SHATTERED church at Ribecourt, 418-419.
 SPEEDY French tanks, 418-419.
 SQUARE in Merville, 418-419.
 TOWN of Nazereth, 190-190-a.
 U. S. infantryman's equipment, 190-190-a.
 WRECKED railway at Albert, France, 418-419.

Maps

- ALBANIA, 279.
 ARMISTICE, territory occupied under, 366.
 BALKAN front when Bulgaria surrendered, 275.
 BALTIC provinces, 91.
 BRITISH mine barriers in North Sea, 259.
 CAUCASUS, 41.
 CZECHOSLAVOKIA, 88.
 DROCOURT-QUEANT "switch line," 17.
 FLANDERS operations, 204.
 ITALIAN occupation zone, 432.
 ITALY'S final victory, 430.
 LENS to the Aisne, 12-13.
 LUSITANIA, location of sinking, 150.
 LYS salient, 10.
 MACEDONIA, 275.
 MESOPOTAMIA, 271, 328.
 MID-EUROPEAN groups of liberated countries, 493.
 PALESTINE, Syria, and Mesopotamia, 271.
 RETREAT from the Marne, 11.
 ROUTE of German armistice envoys, 358.
 RUSSIAN front, 83, 284, 503.
 ST. MIHIEL salient, 43.
 SIBERIA, 503.
 SOUTHWEST AFRICA, 324.
 TRENCH defense methods, 313, 314.
 TURKISH Empire, 402.
 U-BOAT sinkings chart, 106, 113.
 WESTERN front, 47, 196, 197, 198, 199, 201, 202, 203, 209, 424, 426, 428.

Cartoons

71-190; 331-348; 529-546.

MAJOR GEN. ROBERT LEE BULLARD



Leader of the Americans at Cantigny and Commander of the 2d
American Army Corps
(French Pictorial Service)

MAJOR GEN. ENOCH H. CROWDER



A new portrait of the Provost Marshal General and chief administrator of the Selective Service act

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CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 20, 1918.]

THE improved situation of the Allies which developed at the beginning of the fifth year of the war was so materially enhanced during the month ended Sept. 20 that the doom of the Central Powers to total defeat seemed apparent. That their fate was sealed was practically acknowledged by them when, on Sept. 16, Austria was made the medium of appeal for a "confidential and non-binding conference" as preliminary to a peace congress. This request was immediately rejected by the United States Government, while the European Allies gave unofficial indications that they would follow suit. The unanimous feeling among the Entente Governments, as expressed by authorized spokesmen, was that of an unshakable resolution to hold no peace conferences until all invaded countries had been entirely evacuated, and until the Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest treaties had been annulled; otherwise to force the fighting to unconditional surrender. That this could be accomplished was demonstrated by the continued forward sweep of the allied forces from the English Channel to the Vosges.

Every day throughout the month victory rested with the Allies; over 200,000 prisoners were captured, all territory up to the Hindenburg line was wrested from the enemy, and at numerous points the line was breached to a depth varying from five to fifteen miles, while the American Army, by wiping out the St. Mihiel salient and recovering 155 square miles of territory, held by Germany since 1914, not only removed an old menace, but turned the threat in the other direction—against the German stronghold of Metz, the key to the vital Briey iron mines. To add to the perils of the Central Powers, the offensive launched in Macedonia Sept. 14, by the Serbian-French-British-Greek Armies threatened Bulgaria's hold on Serbia and seriously menaced Bulgaria itself.

The situation in Russia became more encouraging. The allied troops made substantial progress, being received

everywhere with friendly demonstrations, and the real leaders of Russia began to crystallize public action against the Bolsheviks, whose power was fast crumbling. An alliance between the Bolsheviks and Germany followed the publication by the United States Government of documentary proof that in their administration they were the bribed agents of Germany and were deliberately betraying their country for German gold.

The formal recognition of the Czechoslovaks by the United States as an independent nation, with the intimation that a similar recognition would be given the Yugoslavs and Poles by all the allied nations, foreshadowed the complete dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the recasting of the map of Europe as a result of the war.

The resignation of Ambassador Page was announced, and his successor was named. The month brought no other diplomatic changes of importance.

The United States held a registration of all males between 18 and 45 on Sept. 12, and about 13,000,000 were registered without any friction or confusion; it was announced that the first draft would be for youths of 19 and 20 years and for men of 32 to 36 years, inclusive; also that provision would be made for an army of 4,800,000 in 1919, and that a total of \$24,000,000,000 would be the approximate outlay of the United States for army purposes in the year 1918-19. All other war activities in the United States were at high pressure, and the flood of troops to France continued without interruption, 313,000 having been landed in August and a similar number in September.

An important decision was handed down by the Federal court regarding the sinking of the Lusitania, refuting the German assertion that the vessel was armed, and declaring that the catastrophe was a monstrous crime of the German Government. This decision, an important historical document, is printed

in its entirety in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

* * *

AMERICA'S FIRST CASUALTIES

THE United States War Department authorized the following statement on Sept. 4, 1918:

Today is the anniversary of the first casualties in the American Expeditionary Forces. The four men killed and the nine wounded were members of the Medical Department of the army, noncombatants engaged in merciful work.

On Sept. 4, 1917, a German airplane attacked the hospital group at Dannes Camiers, where the members of United States Army Bases No. 5 (Harvard unit, Boston) and No. 12 (Northwestern University, Chicago) were operating British General Hospitals Nos. 11 and 18, respectively. Five bombs fell in or close to the ward barracks, and their explosion resulted in the death or injury of the first members of the American Expeditionary Forces killed by the enemy in the performance of their duty. The names of the killed and wounded follow:

KILLED.—First Lieutenant William Fitzsimmons, Private (first class) Leslie G. Woods, Private (first class) Rudolph Rubine, Jr., Private (first class) Oscar C. Tugo.

WOUNDED.—First Lieutenant Clarence A. McGuire, First Lieutenant Thaddeus D. Smith, First Lieutenant Rae W. Whidden, Private (first class) Elmer C. Sloan, Private (first class) Allen Mason, Private Aubrey S. McLeod, Private John J. Stanton, Private Hirman P. Brower, Private J. D. Ewington.

* * *

THE KEY TO THE WAR

AT Pagny, six miles north of Pont-à-Mousson, on Friday, Sept. 13, the 1st American Army reached a terrain which the French Senator, Henry Bérenger, has called the "key to the war." If Germany had not possessed half of this terrain in 1914 she could never have made war. To be deprived of all of it now would drive her out of the war within three months, for the terrain in question provides the Kaiser's armaments with 80 per cent. of their steel.

This "key to the war" is the Bassin de Briey, the richest iron-producing region in the world. In 1916 the mines of the United Kingdom produced 13,494,658 tons of iron ore and those of the United States 39,434,797. In that year

the Bassin de Briey gave nearly 42,000,000—all to Germany.

The Bassin de Briey runs from the Belgian-Luxemburg frontier up the left bank of the Moselle at a mean distance of ten miles from the river. Its greatest length is thirty-five miles, its greatest width is twenty-one, and it has an area of 225 square miles. Once it was all French, but the treaty of Frankfurt, in May, 1871, ran the frontier line in such a way that Germany got nearly half.

When the present war began, 15,000,000 tons of ore out of her total production of 22,000,000 annually came to France from her part of the Bassin de Briey. Of Germany's total annual production of 28,000,000 tons 21,000,000 came to her from her part of the Bassin de Briey. Every year since 1914 Germany has added the French share to her own. She has also mined every year 6,000,000 tons from the terrain where it laps over into Luxemburg. All this gives her a total tonnage of 49,000,000, all but 7,000,000 of which comes from the Bassin de Briey.

* * *

AMBASSADOR DAVIS

WALTER HINES PAGE, who held the post of United States Ambassador at the Court of St. James's for six years, resigned in September on account of ill-health, and John W. Davis of West Virginia, Solicitor General of the United States, was named as his successor. Mr. Davis, at the time of his appointment, was in Switzerland at the head of the American delegation to confer with a German mission on the treatment and exchange of prisoners of war. He had been elected to Congress from the First West Virginia District, and had been appointed Solicitor General by President Wilson in April, 1913. Mr. Davis is a lawyer, 45 years of age, a graduate of Washington and Lee University, and a resident of Clarksburg, W. Va.

* * *

COLONIES AS WAR ASSETS

GERMANY appeared late upon the field of colonial expansion; her first colony was Togoland, acquired in 1884. From that date until the beginning of the war she had acquired in colonies

and dependencies an area of 1,027,820 square miles, with a native population of 12,041,603 and a white population of 25,000. The oldest retained French colony is Guiana, dating from 1626. Today her colonial possessions include 3,449,614 square miles and a population of 40,702,528, about 1,500,000 of whom are white. Great Britain, whose colonial empire dates from the fifteenth century, has a colonial or dependent population of 400,000,000, spread over an area of 12,624,435 square miles.

Germany's colonial empire is now occupied by the Allies. In thirty years it had developed none of those features or resources which have been such a big war asset for the colonies of France and England. The material in foodstuffs alone that has been sent forth from British and French possessions for consumption by the home countries is almost incalculable.

Of the 7,500,000 soldiers and male war workers recruited by Great Britain 1,900,000 came from her oversea possessions. The latest number of the *Journal Officiel* tells what the French colonies have given. From 1914 till July, 1918, Algeria and Tunis had given 340,000 troops; the Sudan, Senegal, Tonkin, and Madagascar, 250,000; the French West Indies, 31,000. To this total of 621,000 fighting men should be added 238,000 laborers.

* * *

RUSSIAN AND FRENCH REVOLUTIONS

IN an attempt to draw a parallel between the Russian Revolution and the French Revolution of 1789 historians have too often sought for similarities where only contrasts existed, for a material comparison where only a psychological one is possible. Both revolutions were inevitable and both had been consciously and unconsciously prepared in a similar fashion. Russia also had her Montesquieus, her Voltaires, and her Rousseaus; a peasantry which wanted land of its own; an artisan class which desired to possess factories; a bourgeoisie which craved to share the national life with the nobility; a nobility which lived off the laborers and the small capitalists, and for this reason

stood as a wall between them and royalty, forever hiding the truth from the latter.

In each country an unexpected accident precipitated revolution. Both Paris and Petrograd wanted bread. The National Guard declined to fire on the Paris mob—the Cossacks on the Petrograd mob. The monarchies were overthrown, and in each case the intellectuals and the bourgeoisie found themselves trying to establish a responsible Government, without any clear conception of what that Government should be. They appealed to the law. There was none. Knowing the monarchs were not to blame, but that it was the system which was at fault, they shielded them. Meanwhile, the masses became articulate. They mistook freedom for license. From words they passed to action as undisciplined as had been their intellectual evolution.

France had her States General; Russia her Duma. France tried to have a Constituent Assembly; so did Russia. France had her Mirabeau; Russia, her Lvoff and Kerensky. Then came the coup de main of Aug. 10, 1792, in Paris, and the coup d'état of Nov. 7, 1917, in Russia. In France the mountain gained the upper hand. In Russia, the Bolsheviks. Both came from the depths, bringing with them the illiteracy and the bestial cravings of generations of intellectual asphyxia.

So ended the first phase. Then France had her Danton and Marat; Russia, her Trotzky and Lenine. Louis XVI. was executed; so was Nicholas II. The fate of the Dauphin has been a mystery of the ages; the fate of the Czarevich seems likely to become another. Legalized terror then reigned in each country. Marat then had his Charlotte Corday. There have been several Charlotte Cordays seeking Lenine's life.

So ended the second phase. Then the Terror reigned again. It devoured itself in France. It is now feeding upon itself in Russia. In France it passed with the execution of Robespierre and the Ninth of Thermidor. Behind the back of Robespierre constructive forces had

been at work which were to save France. Whether Russia is to be inflicted with a Robespierre before she can be saved is in the lap of the gods. There are forces, however, at work in Russia which were unknown in France and in her age of revolution and regeneration.

* * *

WANTON DESTRUCTION

AT Château-Thierry an American journalist, Don Martin, visited a large number of looted and wrecked private residences. As indicative of the general looting and wanton destruction which was revealed everywhere in that region, he sets forth these items of what the Germans did in one single home:

Threw an ink bottle against a seven-foot mirror, afterward splashing ink on the walls and ceiling.

Jammed a bayonet through the works of five handsome marble clocks.

Tore covers and blocks of pages from costly volumes and strew more than 500 books about the floor, practically ruining a library which was very evidently the pride of a booklover.

Tore a Teddy bear in two; pulled arms and legs from large dolls; smashed a doll cradle and generally wrecked a child's nursery.

Smashed all the china in a cabinet and a cupboard and shattered expensive glassware.

Slit oil paintings and stamped holes in pictures, which had been torn from the walls and left on the floor.

Broke the keys on a costly piano.

Knocked tops off vases and fancy urns.

Slit tapestries and curtains to ribbons.

Threw bottles against handsomely decorated walls and poured various kinds of sauces and other liquids on expensive rugs and carpets.

Rifled every drawer in the house; blew open a small safe; threw trinkets and fancy articles of wearing apparel all over.

Wrecked beds, dresses, and mirrors in all the sleeping rooms.

* * *

NOYON IN HISTORY

NOYON, which was recaptured by the French in September, is famed in history. Before Europe entered the Christian era Noyon, then Noviomagus Veromanduorum, was the seat of determined opposition to all-conquering Rome. In turn it was the field of stirring battle between Gaul and Roman, Roman and German barbarian, Frank and German, Frank and Frank, French

man and Englishman, and now between Frenchmen, with English allies, and the German. The currents of history have washed high around this little city of France.

Charlemagne was crowned there in 768. Pepin the Short held his coronation there in 752. Thus the roots of the united, first-rank great power, France, reach back for their beginning to this city. Noyon was plundered and destroyed by the Normans in 859. It was ravaged by the English and Burgundians and the whole country round about completely devastated during the Hundred Years' War. It was captured and sacked by the Spaniards in 1552, and again in 1594, when Henry IV. expelled the Leaguers. It was Christianized at the close of the third century by that saint of many legends, St. Quentin. John Calvin, the great reformer, was born there in 1509.

* * *

DRINKING WATER FOR JERUSALEM

WHAT the Turks could not do at Jerusalem in 400 years of rule, the British engineers accomplished in ten weeks. The picturesque water carrier is passing. The germs that infested his leathern water bags no longer endanger the lives of the citizens, and the deadly perils which lurk in cistern water have been to a large extent removed. For its water Jerusalem used to rely mainly upon the Winter rainfall to fill its cisterns. Practically every house has its underground reservoir. But many had fallen into disrepair, and most of them required cleaning. To supplement the cistern supply the Mosque of Omar reservoir halved with Bethlehem the water which flowed from near Solomon's Pool down an aqueduct constructed by Roman engineers under Herod before the Saviour was born. This was not nearly sufficient, nor was it so constant a supply as that provided by our army engineers. They went further afield. They found a group of springheads in an absolutely clean gathering ground on the hills yielding some 14,000 gallons an hour, and this water, which was running to waste, is lifted to the top of a hill, from which it flows by gravity through a long pipe line into Jerusalem. Supplies run direct to

the hospitals, and at standpipes all over the city the inhabitants take as much as they desire. The water consumption of the people has become ten times what it was last year.

* * *

"GASLESS" SUNDAYS FOR AUTOMOBILES.

THE Fuel Administration on Aug. 27 called upon the public in States east of the Mississippi River to cease the using of all classes of automobiles, (with a few named exceptions,) motor cycles, and motor boats on Sundays until further notice, as a gasoline conservation measure. The action was taken to meet a threatened shortage of gasoline for shipment overseas, created by the increased domestic demands and extensive military operations in France. The owners and users of automobiles complied with the request with wonderful unanimity, and the strange spectacle was witnessed of city streets and country roads entirely empty of their usual Sunday traffic. This continued to be true each Sunday while the suspension lasted. Fuel Administration officials estimated that the saving of gasoline each Sunday was about 8,000,000 gallons.

* * *

THE GREAT TASK OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

MAJOR JAMES H. PERKINS, head of the American Red Cross Commission overseas, made the following statement in August regarding the activities of the Red Cross in Europe:

In the last push we took care of practically all the American wounded in the French war zone. In and about Paris we have established 7,000 beds. Twice we have given sums of £250,000 to the British Red Cross, and we have contributed to the funds of the Scottish Women's Hospitals. In every direction we work with the French authorities. Through our home service, an organization that has branches in every town in America, over 300,000 families of soldiers have been helped in some way, and similar work is being done for French soldiers.

To their Red Cross we have given 10,000,000 francs, and through our Civilian Relief work we are assisting the French authorities to establish relief centres to provide supplies for refugees and to bestow upon them the means to start life again. About 1,000 refugees a day were coming through Switzerland, many of

whom were traveling twenty miles from their homes into unknown country, not knowing where they were to find shelter. The work of feeding, comforting, clothing, and helping to establish such numbers of people is stupendous. Of the courage, tenacity of purpose, and bravery of these French exiles one must speak in the highest terms of admiration. In one month 254,000 French civilians were assisted by the Civil Affairs Department, in conjunction with the American Red Cross. Children's welfare centres are part of the vast undertaking, schools for the training of district nurses are started, and in various directions succor is given to the afflicted.

The American Field Canteen Service is another branch of our industry; 1,500,000 meals were served in July to the troops. Every wounded man who goes to one of these centres is supplied with food and drink. As to nurses, there were 20,000 fully trained and registered in active service last Summer, and a campaign is being carried on to raise the number to 25,000 before Dec. 31.

* * *

MALVY'S PARTING WORDS

M. MALVY, former Minister of the Interior, who was banished from France for five years, before his departure for Spain on Aug. 11, 1918, addressed a letter to the President of the Senate in which he said:

I have been expelled by a judgment which is at one and the same time an attack on the Constitution and the laws of the sacred right of defense. Nevertheless, desirous at this grave hour, when the fate of France is being decided, that her effort should not be weakened by any agitation, I obey the order made against me. I leave France, but I do so crying aloud that I do not and will never accept this political judgment, which turns on a question of policy.

He then states that his real crime dates from 1917, when he acted as umpire in the strikes, which he was at one time during the proceedings accused of having provoked. From this time, he says, date also the complaints against him. In the eyes of his opponents his real crime was that he had obliged the masters to meet the representatives of their employes in order to satisfy their just claims. He remains faithful "to that policy of national unity and of trust in the people, convinced that it was and remains the only policy capable of maintaining that social peace which I am happy to have

been able to maintain without trouble or incident during the forty-two months of my Ministry. This social peace is a condition indispensable to victory. I love my country too much to do anything to-day which could hurt her. France above everything!" He is going away, the ex-Minister continues, his heart bruised by injustice, but strong in the knowledge he has been wronged. Exhorting those who may be counted his partisans, he says:

To all those who are with me in this cruel trial I address from the bottom of my heart a passionate appeal that they should continue to give, as before, the best of themselves for the national defense, which is more than ever inseparable from the defense of the republic. Let the victory of France, which must be that of right and the independence of peoples, rest first in our cares. With it will sound the hour of retaliation, justice, and democracy. It is my consolation, as I put my foot into exile, to foresee both in* the near future.

* * *

BRITISH VOTES OF CREDIT

THE following are the details of the votes of credit of Great Britain since the war began:

1914-15	£362,000,000
1915-16	1,420,000,000
1916-17	2,010,000,000
1917-18	2,450,000,000
1918-19 (to date)	1,800,000,000
	<hr/>
	£8,042,000,000

This total, translated into dollars, is \$40,210,000,000.

The vote of \$3,500,000,000 by Parliament Aug. 2, 1918, brought the total for the current year to \$9,000,000,000. The debts due Great Britain from war loans on Aug. 1, 1918, were as follows: The Dominions, \$1,042,500,000; Russia, \$2,940,000,000; France, \$2,010,000,000; Italy, \$1,565,000,000; Belgium, Serbia, and Greece, \$595,000,000.

* * *

THE CZAR'S DEATH

THE manner of the Czar's death is a mystery. It was at first reported that he had been tried and executed on a tribunal's order. A telegram from Archangel, dated Aug. 16, stated:

No trace was found of the body of the Czar Nicholas when the Czechoslovaks captured Ekaterinburg on July 26, according to information brought to Mr. Francis

by an officer of the Czech Army, who has arrived at Archangel with dispatches from the American Consul at Ekaterinburg, after a long and perilous trip through two lines of hostile Bolsheviks. The officer said there was no definite information as to how the Czar's body had been disposed of, but the report to which most credence was given was that it had been taken to the deepest pit in the Ekaterinburg coal mine, where it was destroyed. The execution of the Czar took place on July 16. So far as the officer had been able to learn, the Commandant of the Ekaterinburg Soviet, who was reported to be a sailor, killed the Czar with a revolver. A Red Guard, who had first been commanded to kill the Czar, refused, as also did a Lettish firing party. The Commandant then drew his revolver and shot the Czar dead. The officer, however, had heard many other versions of the affair.

* * *

THE German defeats in the neighborhood of Armentières involved a German officer who is perhaps better known to the reading public of the allied nations than almost any of the German Generals. He is General Bernhardt, the author of the famous book which so frankly revealed Germany's war aims. He commands the 55th Corps of the 6th Army, which has been steadily driven back by the British across the plain of the Lys toward Armentières. The 55th Corps was badly hit in endeavoring to hold the Merville salient confronting the forest of Nieppe. It lost many positions and was badly shaken by the enfilading fire of the British batteries as it retired.

* * *

THE famous cathedral St. Gervais at Soissons was badly battered by German guns in September. Enormous breaches were made in the splendid façade. The upper gallery was three-quarters destroyed, while the lower gallery was wrecked. The statues fell one by one from the tower. The ancient Abbey of St. Jean-des-Mignes, in which Thomas à Becket spent several years, was practically destroyed. Both towers were decapitated, while the façade was pierced in many places. The vault fell in, and the rich ornamentation of the left tower disappeared, with the exception of the statues of two saints that remained facing the enemy.

GERMAN USE OF POISON GAS

THE report that the German Government had proposed through the Swiss Red Cross organization the abolition of the use of poison gas is nullified by the following order of the 7th German Army, issued in August, 1918. It shows that the fullest possible use is to be made of poison gas:

In order that he may have at his disposal a certain number of officers and non-commissioned officers of the active army (that is, professional soldiers who will remain in the army) who are familiar with the working of the gas service and who can be employed in the formations of this service, which it is intended to retain, the Minister of War wishes to know the names of competent officers and non-commissioned officers who have distinguished themselves in the gas service during the war and wish to remain in it after the war. Officers and non-commissioned officers of gas units now attached to the 7th Army who wish to do this are invited to send in their names to their military superiors before July 25, mentioning their unit, rank, and seniority, and also the branch of the gas service which they know and the kind of work for which they are particularly suited. Applicants mutilated in consequence of wounds should indicate the extent to which their capacity has been reduced by their injuries.

* * *

PRUSSIA AND THE SWORD

IN 1860 Bavaria was striving to bring about the cohesion of the German States and the regeneration of her neighbor Prussia by intellectual, moral suasion. Prussia was trying to do the same thing with the sword, and she and Bavaria clashed. Today King Ludwig, who in 1866 was an officer in the 2d Regiment of Uhlans, limps about with a Prussian bullet in his body—a memento of that year. It may have been a recollection of what subsequently forced Bavaria into the Prussian fold that caused the editor of the *Münchener Post* to write as follows on July 18:

If Prussia had known how to conquer the materialism of her ruling classes and brought about the triumph of a high ethical ideal of duty, she would have conquered Germany morally during this war. But "Prussia must not have moral conquests," decree the chiefs who have everywhere erected altars for the worship of the sword and have recently once more set forth their arrogant desires for

the present and their haughty hopes for the future. In three sittings the Prussian House of Lords made war on every fresh and new idea. It opposed the change of personal Government into a Parliamentary system, the introduction of universal suffrage, a peace by agreement, &c. Count Behr-Behrenhoff made a pathetic speech against the resolution of the Reichstag of July 19.

Yes, Prussia can renounce moral conquests! Forward! Conquer by force, by the sword, by blood, and down with ideas of moral conquest! And yet! Last session the President announced to the entire world that the ethical ideal of duty was born in Prussia, that the State of the Hohenzollerns was based on the ideas of duty and authority, and that this State, therefore, must be the centre of the German Empire. Quite the contrary was said by Frederick William IV.: "Prussia ought to resolve herself into Germany and the Germans." Instead of this Germany has humbly crystallized around Prussia.

* * *

THE United States Navy has built a base hospital on the Irish coast on the grounds of an old estate.

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THE AMERICAN SOLDIER'S MARCHING EQUIPMENT

THE full marching equipment of the American soldier weighs seventy pounds. Over the shoulders, attached so as to rest on the back, are shelter half, haversack, trench helmet, trench tool, and blanket roll. Strapped to the ammunition belt are canteen and first-aid package at the right and sheathed bayonet at the left.

The mess kit, containing knife, fork, spoon, cup, and a combination frying pan and plate, all of aluminium, is suspended at one end of a strap, which passes behind the neck and, crossing over the chest, hangs below the waist. On the other end of the strap are the special tools of the soldier's branch of the army—the wires and pincers of the Signal Corps or the wrench and jack of the engineer.

The shelter half is so named because it makes half of a tent in which there is just room for two men to bunk. Rations and personal belongings, such as soap, toothbrush, cigarettes, and underwear are carried in the haversack. Most extra clothing, however, is put in a dun-

nage bag, which travels in a supply wagon. Blankets are rolled in a waterproof slicker and the canteen is incased in a canvas cover, which keeps the water cool.

* * *

ONE THOUSAND Victoria Crosses have been awarded since the decoration was instituted by Queen Victoria at the time of the Indian Mutiny, when 182 crosses were awarded. In the Crimean War 111 V. C.'s were won; in the South African war 78, in the Zulu war 23, and in the Afghan war 16. Nearly 200 were awarded in the present war up to September, 1916, and the thousandth on the roll was obtained by Driver Dalziel, an Australian. It is calculated that not more than half the recipients of the honor during the last four years are now alive.

* * *

THE National Industrial Conference Board asserts that the cost of living between July, 1914, and July, 1918, increased in the United States 50 to 55 per cent. The increases found for the different items that go to make up the budget of the average family were: Food, 62 per cent.; rent, 15 per cent.; clothing, 77 per cent.; fuel and light, 45 per cent.; sundries, 50 per cent.

* * *

CROPS THAT HELPED TO SAVE ENGLAND INFORMATION collected on June 4 shows that the total arable area in England and Wales in 1918 was 12,398,730 acres, representing an increase of 1,152,620 acres, or 10 per cent. over the arable area of 1917. This is the largest area returned for the last twenty years. The area under permanent grass is 14,588,900 acres, a decrease of 1,246,470 acres on the year. The total area under crops and grass thus amounts to 26,987,630 acres, as compared with 27,081,480 acres in 1917. The greater part of the grass land plowed up has been placed under wheat and oats. The increase in the area under wheat is 638,260 acres, or 33 per cent., and the total under this crop in 1918 amounts to 2,556,740 acres, which is the largest since 1884. Potatoes increased

25 per cent. over 1917; the number of horses increased 3,000; cows and heifers increased 113,000; beef cattle were 27,000 less than in 1917.

* * *

NEARLY 1,000,000 men, or half the railroad employes in the United States, received increased pay as from Jan. 1, 1918. The men affected by this increase were those who did not share in the previous raising of wages, and consisted mainly of unorganized workers drawing relatively low pay. The total annual increase in wages was thereby brought up to nearly \$500,000,000 since the beginning of Government control.

* * *

PEACE IDEAS OF GERMANY'S CHIEF SEAPORT

THE following resolutions were passed May 19 by the Corporation of Hamburg by unanimous vote, except of the Socialists, who voted nay:

Having regard to the empire's financial situation and to the position of the Federal States, sorely tried by war, we propose that the Senate should request the Federal Council to press at the forthcoming conclusion of peace that the following points shall be conceded, in addition to satisfactory guarantees:

(1) A sufficient war indemnity from our enemies, for which the guaranteed delivery of raw materials may eventually be substituted;

(2) The formation of great colonial possessions entirely corresponding to Germany's needs;

(3) An effective guarantee of the just German claims on foreign countries and the restoration of all rights stipulated by contracts relating to landed property, concessions, &c., appropriated during the war in enemy foreign countries;

(4) The restoration of German trade by the defeat of all possible efforts of the enemy to boycott Germany;

(5) An adequate guarantee for the free and unrestricted traffic of German ships on all seas, and particularly the granting of full equality to these ships in all enemy ports.

Having regard to the gigantic and irreparable losses, both of blood and treasure, which every further day of war involves, efforts must be made that on our side war should not be prolonged owing to demands the fulfillment of which is not an absolutely necessary condition for our existence or for our complete freedom of development.

Germany's Blackest Month

Her Armies Driven Back to the Hindenburg Line,
Which Is Flanked by the Allies—Americans
Wipe Out the St. Mihiel Salient

[PERIOD FROM AUG. 18 TO SEPT. 18, 1918.]

WITH constant losses of men, material, and terrain on the side of the enemy, the narrative of the month is a continuation of that of the preceding. The pushing back of the enemy to the Hindenburg line, however, has developed two new features. To the north and the south of the line Foch has been able to develop salients of his own which penetrate to the rear of the German line of departure of March 21. This line was also penetrated at its centre near St. Quentin on Sept. 18.

On Sept. 12 the 1st American Army began operations which ultimately annihilated the vertex of the St. Mihiel salient. Here approaches have been gained leading to the iron region of the Bassin de Briey on the north and to the fortifications of Metz on the east. There is German authority for the fact that without the steel products derived from the Bassin de Briey the enemy could not continue the war beyond three months.

A larger aspect of the St. Mihiel offensive concerns lines of communication vital to the enemy. This links it up with the operations from Flanders to Champagne. All occupied France is fed by two great trunk systems with many lateral lines running from the bases in Belgium and Northern Germany down to the front. One system runs from Lille southeast to Rheims. That covers Flanders, Artois, Picardy, and Aisne. The other runs northwest from Metz to Mézières, near the Belgian frontier. The Americans pushing back the St. Mihiel salient were on Sept. 18 a few miles from the latter, which feeds the Germans in Champagne, Argonne, and before Verdun.

There is no doubt that Ludendorff's plans for an orderly, economic retreat to the Hindenburg line, or beyond, have been seriously compromised by the con-

stant pressure exercised by Foch and his consummate skill in enveloping positions which had been fortified for frontal attacks. The enemy has lost 80,000 prisoners and 250 guns since the last week in August, making a total of 200,000 prisoners and 2,250 guns since July 18. His divisions available for work on the Western front have been reduced from 204 to 196. As the month closes there comes the news that twenty divisions have been disbanded in order to fill gaps in others. The number of troops to a division has gradually dropped in the last two years from 20,000 to less than 13,000. Many refitted German divisions now sent back to the front have scarcely 8,000 men.

AMERICANS AT ST. MIHIEL

On Sept. 12 the 1st American Army to be mobilized in France, operating under the American Commander in Chief, General Pershing, began an assault against the famous St. Mihiel salient, which for four years had enveloped the Plain of the Woevre, with its bridgehead on the Meuse, and, standing as guardian to the great iron fields stretching north through the Bassin de Briey to the Belgian-Luxemburg frontier, had remained as an outpost to the twenty-eight forts of Metz in the bowl of the Moselle. Its presence, together with Metz, prevented any attempt to invade German Lorraine from the lines left by Castelnau in September, 1914, when he withdrew with the 2d French Army across the border.

General Pershing's offensive had been prepared with consummate skill, with vast resources of men and material. His artillery preparation is said to have been the most scientifically concentrated on record. The 1,000 tanks which opened the way for the infantry and later for the cavalry were operated according to

tactics long in experimentation but never before used in actual warfare.

In a week he had recovered an area of nearly 200 square miles, menacing the Bassin de Briey, which provides the German armaments with 80 per cent. of their steel, on the north, and the forts of Metz on the east. He had released the Verdun-Toul-Nancy railway and was less than fifteen miles from the great German trunk line which runs from Metz west to Mézières. He had captured over 20,000 prisoners, over 100 guns.

The principal attack was made north from the southern leg of the salient, where for eight months American soldiers had been attending the school of the trenches. This line runs through a marshy and gullied plain, protected on the west, south and southeast by strong French fortifications. Another attack was made from the Heights of the Meuse to the northwest, between Dommartin and Fresnes. At the same time the French wiped out the enemy's bridgehead at St. Mihiel. [See map, Page 43.]

In the first day the invaders overran the new railway which the Germans had built from Thiaucourt down to St. Mihiel as a branch to that from Metz. In the second they crossed the angle, leaving the space within, some 100 square miles, to be thrashed out by cavalry, while their front ran northwest and southeast from Fresnes through Herbeville, Hattonchatel, St. Benoît, Xsmmes, Jaulny, Norroy, thence east to the Moselle.

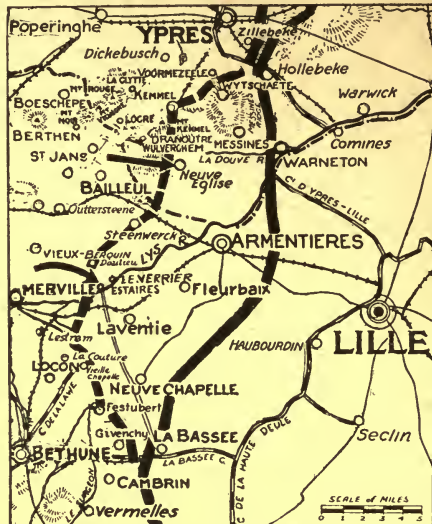
On Sept. 15 the guns of Metz began to open fire on our right wing, and the centre pressed forward for a distance of three miles on a thirty-three-mile front. Up to this date the Germans had offered no stubborn resistance. They had so far employed only six divisions; now, on Sept. 16, their line began to stiffen, and the Berlin official reports spoke of fierce artillery duels and the repulse of enemy assaults. On the 17th the Americans gained points at Ronvaux, Manheulles, Pintheville, Haumont, and north of Vandières. Traction guns at Pont-à-Mousson overlooking the Moselle Basin from the south, and others moved up on the Thiaucourt railway from Toul, began to engage the enemy's forts at Metz.

Sept. 18 was a day given over princi-

pally to gun and aircraft duels, with consolidation of our lines at Fresnes and Haumont. All along the line one and one-half miles to the northeast the Germans were concentrating guns and men.

FLANDERS TO CHAMPAGNE

A consideration of the month's events on the rest of the front reduces itself to the simple proposition of showing



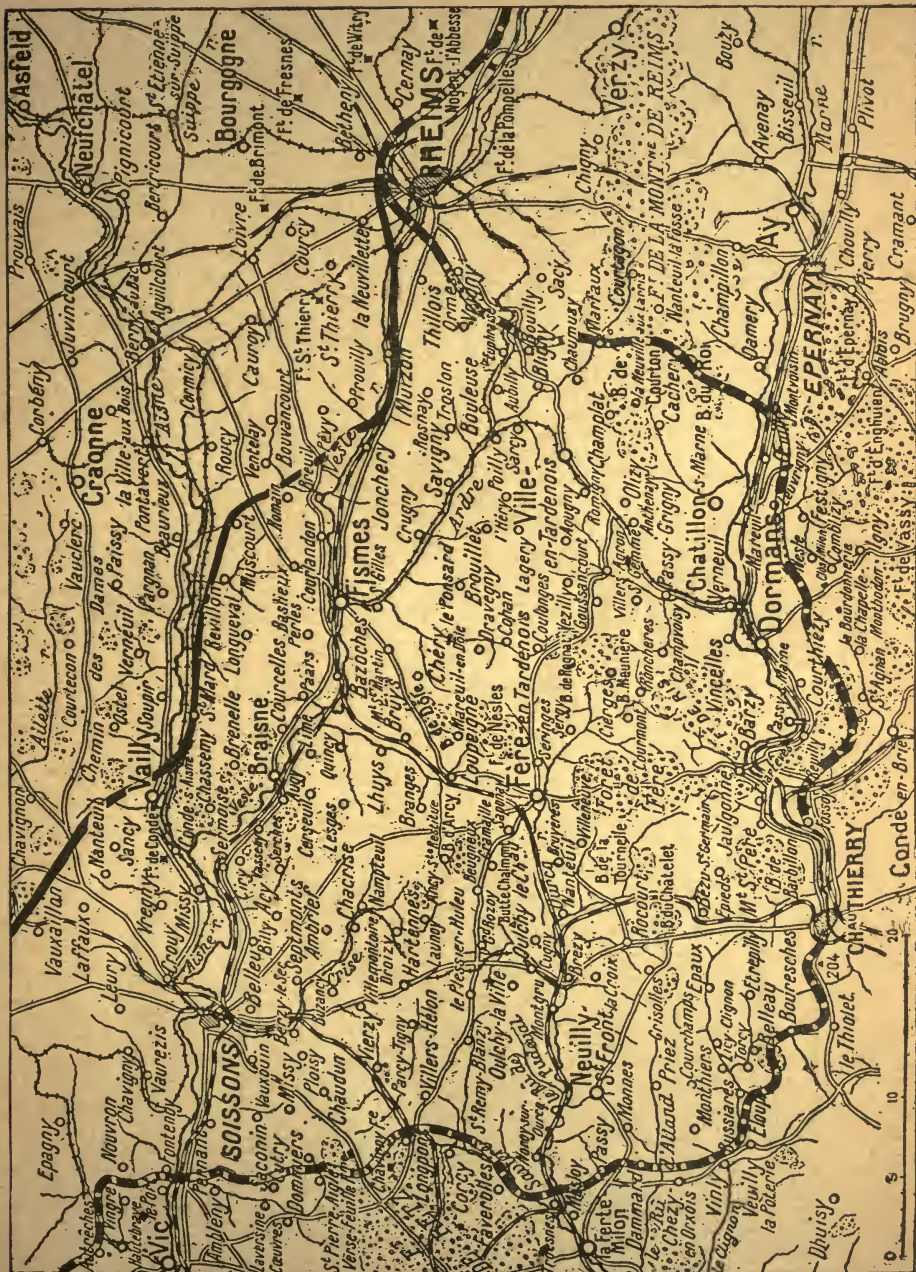
THE DIMINISHING LYS SALIENT—ARROWS INDICATE PRINCIPAL POINTS OF BRITISH ADVANCE

what Foch has done to overcome the advantages gained by Ludendorff through the five phases of the great offensive which reached its maximum expression on July 18, when the initiative passed suddenly to Foch by his surprise flank attack upon the Marne salient between Soissons and Château-Thierry.

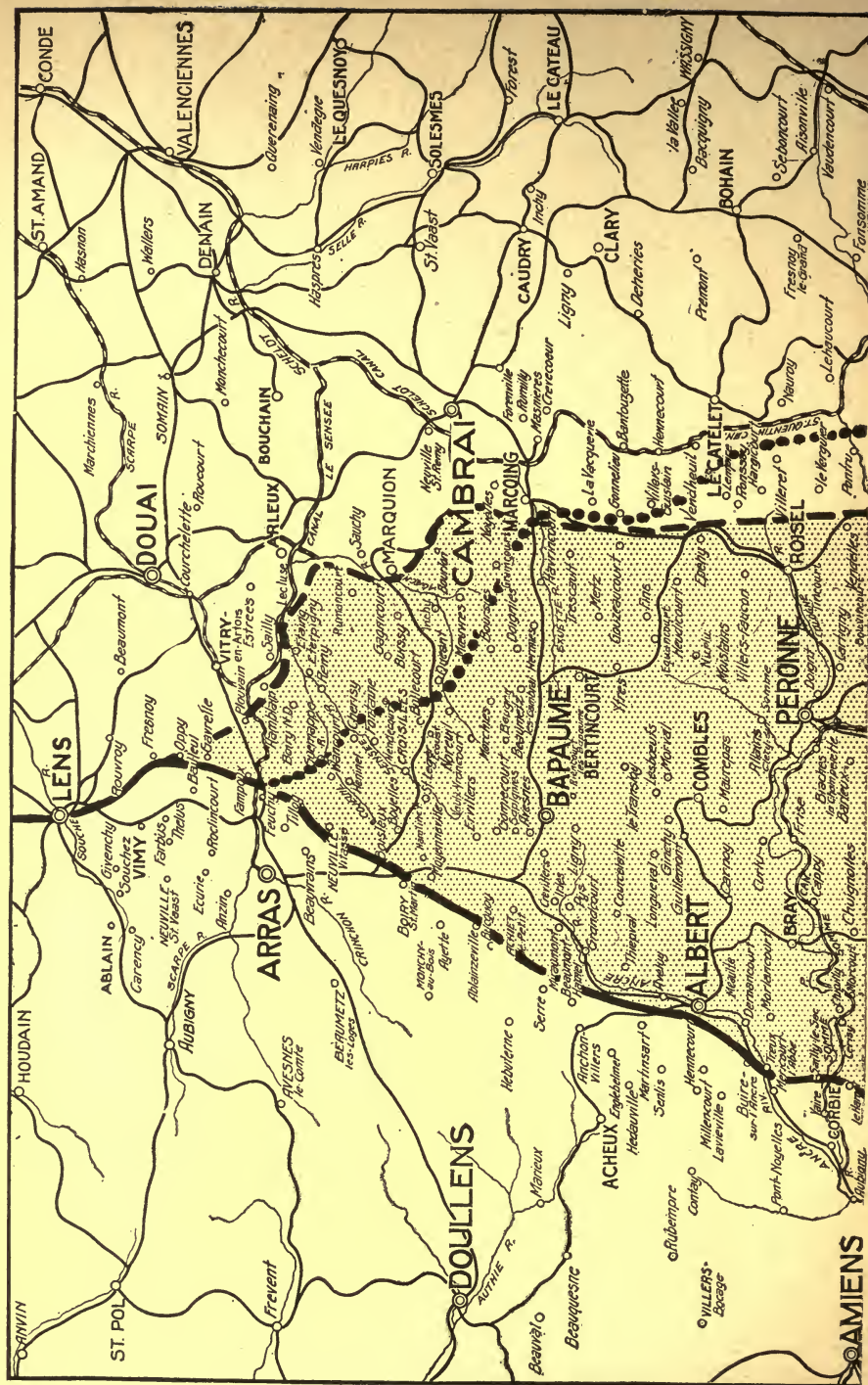
By Aug. 18 he had shaved off a fifth of the Lys salient. On the Picardy salient he had gained the same proportional amount of territory by a broadside advance toward the Hindenburg line over a forty-mile front from Albert to Ribecourt, the centre of which had reached a point twenty-five miles from the famous line. Albert, Bray, Chaulnes, Roye, and Lassigny were on the point of being reduced. In the south the armies of the Imperial Crown Prince had been driven north over the Vesle to within ten miles of the line they had occupied north of the Chemin des Dames

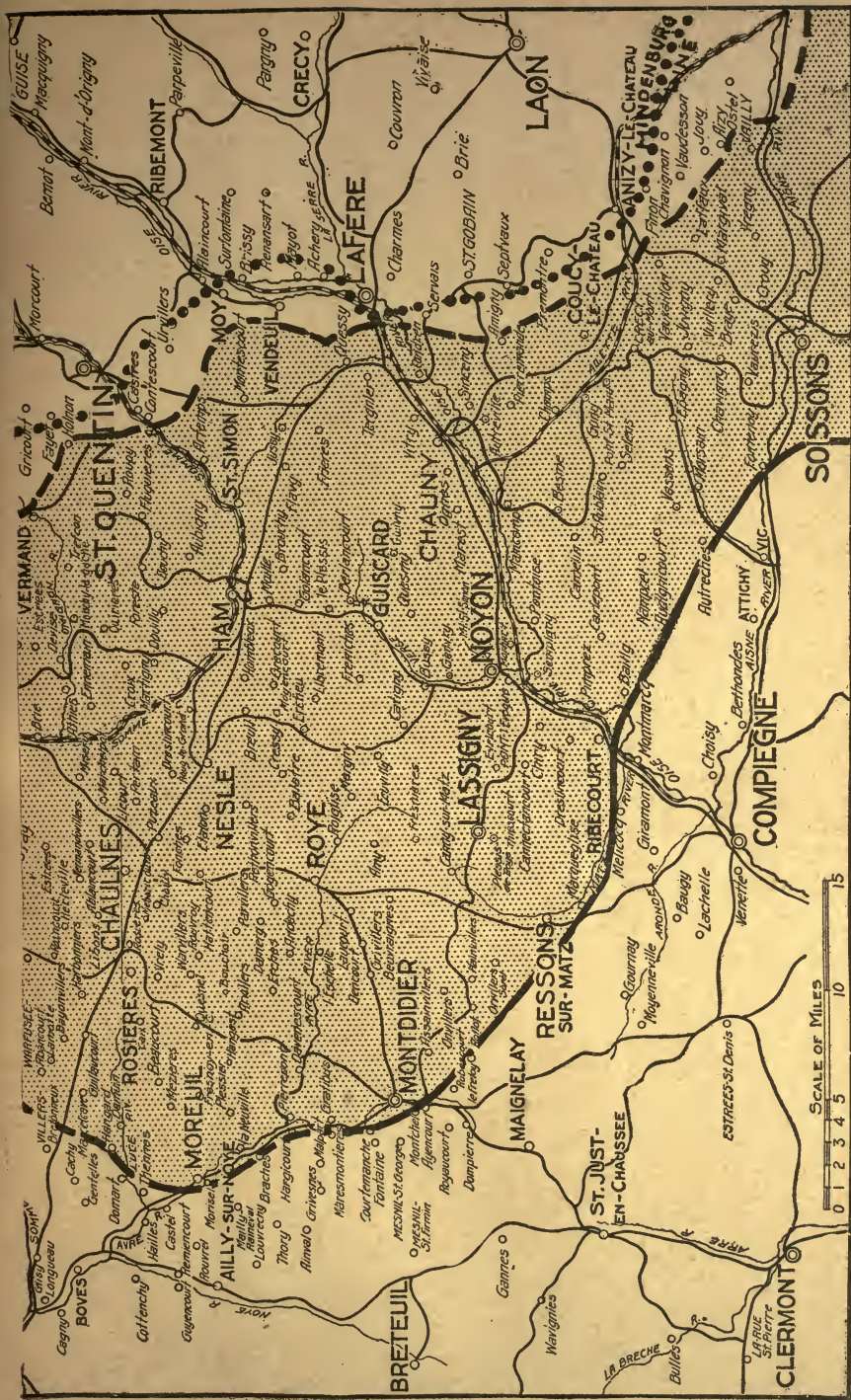
Scene of Great German Retreat From the Marne to the Aisne

THE MAP INDICATES THE SIZE TO WHICH THE "CHATEAU-THIERRY POCKET" GREW IN TWO MONTHS. THE LOWER LINE MARKS THE GERMAN POSITION OF JULY 18; THE UPPER LINE IS THAT TO WHICH THE ENEMY HAD BEEN PUSHED BY SEPT. 18, 1918. THE FRENCH AND AMERICANS HAD THUS RECOVERED PRACTICALLY ALL THE GROUND LOST DURING THE GREAT GERMAN DRIVE IN THIS SECTION.



Battlefront From Lens to the Aisne River





SHADED PORTIONS SHOW TERRITORY WON BY ALLIES BETWEEN JULY 18 AND SEPT. 18, 1918

on the eve of their excursion to beyond the Marne—the third phase of the offensive begun on May 27.

The story of the month reveals how Foch has progressed on these three sectors, with two notable additions. On the line east of Arras, between the Lys and the Picardy salients, he has overrun the northern flank of the Hindenburg line by forming a new salient which threatens to flank the Germans out of the Lens coal fields from the south and menaces the enemy's depots of Douai and Cambrai from the west. On the southern flank of the line he is threatening Laon from the St. Gobain Forest and the rear of the Chemin des Dames from positions respectively ten and three miles distant from their objectives. Here, as well as before Arras, he is measurably in the rear of the line from which the Germans made their offensive on March 21.

ON THE LYS SALIENT

On the Lys salient the persistent attacks of the British have constantly taken advantage of the retreats of the enemy made necessary by the withdrawal of troops to aid other parts of the front. Here the most conspicuous successes have been the reoccupation of the strategic positions of Merville on Aug. 19, and of Mont Kemmel, with an attendant withdrawal on the part of the enemy on a twenty-mile front, and the loss of 1,500 prisoners, on Aug. 31.

From the very beginning of their assault on this line, away back on April 9, the Germans have been in a precarious situation. The salient, which by the end of that month had its centre resting on the Forest of Nippe, its northern wing on Mont Kemmel, and its southern forming the base of a triangle, (its vertex at Béthune and its sides formed by the Canal d'Aire and La Bassée Canal,) was too deep to be serviceable. It had utterly failed to attain its objectives—the ridge on the north running from Messines to the Mont des Recollets and the flanking of the Lens line south. Thus, after the initiative had passed to Foch and the ascendancy of the Allies was beyond dispute, it behooved the Germans to extricate themselves from the Lys salient in

the most economical manner, qualified only by the number of troops Sir Douglas Haig thought it worth while to employ against them.

The operations which secured the reoccupation of Merville were made on a front of 10,000 yards, and reached a line running through the town from Paradis to Les Puresbecques, and, in the neighborhood of Outtersteene, 676 prisoners, together with several machine guns and trench mortars, were taken.

On Aug. 30 the Germans evacuated Bailleul, half way between Mont Kemmel and Merville. This was followed the next day by the reoccupation of Mont Kemmel by the British and the advance of their lines to the Lawe River from Vieille Chapelle to Lestrem, and to a point east of Bailleul known as Lille Mountain. The German retreat on that day is represented by the loss of three segments of the entire arc of the salient subtended by the geographic chords, Wyttschaete (still in their hands)-Bailleul, Outtersteene-Merville, and Merville-Festubert. On the following day Haig was overrunning the ground between these segments. On Sept. 2 American detachments north of Wyttschaete captured Voormezele, and a few miles to the south the British gained Neuve Eglise and advanced east of Estaires. On Sept. 9 they reached a position which commanded Wyttschaete from the west.

THE BATTLE IN PICARDY

In a general way the narrative of the operations in Picardy, from Aug. 18 till Sept. 18, concerns the progress made by the Allies from Arras to Soissons to force the retirement of the Germans upon and beyond the Hindenburg line. In this narrative figure the manoeuvres of the 1st, 3d, and 4th British Armies under, respectively, Generals Horne, Byng, and Rawlinson, north of the lateral line Bray-Péronne-St. Quentin, and south of it the French armies—the 1st under Debeney, the 3d under Humbert, and the 4th and 10th, with the 32d American Division, under General Mangin. Opposed to them are the army groups of Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria and the Imperial Crown Prince, in which the

COMMANDERS OF AMERICAN DIVISIONS



Major Gen. W. R. Smith
36th Division
(© Harris & Ewing)



Major Gen. C. G. Morton
29th Division
(Paul Thompson)



Major Gen. C. S. Farnsworth
37th Division
Press Illus. Service)



Major Gen. J. N. McRae
78th Division
(© Harris & Ewing)

GENERAL DEBENEY



Commander of the French Army that captured Roye

armies of von Boehn, von Marwitz, von Hutier, and von Schwerin have been particularly concerned.

On Aug. 25, however, Byng crossed the Hindenburg line between Arras and Bapaume, and began to develop a salient in the direction of Cambrai, which soon enveloped the so-called "switch line," Drocourt-Quéant. Four days later the Americans, with Mangin, drove the Germans out of Juvigny—the initial step toward forming the line from St. Gobain south to the Aisne, which now threatens Laon, and the right-rear of the German positions south of the *Chemin des Dames*.

These two movements, which have progressed beyond the German line of departure of March 21, will be treated of separately after the dates mentioned in the foregoing paragraph. Prior to these dates the whole line from Arras to Soissons will be considered; after them the terrain under immediate notice will be that confined between the new salients of the Allies—before Cambrai on the north, and before Laon on the south.

By Aug. 19 the French had overrun the Lassigny massif and had taken Fresnières on the Roye highway, two miles and a half to the north. On that day the advance here was linked up with the operation in the south, across the Oise to Fontenoy, six miles northwest of Soissons. The next day came the smash from Mangin's 4th Army between the Oise and the Aisne, directed against the southern flank of Noyon, but destined to be felt, as will be seen, by the Germans north of the Vesle, fifty miles to the southeast. This attack he continued to press home until, on Aug. 29, the Americans with him drove the foe out of Juvigny, a little village, whose only importance is strategic. Meanwhile he had taken Lassigny on the 21st and Noyon on the 29th, while on his left wing Roye had fallen on the 27th and Chaulnes on the 29th. North of the Somme the British had begun a drive just north of Albert on the 21st, which gave them the town the next day. The attack north of Albert was continued persistently until it enabled the British to occupy Bapaume on the very day that the French took Noyon and the Americans drove the Ger-

mans from Juvigny. The Hindenburg line had been pierced on the 25th.

On the 30th the French in the south took possession of Mont St. Siméon, which commanded the Noyon spur and opened the way up the Oise. The next day the British captured Mont St. Quentin, which bore the same relation to Péronne. On Sept. 1 they took Péronne with 2,000 prisoners.

The foregoing operations were of great importance not only in their acquisitions, which would lead to greater things, but also in the revelations they made in regard to the enemy's growing weakness. In the north they opened up the Bapaume-Cambrai road as far as Buigny; the Roye-Péronne-Cambrai highway to a point two miles north of Péronne. In the south they delivered the whole length of the Roye-Noyon-Soissons railway into the hands of the Allies. From Rouy-le-Petit to the Canal du Nord the Allies occupied the left bank of the Somme and its canal facing St. Quentin, fifteen miles to the east behind the Hindenburg line. An advance upon La Fère, twelve miles to the south, was also opened up the Oise. The dominating position of Thiepval northeast of Albert was overrun in a few hours on Aug. 23. In the battle of the Somme it had held out for three months.

From Sept. 1 to 6 certain strategic positions had been established—east of Péronne, Nesle, and on the right bank of the Oise; then on the latter date the whole line swept forward with an average penetration of eight miles. From the Somme eastward the line was carried twelve miles, capturing Chauny and the fortress city of Ham, once the prison house of "Napoléon le Petit." It was the following up of a German retreat going on over a front of fifty miles from the British sector before Cambrai to the Aisne south of the *Chemin des Dames*. What had given it its impetus was the crossing by the British of the Canal du Nord on a fifteen-mile sweep on Sept. 5.

From Sept. 8 for ten days the British concentrated to envelop St. Quentin and the French La Fère. First, the former secured Bévoir and Aubigny, while the latter crossed the St. Quentin Canal and

took Dury, seven miles northwest of La Fère. Then respectively Villeveque and Vermand, Gibercourt, Rémigny, and Liez. On the 17th the British were in their old intrenchments before St. Quentin and the French in theirs before La Fère; between, however, the old line had not been reached, for the enemy still held Clastres on the St. Quentin Canal.

On Sept. 18 Rawlinson's 4th British Army and Debeney's 1st French made a surprise advance over a twenty-two-mile front which carried the outer defenses of the Hindenburg line at two points north of St. Quentin—Villeret and from Pontru to Holnon. They took 6,000 prisoners. The northern point of departure was Gouzeaucourt, ten miles southwest of Hinacourt, six miles northwest of La Fère.

NORTH OF THE VESLE

By Aug. 1 the last of the troops of the Imperial Crown Prince had been driven back across the Vesle and that part of the Aisne between Condé-sur-Aisne and Soissons. Here they were prepared for a great frontal attack on the angle formed, with its vertex at Condé, by the Aisne and the Aisne-Marne Canal on the north and the Vesle on the south, when, on Aug. 8, Foch started his great offensive up the Somme 100 miles to the northwest. The shortening of the line from Soissons to Rheims had enabled the Crown Prince to withdraw two armies and then another. Foch had unhesitatingly taken away three armies and two American and several independent divisions. He had no thought of an expensive frontal attack. His idea was merely to exert a constant pressure which could be augmented in accordance with his advance on the northeast, between the Ailette and the Aisne—an obvious flank movement, which might break through between the Vesle and the Aisne, between the Aisne and the Chemin des Dames, or even in the rear of that great highway and that portion of the Hindenburg line which lies between Anizy and Craonne.

From Aug. 5 until Sept. 4 there were fierce patrol encounters between Americans and Germans on the north bank of the Vesle opposite Fismes. Then on the

latter date the Germans beat a retreat on a twenty-mile front between Condé and Jonchery, and the next day their right wing was driven by the Americans over the Aisne west of Condé. Then from Condé up the Aisne the pressure gradually increased until the end of the month, with the enemy intrenched on the line Celles-Glennes-Les Venteaux, half way through the angle Vesle-Aisne.

We shall see how the more important events on this front were sympathetic expressions, whether in regard to the enemy or ourselves, of what was passing to the northwest of Soissons, particularly when this sector developed its front from St. Gobain to the Ailette, directly threatening Laon from the east. To that extent, therefore, it may be necessary to trespass upon ground which has no geographical connection with the angle Vesle-Aisne opening to the east.

On Aug. 20 General Mangin's 4th French Army, between the Oise and Soissons, made a movement which shook the whole line east as far as Rheims. It smashed into the German lines to a depth of two and a half miles, captured seven towns and 8,000 prisoners, and extended its front from north of Bailly to the Valprieux estate, five miles northwest of Soissons, including Champ de Merlier, Petit Maupas, Cuts, Hill 160, and Vesaponin. It gave the Allies a footing on the plateau east of Tartiers and an opening toward Camelin. An interesting circumstance of this movement was the fact that the Germans had prepared to make an attack on the same day and front, but Mangin anticipated it by half an hour. The subsequent history of this drive, forming part of the great movement against Laon, will be dwelt on under "The Move Toward Laon."

Instantly the American pressure over the rivers began to assert itself, and on Aug. 28 it was moving in force on Bazoches, fighting for the possession of Fismes and directing an artillery fire at the German bridgeheads near the Vesle-Aisne junction. The night of Sept. 5-6 was illuminated by the burning of German stores between the Vesle and the Aisne, a sign that the enemy was



HAIG'S SMASH INTO DROCOURT-QUEANT "SWITCH LINE," (WHICH IS INDICATED BY PARALLEL LINES.) THE HEAVY BLACK LINE IS THE HINDENBURG LINE PROPER, AND THE DIAMOND DOTS INDICATE BRITISH ADVANCE TO SEPT. 18, 1918

falling back from the former. On the new front the Americans assumed the same tactics of pressure, with a flurry northeast of Glennés and Révillon, and between Vieil Arcy and Villers-en-Pra-vères on Sept. 11.

MOVE TOWARD CAMBRAI

This is the story of the advance of the 1st and 3d British Armies, which, between Aug. 25 and Sept. 18, moved toward Cambrai and Douai, threatening them and the rear of the coal fields at Lens, crossing the Hindenburg line on Aug. 25, advancing down the Arras-Cambrai highway to a point further east than ever reached before, carrying the Drocourt-Quéant line, fourteen miles long, over six miles on Sept. 2, and finally develop-ing on the enemy side of the Hindenburg

line, from just south of Lens to where the Canal du Nord crosses the line, a new salient whose perimeter came within four miles of Douai and three of Cam-brai.

The steps by which this advance was made are as follows—always bearing in mind that the way to them had been paved by the capture of Albert on the south and the high ground of the Scarpe and Cojeul Rivers, respectively east and southeast of Arras, on the south: Proceeding in their advance up the Albert-Bapaume highway and the southern bank of the Scarpe, the British, on Aug. 27, captured a considerable portion of the Hindenburg line and occupied Chérisy, Vis-en-Artois, and the Bois du Sart. On the 28th, north of the Arras-Chambrai road, Canadians captured the villages of

Boiry and Pelves. A new impetus was given to the advance on the 30th, when the British reached Bullecourt, within their old lines at the battle of Cambrai of last November. The same day, however, the Germans made a desperate attempt to bar the way to the Drocourt-Quéant line; nevertheless, advances further south were made, and villages captured on the Arras-Cambrai and the Bapaume roads.

Then, as has already been said, on Sept. 2 the British crossed the Drocourt-Quéant line on a six-mile front. This formidable system of intrenched positions runs nearly in a straight line from Quéant, north to Drocourt, which lies some six miles west of Douai. Behind the line, but much nearer Douai, the Germans have yet a third series of intrenched positions. It may be added that Cambrai is protected by similarly formidable defenses, and that between that city and Bapaume runs the Hindenburg line itself.

The smashing of the Drocourt-Quéant line drove the Germans in a hasty retreat to the Canal du Nord, and on Sept. 3 Quéant, the point of juncture of the two great lines, was carried by storm in an advance on a twenty-mile front, with a penetration of six. More than 10,000 prisoners were taken by the British in this operation. Two days later, with the improved positions north and south of Péronne, the British made further progress up the Bapaume-Cambrai road.

On Sept. 12 important progress was made toward Cambrai by the capture of the villages of Havrincourt, Moeuvres, and Trescault; the British at several points also reached their old positions on the Canal du Nord.

THE MOVE TOWARD LAON

The operations of General Mangin's 4th and 10th Armies, with the 32d American Division, which are threatening Laon and the right-rear of the armies of the Imperial Crown Prince south of the Chemin des Dames as we close this review on Sept. 18, have already been dwelt on down to Aug. 29, when the Americans driving the Germans out of Juvigny laid the foundation for the new

southern salient between the Oise and the Aisne.

The Juvigny affair was really the key to the situation subsequently produced. Here for five days succeeding Aug. 29 one American division fought four of von Schwerin's best and beat them, and gained the sobriquet of "Les Terribles." It captured 2,000 prisoners, and, on a narrow front of two miles, made a penetration of four. The taking of the village of Juvigny was a mere incident. But the occupation of the Juvigny plateau, the breaking through the railway across the front of Juvigny and Chavigny, and the gaining possession of the St. Quentin-La Fère-Soissons highway and of TERNY-Sorny were events.

Incidentally Juvigny was the goal in a race between the American division and the 227th German Division. The former had marched from the front near Belfort; the latter from Metz. When the latter arrived the Americans were already pressing back the 7th German. Then were added to the enemy the 238th Division from before Rheims and the 23d Reserve Division. All were thrown back by "Les Terribles."

Meanwhile, on Sept. 1, the French troops ascended the Ailette on both banks and captured Crécy au Mont on the south and gained a footing in the wood west of Coucy le Château on the north. Between the latter and Juvigny they stormed the town of Leury and took 1,000 Germans. The next day they were threatening the woody flank to the west of the Chemin des Dames, and on Sept. 5, at Landricourt, near the edge of the Coucy Forest, having already reoccupied the famous Coucy le Château—that relic of German barbarism—they were in possession of a part of their old front as it stood before the German offensive.

On Sept. 8 the Americans could see looming up from the horizon to the northeast the twin towers of the Laon Cathedral. On that day the French of Mangin's 4th Army, taking advantage of the advance north of them made by Humbert's army, began the envelopment of that German stronghold, the St. Gobain Forest, whose outer woods begin ten miles west of Laon.

Henceforth the principal battle raged

around the approaches of the forest, where on the 9th the enemy threw in new divisions and fortified every available site with machine guns. On Sept. 15 the French captured the plateau east of Vauxaillon and the ridge northwest of Celles sur Aisne on the southern end of the sector—occupations which influenced the Germans south of the Chemin des Dames, rather than those covering the front of Laon.

On Sept. 16 General Mangin's armies made two thrusts, one against the St. Gobain Forest, the other at the Chemin des Dames. In the forest the French penetrated several groves and captured an entire enemy battalion. The thrust against the "Ladies' Road" was on a two-mile front, east of Sancy. It took Mont des Singes, northeast of Vauxaillon, and Vailly, on the north bank of the Aisne, east of Soissons.

MACEDONIA WAKES UP

The revival of allied operations in the Balkans, begun Sept. 16, was stated by Mr. Balfour to be the prelude to an important offensive. This offensive, probably begun on account of the sending of Austrian and Bulgar armies to the western front and the waning of enemy's morale, had been expected for some time; first under Sarraïl, when Rumania entered the war on Bulgaria's flank, and then, under Guillaumant, when Italy, (on the left wing of this 300-mile front,) in Southern Albania, started an offensive to gain possession of the Via Egnatia, the enemy's line from the Adriatic to Lake Ochrida, last July.

At length it has actually begun under General Franchet d'Esperey, who is believed to have a force of some 350,000 men, consisting of British, French, Ser-

bian, Montenegrin, Italian, and Russian troops, a Yugoslav division, and the new army of Greece, said to number 200,000. These are under his direct command and are acting independently of the Italian



SCENE OF ALLIED OFFENSIVE IN MACEDONIA. THE ARROW INDICATES LOCATION OF FIRST REPULSE OF BULGARIANS

and French troops on the front from Monastir to the Adriatic.

The attack was launched on a ten-mile front between the River Vardar and Lake Doiran. In two days French and Serbian troops had advanced five miles, had occupied a series of important ridges opening the way to Strumnitza, and taken 3,000 prisoners and 24 machine guns.

Through Sept. 18 the Bulgars, with their German allies, were forced back for ten miles and the front broadened to twenty. The prisoners exceeded 4,000; the guns taken, fifty. The Yugoslav division stormed the Koziak on the Bulgar's second line of defense.



British Victories on the Somme

Triumphant Progress Toward and Beyond the Hindenburg Line from Lens to St. Quentin

[SEE MAP, PAGES 12-13]

THE British on Aug. 8 struck their first heavy blow in the great offensive that had been begun July 18. They struck along a front of twenty-five miles in Picardy, from a point near Albert on the Somme to the River Avre, above Montdidier. This movement was rapidly extended, and by Aug. 22 embraced a front from Montdidier northward as far as Lens—more than thirty-five miles—with strong pressure on the line northward as far as Ypres, nearly twenty-five miles additional. They moved steadily forward, advancing with resistless force. The battle was still continuing on Sept. 18, at which time the British had reached at the north the defenses of Cambrai, having broken through the Hindenburg line north of Marcoing, ten to twelve miles, and were encircling the important city of St. Quentin, whose capture would force a further retirement of the Germans from that portion of France.

CAPTURE OF ALBERT

The important town of Albert was captured Aug. 22; 1,400 prisoners and a number of cannon were taken. The fiercest battle in this region was in the sector of Miraumont, a few miles north of Albert, where the Germans resisted fiercely.

At Achiet-le-Grand the German attacks were in such strength that the British retired for a short distance from the outskirts of the town and contented themselves for the time being with pouring bullets into the enemy forces, who in their eagerness to win something, no matter how small, rushed right into the centre of the target formed by the town.

Tanks were employed to the front of the British lines almost everywhere. The battle was fought under a scorching sun, the men advancing over the dusty, shell-churned ground, open shirted or without upper garments, the sweat streaming down their half-naked bodies.

At many places heaps of German dead, mowed down by the British fire, lay baking in the sun, along with the usual debris which covers a battlefield. Efforts are always made by the burial parties to clear away the dead, but within the zone of a roaring battle it is not often possible to accomplish this task.

GENERAL BYNG'S ATTACK

On the 22d more than 3,000 Germans were captured. Henry W. Nevinston described the initial onslaught as follows:

"Byng's attack was divided into two sections, a northern of 10,000 yards front, and a southern of 5,000 yards; and it was arranged that the southern section should come into action an hour later than the northern.

"The night was very still, but as the hours passed a wet mist formed over the earth, though the sky remained cloudless and sometimes one could see a star. So thick did the mist become that between 3 and 4 o'clock the trees were dripping with moisture almost like rain. Toward 5 o'clock the first glimmer of dawn was just perceptible.

"Suddenly, at five minutes to 5, the foggy air shook with an outburst of the British guns, and orange tongues flickered in the obscurity. For nearly three hours that torrent of smoke and fire and death continued like the incessant throbbing of a gigantic mill.

"Under this barrage the British went forward in waves, not leaping out of trenches or rushing wildly on, but walking quickly forward across No Man's Land, a second wave quickly following the first. Tanks led the first line of assault by about 100 yards."

On Aug. 23 the attack was extended along a front of thirty miles by the 3d and 4th British Armies under Generals Byng and Rawlinson. The enemy lost wide stretches of ground, numerous towns, thousands of men made prisoner, and large quantities of materials and

guns. He also suffered further heavy casualties.

Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, the German commander, threw his men in before the advancing British armies in an effort to stave off the inevitable, but only to have them mown down again and again by storms of metal which poured from the British guns. One entire enemy battalion was annihilated during the fighting.

Dead Germans in great numbers were scattered everywhere over the battlefield. As an example, 400 enemy dead were observed on one small piece of ground over which the battle had swept.

With all this fierce fighting, and notwithstanding the fact that the British at many places fought over open ground against an enemy protected in "pot holes" and strong points of other kinds, the British losses everywhere were extraordinarily light.

ENTERING BAPAUME

On Aug. 24 the British captured the dominating position of Thiepval, north-east of Albert, in the face of machine-gun and rifle fire, and reached the outskirts of Bapaume, capturing 2,000 prisoners and bringing their total in ten days to over 16,000. The Associated Press correspondent in describing the action on the 24th wrote:

"While Field Marshal Haig's men pressed forward with mighty strides on the main battlefront today, they had to fight for every yard of ground. Considerable numbers of guns and prisoners have been captured all along the line, and the British have again inflicted the heaviest possible casualties on the enemy. The ground over which the battle has been fought was invariably littered with dead Germans.

"New German divisions continue to arrive in the zone, only to be stood up before the advancing British and mowed down. While they have been able to check in a measure the Allies, they have been unable to stay their continuous forward movement.

"There are stories of less than a dozen men being left in some of the German companies which had participated in the recent fighting. Soldier prisoners

captured today expressed themselves generally as having lost faith in the higher command, while non-commissioned officers attributed the defeats to the inefficiencies of the German air service and, more especially, to the presence of many untrained recruits in the older divisions. Some are said to have deserted while on the way to the front to participate in this battle."

CHANGE IN SITUATION

The British continued their advance on Aug. 26 and 27 in face of stiffer resistance, capturing many towns, thousands of prisoners, and enormous numbers of guns. The situation as it appeared Aug. 27 is thus described by Philip Gibbs, who had returned to the front after an absence of several weeks:

"When I went away it was Rupprecht's army that was the chief threat against us, and it was an army of perhaps 250,000 fresh troops, apart from those in line waiting to be hurled against us if the German Crown Prince could do without them. We knew then that some of Rupprecht's divisions had been sent down hurriedly to his relief, but the question still remained whether the armies holding our part of the battlefront would still be strong enough to attack us or strong enough to check any attempt of ours to advance against them.

"Since then the tide has turned in an astonishing way. It is now the enemy who is on the defensive, dreading the hammer blows that fall upon him day after day, and the initiative of attack is so completely in our hands that we are able to strike him at many different places.

"Since Aug. 8 we must have taken nearly 50,000 prisoners and nearly 500 guns, and the tale is not yet told because our men are going on, taking new strides, new batches of Germans, and more batteries.

"The change has been greater in the minds of men than in the taking of territory. On our side the army seems to be buoyed up with the enormous hope of getting on with this business quickly. They are fighting for a quick victory and a quick peace so they may get back to normal life and wipe this thing clean

from the map of Europe and restore the world to sane purposes. That is, I am sure, their hope, and for almost the first time in very truth they see something of its reality in sight.

"But there is a change also in the enemy's mind. Those German soldiers and their officers are changed men since March 21, when they launched their offensive. They no longer have even a dim hope of victory on this western front. All they hope for now is to defend themselves long enough to gain peace by negotiation. Many of them go even further than this and admit they do not care how peace comes so long as there is peace. They are sullen with their own officers, and some of those whom I saw today were more than sullen."

CANADIANS' BRILLIANT WORK

Mr. Gibbs, under date of Aug. 27, described the work of the Canadians as follows:

"The arrival of the Canadians was an immense surprise to the Germans. The last heard of them was outside of Roye after their glorious advance on the left of the French, and the last thing in the world which the enemy expected was to find them right in the north beyond Arras. That was a brilliant piece of secret manoeuvre. Before the Germans had any inkling of their presence the Canadians were advancing upon them yesterday morning with a sweep of shellfire in front of them. Without encountering much resistance, they swung around by Guemappe and Wancourt over the high ground on each side of the Cojeul. Germans of the 214th Division, made up of men from Rhineland, Stettin, Lower Schleswig, and Hessians, were aghast at this sudden assault, and either retired or gave themselves up in the early stages of the Canadian advance. Their resistance stiffened on the crest of Monchy Hill, and there was fierce fighting all night in the trench on the top of Wancourt Spur.

"But the Canadians were determined to get this place, and with great individual gallantry and good leadership and most dogged spirit, they worked around the machine guns which were holding them off and rushed them in the darkness. By morning they held

the spur, and this body of Canadians, who had taken over 820 prisoners yesterday morning, added another 150, with many machine guns, most of which were captured in the valley below the ridge. All told, the Canadians and Scots attacking with them had taken about 1,800 prisoners.

"The highest point most desired by the Canadians was the old Wancourt tower on the tip of the crest, and this they gained in time for a new departure this morning, having to change their direction three times, owing to the lie of the ground, and face south instead of east after the beginning of the battle, which is always a difficult operation.

"A little further north other Canadian troops, who had crossed Orange Hill and Monchy, that hill which dominates many miles of country, so that the loss of it a few months ago was serious to us, advanced again this morning to two woods on equally high ground beyond for which our men strove many times in vain in May of last year. Those are the Bois du Sart and the Bois de Vert, which we used to see like green eyes staring down on our lines around Wancourt and Henin, and from which always there used to come wicked machine-gun fire when any of our troops moved in the open valley below.

"The success of our infantry is the more remarkable because in this battle very few tanks have been used, and machine-gun nests had to be taken in many cases without their help."

HINDENBURG LINE BROKEN

On Aug. 28 the British pressed the Germans with especial ferocity. The important town of Croisilles, on the Hindenburg line, was taken, and the Germans were forced back to the so-called "switch line" of Drocourt-Quéant. Mr. Gibbs described the crossing of the Hindenburg line as follows:

"This advance gives a sense of the enormous movement behind the British lines, and there is not a man who is not stirred by the motion of it. They are feeling that they indeed are getting on with the war. It is like a vast tide of life moving very slowly but steadily.

"At Pozières and elsewhere the Brit-

ish have regained many of their old ammunition dumps, with valuable stores, which will come in use again. Everywhere over the old ground now recaptured there are clumps of British shells, and the earth is littered with them, lying in piles and gleaming in the rain and sun. So fast have the engineers worked that trains are now puffing up into places taken only a few days ago, and this morning I saw how all the pioneers and railway men and labor battalions, like an enormous army of ants, are

working on those old battlefields to make a little order out of chaos and get on with the war, like the riflemen who are walking in front of them.

"Life is resumed in the fields and villages, which for the Summer months have been places of the great dearth. Today I saw men cooking food in parts of houses without roofs and on the lee side of shell-broken walls where only three days ago there was the menace of immediate slaughter to any living thing that passed that way."

Recapture of Bapaume and Péronne

By PHILIP GIBBS

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AUGUST, 29, 1918. — Bapaume has been taken today, and from the hills north of the Scarpe, beyond Arras, right away down the line across the old Somme battlefields by Ginchy and Guillemont and Morval, where the British troops are pressing forward, and further still in the Australian fighting zone by Feuilleres and Belloy, above the Somme this side of Péronne, the enemy is retreating, and his men are trying to get away behind their rearguards before they are caught and killed.

In places the German machine gunners and rearguard lines are maintaining a fierce resistance in order to gain time for a more orderly retreat of the German divisions, and this defense is strongest on the northern half of the Australian front, perhaps to delay the capture of Péronne until they may have time to remove their enormous stores.

Upon our 1st and 3d Army fronts, from Bapaume and Bullecourt to the north of the Arras-Cambrai road, the German Army is stealing away in the darkness and daylight from all the country west of the Somme and from the battlefields beyond Delville Wood above. The British are trudging after them, kept up by the elation of a victorious advance, which is better than wine to them, because many of these men who are now following up the Germans in big strides are the same men who, in March last, had to fall back over

the same ground under overwhelming odds. The change of fortune is balm to their spirits, and every yard of the way is a splendid revenge.

ELATION OF THE TROOPS

Because they have the enemy on the run they are eager to go on till they can walk no further. Officers and men, like many I have met today, are high spirited, full of odd jokes and laughter, excited a little beyond the reserve and quietude of the English way, because Fritz is still hopping it, as they say, and every hour brings them news of more villages recaptured, more woods from which the Germans have fled, more ground gained on the right or left.

So I found the Australians this morning, and in another place some Welsh officers who had been moving forward day after day until they were miles away from where they started and far out in the wilderness of the Somme battlefields.

"The Old Dragon," said one of the officers of the Welsh troops, "has his tail sticking up straight as a crowbar, and Welshmen have a right to be proud of themselves, because since the 23d, when they attacked across the Ancre, they have captured place after place, with thousands of prisoners, smashed through the enemy every time he tried to stand, and scared him out of his wits."

With English troops on the right and

left, it was the Welsh who waded the Ancre up to their necks, and with the British barrage falling behind them, because they had gone too far, attacked and took the heights of Usna Hill at the bayonet point and afterward stormed the fortress position of Thiepval, which broke the enemy's main line of resistance, and then, with other troops, swept across the Pozières Ridge and Contalmaison and La Boisselle and Orvillers, through the Mametz Wood and Eseynd to Basentin le Grande.

"Mametz Wood, captured by the Welsh in 1916, has been recaptured in 1918. Hurrah!" was the wire sent to headquarters when the Welsh gained the wood on Aug. 25.

DELVILLE WOOD RETAKEN

This morning they captured Delville Wood, the old Devil's Wood, which made a black chapter of history in 1916, and then went on to Ginchy and away toward Morval with English troops on their right through Guillemont. The British had Delville Wood for a time a day or two ago and then fell back from it day before yesterday under fierce shelling, but it is again theirs this morning, as I saw for myself when I went up to it and then took the field track toward Ginchy.

The British turned their heavies on it in the night and flung eight-inch shells among its dead trees, so that the enemy fled from its terror. Three men did not escape, but slept stolidly like dead men through all the gunfire until awakened. This morning, when the Welshmen went in, I saw coming down the road from Longueval under escort three white-faced fellows who still looked drugged by sleep but were sheepish as they passed.

I have had many strange and thrilling experiences on the battlefields of the Somme, from the time when the British fought yard by yard in 1916, so that every fold of the ground was the arena of a new battle and every clump of shelled trees, every ditch, every mound and heap of ruins was the scene of some terrible episode, until a few days after March 21, when I saw the British coming back across Pozières Ridge with the

enemy in close pursuit, and German shells falling in old places which for years had been immune from fire.

But today many of those old emotions were eclipsed by the glad sense of being able to go once more up the Albert-Bapaume road, past La Boisselle, and through Contalmaison to the ridge at Longueval and Delville Wood, with the wonderful feeling that once again some foul spell had been lifted from these fields and that there was room to roam in them again—these places that are held by the heroic valor of the British, now that the enemy has been driven back to his vanishing line of retreat.

DEAD AMID OLD GRAVES

To us who have followed this war in body and in spirit those upheaved and mangled fields are sacred ground, strewn with the graves of men who fell there. Their graves are there still, as I saw today, with the white crosses put up to them still standing above the turmoil of earth. The enemy had not touched them and the British shellfire had not destroyed them.

So far as I could see, the only difference since the enemy sprawled back here and stayed a little while and then was flung back again is that many bodies of gray clad men lie among the shell craters, and that the roads and tracks are littered with dead horses, so that the air is pestilential with foul odors and, everywhere among the old trenches and new, with their white, up-turned chalk and the litter of barbed wire, are fresh German notice boards pointing the way to firing lines and observation posts and giving the directions of tracks—nach Mametz, nach Longueval nach Ginchy. They had tried to camouflage some of their tracks by screens made of rushes, and had dug deep shelters under banks and in old trenches in order to escape from the harassing British fire.

In shell craters and ditches lie their helmets, gas masks, rifles, and equipment, and here and there is the wreckage of a field gun or limber, untouched but abandoned by the enemy in their flight, and strewn over all the ground are vast numbers of unexploded shells.

BACK IN BAPAUME

Aug. 30.—The places captured by the British today and last night are so many that the mere list of them is long, from north of the Scarpe, where the Scotsmen are on the outskirts of Plouvain, after their long and gallant fighting, to Bullecourt, which the Londoners and West Lancashire troops took yesterday, going further east today than we have ever been before and away down south beyond Bapaume and toward Péronne.

I picked some roses today in Bapaume, red Rambler roses, which would make a garland for the steel helmet of one of the New Zealand boys, to whom the honor is most due for the capture of the town. Bapaume is not a fragrant place for rose lovers, and when I went into it early this morning, while a new battle was in progress outside, German shells were smashing among the houses, and there was a smell of corruption and high explosives in its ruined streets.

It is the second time we have entered Bapaume in triumph after stern fighting up a long, long trail. I shall never forget the thrill of that first entry, on March 17 of last year, when I had the luck to go in with the Australians up the long road from Albert, past Posières and Le Sar and the Butte de Warlencourt, and those frightful places where thousands of British had fallen on the way. It seemed then that Bapaume was the goal of victory, and, in spite of the dreadful sights about, one's spirit rose as one passed each shell crater and drew nearer to the town.

A repetition of experiences is never quite so fresh in sensation as the first adventure, yet, to get again into Bapaume after its loss last March, when the German Army came rolling the tide back over the Somme battlefields, was a thing worth doing. It was another landmark of history, made this time by the New Zealanders and English regiments fighting between them.

I went up through Miraumont and the valley of the Ancre, across which the Welsh went wading to capture the heights of Thiepval on Aug. 28. It was a valley of abomination, and the dawn lightened its trees, sticking out of deep

swamps, from which there rose wafts of stench, where dead things lay rotting. Sandbag emplacements, where men had little shelter from storms of fire, were white against the charred earth, and black stumps were everywhere for miles up this valley to Irles and Achiet-le-Petit and Grevillers and other places near Bapaume where the British had been fighting hard these last few days.

All this tumult of the tortured earth, all these pits dug by shells, all this wild destruction of places ruined in the first year of the war and mangled ever since were strewn with relics of German life and German death, newly littered here. Their great steel helmets punctured by bullets or torn like paper by shell splinters lay in thousands, with gas masks and rifles and cartridge belts and gray coats.

Along every mile of the way lay rows of stick bombs, never used against the British, and dumps of unexploded shells, hideous in their potentiality. A few dead horses lay on each side of the tracks, as they had gone trudging up with the British transport before being shot. Beside one horse lay a dead white dog, the pet of the transport column.

For a picture of war an artist like Orpen should have been here, but the men hereabout had other work to do. They were getting on with the business of bringing up guns across the wild wastes of cratered ground, filling up pits in the roads for the transport to pass, tearing up broken rails that new ones might be laid, riding and marching forward to support their comrades in another day of fighting.

They were mostly New Zealanders on this way, and although bad stuff was flying about—the enemy was crumping Grevillers and Achiet-le-Petit and scattering “high velocities” about in a vicious, random way—many of these lads did not trouble themselves to wear steel helmets, but kept to their slouch hats with the dandy red band.

CAPTURE OF PERONNE

Sept. 1.—Péronne has fallen today in consequence of the Australians' brilliant attack yesterday which resulted in the capture of Mont St. Quentin.

One of the fine features of the capture of Mont St. Quentin was the rapid way in which the Australians moved their guns forward over the Somme and fired at close range on the enemy. This was largely due to the work of their engineers at the river crossings. At one of these they discovered several land mines laid by the Germans with trip wires artfully concealed, but they routed them out and prevented their explosion.

Part of the secret of the light Australian losses in this attack was the quick way in which they dived into the German trenches before clearing them, getting shelter there after they had taken 150 prisoners, so that the hail of machine-gun bullets passed harmlessly over their heads.

In the fighting from Aug. 26 until yesterday morning they took fully ten times more prisoners than their own total casualties, which must be a record in this war.

The individual gallantry of the men reached the high summit of audacity, as when an Australian Corporal in a recent action one day heard his comrades debating how they could destroy an enemy post which was giving them great trouble and said to them: "That's all right, I'll take it." He slipped one Mills bomb in his pocket, crawled through tall corn, jumped into the German trench, felled the first man he saw, and by sheer force of spirit so cowed the garrison of the German post that one officer and thirteen men surrendered to him.

FOUR WEEKS' CHANGES

It is in the centre of our battlefield, by Bullecourt and Rencourt and Ecourt and Vraucourt, now recaptured by us today, that the enemy has been putting up the fiercest resistance, and that our men have had hard and bitter fighting.

In less than four weeks we have almost completely reversed the table of fortune, so that he has been smashed back twenty miles and more, and all the country between Amiens and Bapaume and Amiens and Péronne is cleared of his men, except of those who lie dead in the ditches and craters, while north of the Scarpe we have gone further than ever before in this war, and further north still the

Germans are forced to withdraw from positions which they gained by enormous sacrifice without our being troubled to fight them.

That is a wonderful chapter of history, and the triumph of it, the marvel of it, is that these victories have been gained very largely by those very troops who sustained the full brunt of the German offensive in March and again in April.

CAPTURE OF QUEANT

Sept. 3.—More than 10,000 prisoners behind our lines are the best human proof of yesterday's victory when our troops broke the Drocourt-Quéant line, and today the enemy is in hard retreat from a wide belt of country north and south of the Arras-Cambrai road in a desperate hurry to escape lest his transport and troops may be encircled by our men, who are pressing their pursuit.

The capture of Quéant last night by our naval brigades, with Pronville beyond it, gives us the enemy's most important pivot where the Drocourt line joined the main Hindenburg line, which has been completely turned, so that this fortress position on which the Germans set their hopes of safety in defense is now in jeopardy.

Lowland Scots of the 17th Corps are walking along the Hindenburg line southeast of Quéant, clearing it of any men who may still be in hiding there, while the naval men of the Drakes and Hoods and Ansons and the Marines are following the line of the Hindenburg support trenches and curving downward to the Valley of the Hirondelle River and across its slopes to get astride the Bapaume-Cambrai road, which is the enemy's line of retreat for all the heavy transport now scurrying away, and burning their stores behind them.

The German command has scraped up every unit of every division which still gave some hope of fighting quality in order to counterattack us with ferocity and gain back their Hindenburg line. Ten divisions were identified against us in the region of Cagnicourt and Dury, and we took prisoners of every company of every regiment.

Behind our present front which is moving forward so quickly there is for many

miles a stricken wilderness. There are no landmarks here, as even there are on Somme battlefields, where at least there are rivers and roads and natural features upon which the imagination may fasten for remembrance, but here beyond Neuville-Vitasse and Boiry and Croisilles there is nothing but a landscape of bare monotony rising and falling slightly from one slope to another without highroads cutting across it, without a river or a valley to break its lines, without even ruins more than rubbish heaps of brick which once were hamlets.

Trenches marked by hummocks of white chalk zigzag over this infernal desolation, where tangles of barbed wire, all rusted to the color of withered bracken; piles of abandoned shell gleaming wet in the rain, thousands of German stick bombs, gas masks, helmets, boots, rifles, shattered gun limbers, lorries slashed to pieces by explosives, and huts broken to matchwood are flung about between tumbledown dugouts, deserted gunpits, overturned blockhouses, dead horses, and deep shell pits.

Through this plague-stricken land, mile after mile to the far horizon, our men are marching and our guns are going up and our tents are pitched and our wounded come walking down. Even to them it has become familiar, so that they do not turn their heads to study how this obscenity of a wilderness of death is changed to different tones of evil or of grimness when the sunlight breaks through the rainclouds and washes it all with its pale gold light, revealing more sharply a detail of it all, or how it is darkened when the sun is hidden by a black mass of clouds piled up above the distant slopes.

Yet there is one feature of the landscape to which the men turned their heads when they marched up to battle. It is the only thing left standing in all this ruin behind our lines with some character and meaning beyond a mere ruin. In the centre of Croisilles, which is quite destroyed, so that hardly one brick stands whole upon another, there is a Calvary of life size. The figure of Christ has been smashed from the cross and lies with face upward on a little hil-

lock, but the Madonna is still left, almost unscarred, I think, and the figure of St. John stands out above all this wreckage with a queer gesture of pity for the evil that has been done.

There were numbers of dismounted cavalrymen among our prisoners, wearing a yellow band around their caps, and belonging to the 7th Cavalry Division, which has been almost completely destroyed during the last twenty-four hours. These men curse the fate which brought them to the west front after an easy time in Russia, where they knew nothing of British barrages and believed the war was won.

In one camp not far from Arras there are today several thousands of prisoners, belonging to ten different divisions, and, looking at them, one might well wonder whether at last one might be justified in believing that the German Army is beginning to crack.

SCENES BEHIND THE FRONT

Today the battle was in full progress and our guns were firing heavily, and now and then German shells came over to ruined villages on either side of this winding road, bursting with gruff coughs, and flinging up vomits of smoke and death. Through the black rainclouds the sun shone upon these frightful places, these huddles of brick and timber that gashed the skyline with their ribs and fragments, and upon the wreckage of railways and overturned engines and old gunpits and earthworks out of which we had hurled the enemy on our recent progress. That was the background of the road, and along the road itself came an incessant stream of men and mules and guns. It was like a long frieze on a living panel in some picture of war.

A stream going one way was made up of an endless chain of batteries and gun limbers going forward to follow up the enemy, and battalions were marching up in support, played up part of the way by their bands, and there were pioneers to make the way straight for the guns and ammunition and all the supplies, and ambulances, with their red crosses burning through all this black etching of guns and wagons. The other way,

coming away from the battleline, were the walking wounded and prisoners and stretcher bearers. On one side was the spirit of victory moving forward, and on the other side the human price of victory and the tragedy of defeat. Crowds of German prisoners came stumbling back in small groups of twenties and fifties, odd dozens of pairs of men, and single figures hobbling slowly and painfully, with drooping bodies and their big steel helmets bent to their chests. Many were wounded, their heads all bloody and their faces like masks of blood, or with broken arms or bullet wounds in their legs; others were worse than that, so that they could not walk and seemed already dead. They were carried shoulder high on stretchers by unwounded comrades, one man to each corner of the stretchers, trudging slowly down that crowded way.

PROCESSIONS OF WOUNDED

Our wounded and the German wounded mixed together and helped each other. Some of the Germans carried one badly wounded man as they carried their own. I saw many groups of English and Canadian and German soldiers walking to-

gether with arms about each other's neck, propping each other up, tumbling together, resting together for a time in the shelter of ditches and under ruins by the wayside. Some of them had picked up bits of timber and were using them as crutches or sticks to help them on the way, and others, after coming so far, dropped and waited for an ambulance to pick them up later in the day. Companies of wounded prisoners marched down in military formation with their own officers at their head, without escort. The officers called out words of command to them, as though on their own side of the lines; and I saw some battalion commanders among them walking gravely through with a beaten look.

There were many boys among them, but sturdy enough to make good fighting men, and their high steel helmets gave them a grim look. Many, however, wore their field caps, and by the numbers on their shoulder straps one could see many different regiments. After their first terror, they showed gladness at their escape, and many of them showed gratitude to our men by stopping them on the roadway and offering them iron crosses or pictures from their pocketbooks.

Piercing the Drocourt-Quéant Line

[SEE MAP ON PAGE 17]

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS, on Sept. 2, thus described the battle which resulted in piercing the Drocourt-Quéant line, (the "switch line" to the Hindenburg positions:)

"The fighting was as furious as any since the war began and increased in intensity as the British battled their way forward, meeting the ever-growing resistance of the enemy, who had put in every available man and was rushing up reserves at the rear. Thousands of prisoners have been captured. The roads to the British rear are jammed with them.

"There has been fierce fighting in Dury, which was taken by the British, and Mount Dury, which the Germans held in great strength, was stormed. The British went on after killing enormous

numbers of the enemy. The Germans died fighting here, as elsewhere. Cagnicourt Wood and Cagnicourt have been captured, and there has been heavy fighting in Buissy, northeast of Quéant, where large numbers of prisoners have been captured. Similar progress has been made against the northern end of the Drocourt-Quéant line for some distance.

"All during the night there was very heavy fighting around the British positions, which were almost jammed up against the great German defense system. Piles of dead Germans were one of the results. In one enemy attack a Sergeant with a machine gun killed six Germans who tried to rush him.

"It was soon after 5 o'clock in the morning that the massed British cannon

broke loose with a roar that was heard for miles in a crash barrage. The whole sky seemed ablaze, as thousands of British shells poured into the German wire and lines.

"When the barrage raised the Canadians and English swarmed over the top. Just behind them were numerous tanks of all sizes. They had been over only a minute when the enemy opened with a counterbarrage, which is said to have been by far the strongest he has put down since the British offensive began.

"The instant the British appeared the Germans in many cases jumped out of their trenches and held their hands high above their heads. In some cases, however, the advancing British met a hail of machine-gun bullets, but, notwithstanding this, they pushed on. Quickly the first line was overcome.

"By 7:30 o'clock the British had completely passed the German front and support lines. It was then that the motor machine guns dashed out on to the good roads at the German rear. Tanks also managed to get through, and they are working far in advance of the infantry.

"Some of the fast motor machine guns are reported by the airplanes to have made their way along the Canal du Nord on the roads between Douai and Marquion. Along the Arras-Cambrai road the British have made good progress, and Villers-lez-Cagnicourt, which was protected by special belts of wire and a powerful trench system, was the scene of desperate fighting. At the crossroads northeast of Cagnicourt, where the Arras-Cambrai highway

crosses the Villers-lez-Cagnicourt-Saudemont road, as well as all through this district, the Germans were in great strength. The crossroads are only nine and a half miles from Cambrai, and their defense is of the utmost importance to the enemy. Reports from Dury show that the fighting was of a desperate nature before the Germans, who were massed there and were about to deliver a powerful assault against the British positions, were overcome.

"As the British made progress all along the line rocket after rocket flamingly ascended through the battle smoke from German positions as the hard pressed enemy, first here and then there, called for assistance from those in the rear. The barrage had completely unnerved the Germans. The British then smashed their way through line after line, fighting in many cases hand to hand, and bayonets were used freely.

"The wood north of Quéant was found to be full of Germans with machine guns. The fighting there was of the very hardest nature until the British cleared the wood. Tanks again did heroic service.

"Where shells had failed to break through the wire, tanks rolled it out flat and charged down into the masses of Germans. Those who did not fall before the guns were crushed, together with their machine guns.

"The streets of Dury were carpeted with German dead. Here the British captured the town Mayor, and among other prisoners taken near by were several battalion commanders. Mount Dury was stormed soon afterward, but it was taken only after a terrific struggle."

Advancing Over Redeemed Ground

THE British continued their forward movement, advancing bit by bit each day. On Sept. 13 they captured important defenses fronting Douai, Cambrai and St. Quentin, seriously menaced those three pivotal points, the capture of which would compel a withdrawal of the Germans perhaps altogether out of Picardy and Artois. Philip Gibbs in his message Sept. 13 wrote:

"It is a queer sensation to go through this country again, beyond Bapaume, down old roads which were familiar to us last year, through these fields and villages where, amid old ruin and wreckage, the British built thousands of huts and many officers' clubs and cinema sheds, and pitched camps of tents and established workshops and camouflaged gun positions.

"For a time, which now seems like a nightmare, all that sweep of country was overrun again by the enemy and was twenty miles or more behind his lines. And now once again the evil spell has been lifted from it. The gray wolves have gone and only their lairs remain and the things that belonged to their brief tenancy—things tragic and things abominable.

"Everywhere now among the old British graves are the graves of German soldiers. They stick up out of mud and swamps in these ravaged fields with wooden crosses, different in shape from the British, and surmounted with the steel helmets camouflaged by streaks of color, belonging to the men below who walked in them down these roads.

"Dead bodies, not yet buried, and dead horses lie amid the muckheaps of these battlefields, and everywhere there are old boots, old bottles, strips of field-gray uniforms, haversacks, stickbombs, German letters, the litter of the masses of men who went away in a hurry.

"It is utterly true to say that our men are going forward with gladness and exultation. They know the risks ahead. There is nothing one can tell them about the horrors of war. They know its fearful fatigues, the beastliness of things, the stench and dust of the battlefield, the wicked snap of machine-gun bullets and the howl of the high velocities. But in spite of all that they are marching forward with a light in their eyes and eager looks, and whole armies are on the move with a grim kind of joy.

"It is an astounding pageant, these hundreds of thousands of men—English, Welsh, Canadians, Scottish, and Austrians—all moving in a long reaching tide with horses and guns and transport along tracks over old battlefields, going forward mile by mile very slowly because of the surge of traffic over narrow ways, but never stopping.

"Dust rises from these moving legions in brownish clouds which the wind tosses

above their steel helmets, and through this dust, in which the sun is shining hotly, there is a vision of brown masses of men with the glint of steel on rifles and helmets and twinkling colors, red and blue and green, of staff badges and pennons.

"Every man marches in a white mask of dust through which his eyes shine. Dispatch riders are threading their way through long lines of transport. The endless columns of lorries, field batteries, and gun horses are grotesque, like millers all floured from head to feet. The horses are superb and in splendid form, as though from an exhibition, and it goes to the heart to see so many lying dead on the fields after the recent battles.

"There is a great music of war over all this scene. Scottish battalions go forward to the fighting line led part of the way by their pipers, and across the battlefields come the wild cry of the pibroch and the drone of many pipes. The English battalions are marching with brass bands playing old English marching tunes, and, between whiles, merry bursts of ragtime. The crunching of gun wheels over rough ground, officers shouting orders to their men, the hooting of lorry horns and motor horns, and an incessant hum of airplanes overhead all make up a symphony which has a song of triumph in its theme.

"A French artist friend of mine watched this scene and it lighted fires in his eyes—the warrior look of our men, their splendor of physique and youth, their hardness and gravity, which seemed to him illumined by a sense of victory in their spirit. A young officer of a machine-gun section came down from the line slightly wounded, with a trickle of blood down his cheek, but there was a kind of glamour on his face as of some messenger of good fate, and seeing, perhaps, some look of understanding from the French painter who was watching him, he turned and laughed and waved his hand."

MAJOR GEN. WILLIAM S. GRAVES



Commander of the American expeditionary force in Siberia

(© Harris & Ewing)

GENERAL KIKUZO OTANI



The Japanese military leader who has been placed in command of
the allied forces in Siberia

(© K. Adachi)

The Fighting on the French Front

General Mangin's Offensive Along the Oise and Aisne Toward Laon and La Fère

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WHILE the British were making their onward sweep along the Somme River in August and September the French, with Americans, were continuing their pressure without cessation along the Oise and Aisne east and west of Soissons in the direction of the Hindenburg line stretching from Berry-au-Bac to Laon and La Fère. In September CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE gave the details up to the capture of Fismes, on the River Vesle, and the retreat of the Germans to the north side of that stream. The pressure of the armies of Generals Mangin, Humbert, Albert, Debeney, Degoutte, Berthelot, and De Mitry, with the aid of American units, was unrelenting along the front from Montdidier to Rheims. The French armies were in closest liaison with the advancing British troops to the north. Thus the whole allied front from Rheims to Lens was being steadily pushed forward to the Hindenburg line, and at several points, particularly in the north, several miles beyond it.

This movement was not as spectacular as the brilliant exploit in driving the Germans from the Château-Thierry pocket, but it was equally important; it enabled the British to achieve their triumphant progress on the north without the appalling loss of life that would have been inevitable had the Germans not been driven forward simultaneously on the south.

GENERAL MANGIN'S OFFENSIVE

The first important capture after Fismes was Lassigny, which was preceded Aug. 20 by a new offensive launched by General Mangin's 4th Army on an eighteen-mile front from Pimprez, opposite Ribecourt, on the Oise, to Fontenoy, on the Aisne near Soissons. Walter Duranty describes this operation as follows:

"Aug. 20.—The attack was launched at 7:10 A. M. today, and by 10 o'clock

the German positions had been penetrated, despite severe resistance at various points, to an average depth of four kilometers, and several thousand prisoners had been captured.

"The attack was prefaced by violent bombardment throughout Aug. 19. This increased during the night and culminated in a tremendous drumfire between dawn and the 'zero hour.'

"The prime object of the attack was the occupation of the great central plateau between the Oise and the Aisne. Six hundred feet high on the average, its top is a flat rolling country, almost unbroken by valleys, but slopes north and south, splintering into many ravines.

"The operations of the 17th and 18th had already taken the French well up the lower slopes, and the large force of tanks that supported the attack had an admirable field for work against the German machine-gun posts on the heights. The village and the ravine of Audignicourt, a little nearer Soissons, had been evacuated by the enemy, who directed such a deluge of mustard gas there as to render the ravine impassable. The assailants were quick to appreciate the situation, and, separating into two bodies, right and left, passed the obstacle, to rejoin on the tableland. This manoeuvre resulted in the capture of a large number of prisoners in a sunken road, running northward from the village where the enemy was retreating without undue haste, under the impression that the French would be checked for a considerable period.

"At Four-à-Verre and Croisette Farm, protected by the screen of the Ourscamps Forest, the resistance offered by the enemy was most determined, though in both cases it was ineffectual.

TEN THOUSAND PRISONERS

"Aug. 21.—Today the French took the village of La Pommeraye on the northern slope of Choisy and reached the Oise

along the main road from Bierancourt to Noyon, and practically re-established the line as it was before the Chemin des Dames battle, not only at a very small expense in lives, but in the face of resistance that has cost the enemy more than 10,000 prisoners, the loss of valuable material, and further depreciation of his morale.

"It is worth emphasizing that the whole operation has been less a separate battle than a second phase of the movement initiated by the Allies Aug. 8. Foch's tactics are "nibbling," plus an occasional bite. Yesterday's stroke was a bite, but that does not mean that the allied Generalissimo lacks the caution that inspired Joffre's historic saying.

"What the spirit of the French is was illustrated by the conduct of Marechal Logis Clement Darre, who was badly wounded in the eye while commanding a tank. At the same moment he learned that an officer commanding his unit had been killed. He immediately took the vacant place and despite his own suffering directed the operations of the unit for two whole days, wearing a summary first-aid bandage.

"On the evening of the second day he had reduced the great number of machine-gun nests, taken two minenwerfer, eight trench cannon, eight machine guns, and two field guns. When decorated with the Military Medal on the battlefield, he said simply: 'I am glad to have an opportunity to show what the tanks can do in battle if rightly handled.'

FALL OF LASSIGNY

"Aug. 22.—The Germans yesterday evacuated the whole forest of Ourscamps and Carlepont Wood—in consequence of the French progress from Pontoise along the Oise to Sempigny—and Dreslincourt massif fell into French hands like a ripe plum.

"The feature of yesterday's operations was the progress on the wings of the French armies. On the left, Lassigny was entered and the dominating height of Plemont was occupied soon afterward. During the night the pressure was maintained, and today it is announced that French cavalry has crossed the Divette at various points. Mangin's right has

pushed forward to the Oise and follows the example of the left by holding the river bank from Pontoise to Brentigny.

"On the whole front the enemy was in retreat during the night and this morning, with the French in hot pursuit. There are growing evidences of demoralization in the foe's ranks. The French once more are proving that, galvanized by victory, they can perform the impossible, despite the stifling heat and difficult country.

"An exploit of Sergeant Joseph Aigisier which won the Military Medal and War Cross on the battlefield is a typical example. After capturing a machine gun and two of its servants—he had killed two others by a daring 'Indian warfare' crawl through a cornfield under fire to a vantage point—the Sergeant became separated from the squad under his orders in a ravine where gas and shell smoke were so thick that it was impossible to see his hand before his face.

"Another company was advancing on the right. He joined them, but in the smoke and confusion of the battle's ebb and flow he again lost touch with the scattered line of skirmishers, and ran full tilt into a party of fifteen Germans, by whom he was captured after a desperate struggle in which he shot one and knocked out two others with his clubbed rifle butt.

"Sent to the rear under escort, he kept his wits about him despite the rough treatment he had just experienced, and noted all he could see of the enemy's movements and positions. When the party reached a wooded corner of the road he suddenly plunged at the nearest boche, hurling him headlong into a ditch, and through a hail of bullets dashed into the wood.

"There followed a two hours' Odyssey of adventures and hairbreadth escapes in the enemy lines, but Aigisier's luck held, and he rejoined the French successfully. Then he gave information which proved of the utmost value, and without more ado picked up the rifle and equipment of a dead comrade and returned immediately to the firing line.

"Nor is this an isolated case. I could quote hundreds like it, did space

permit. With such troops, the highest hopes are legitimate, and the optimism of the whole army was never so great."

CAPTURE OF ROYE

The important German base on the Riner Avre at Roye, which was the objective of the allied attacks for weeks, fell on Aug. 27. The final assault on the preceding day was described as follows by The Associated Press:

"Aug. 26.—Fighting in water up to their waists in the marshes along the Avre and charging the crews of machine guns who served their weapons until killed, the troops of the 3d French Army today took two of the strongest defenses of Roye. They also captured 600 prisoners and took important booty, including a large number of machine guns.

"The first attack was upon the Village of Fresnoy, two and one-half miles north of Roye, where the Germans had restored the old fortifications of 1914-17, reinforced them with wire, and installed many machine-gun nests. After a short artillery preparation, the French infantry stormed the position, rushing the concrete blockhouses and killing the gunners at their pieces.

"Fresnoy was one of the centres of enemy resistance around Roye that had held out against previous assaults, and from it the Germans had launched counterattacks in an effort to check the French offensive. Prisoners say the garrison had orders to hold out at any cost. The French attacked from the north and south simultaneously and with such dash that the enemy, although aware of the impending attack, was overwhelmed. Four hundred prisoners, including sixteen officers, were captured in the town.

"The Village of St. Mard, in the low marshlands of the Avre, south of Roye, and also a strong outpost of that town, fell into the hands of General Debeney's men this afternoon after a violent struggle. The Germans had reinforced their old defenses by flooding the ground around their concrete blockhouses with water turned out from the Avre.

"The battle opened with a hard struggle for the foot bridges over the river.

The Germans tried desperately to recapture the bridges, but were driven off by the French, who fought in water to their waists. At St. Mard, as at Fresnoy, the German machine-gun fire was silenced only when the gunners were killed at their pieces."

Roye had been encircled on three sides by the tactics of the French, which overcame the numerous machine-gun nests of the German defense. Strongly protected and heavily armed positions were turned, one after the other, until the enemy was obliged to abandon the first and then the second line of defenses of 1914, upon which he fell back after being driven out of Montdidier.

General Debeney's troops took Chaumes on Aug. 28, thus extending their front north from Roye and releasing large forces of British troops. After this success the whole French line from Chaumes to the Aisne was rapidly advanced, General Humbert's troops having gone forward in one day in the Noyon region over six miles.

DESTRUCTION OF NOYON

The onward sweep of the French continued. The important town of Noyon was taken Aug. 28. Ham to the north, Couchy to the south quickly followed, and the victorious French at points went beyond the Hindenburg line. The wanton destruction of Noyon by the retreating Germans was thus described by Mr. Duranty in a dispatch dated Sept. 7:

"'Mines. Danger of death. Entry forbidden,' ran an inscription in letters two feet high on barricades that shut the main street of Noyon as the correspondent's automobile jolted over a temporary structure which had replaced the causeway, destroyed by an enormous mine crater, across the unfinished canal and halted in the square on the outskirts of the town. Another car had just arrived, and by it were standing two civilians, Senator Noël, the aged Mayor of Noyon, and his deputy, M. Jouve.

"I accompanied Senator Noël down the Rue de Paris leading to the central square. Despite his age and a constitution enfeebled by captivity, he made his way nimbly enough over the single plank that bridged a chasm torn by a mine in

the main sewer that ran beneath the roadway. Devastation was as complete as the enemy could have wished. Houses on both sides were shells of crumbling walls, and the road was piled high with rubbish and heaps of stone.

"It is natural that much would be destroyed when the town was taken by assault," said the Senator, "but most of this is pure wantonness. The enemy has shelled the town day and night for the last eight days, and even now, when our advance has forced his guns out of France, he sent airplanes last night and the night before to wreak a last vengeance upon the city. Here was a girls' school, you would just know there had been a building; there was an almshouse for old men, it is in the same condition; everything must be rebuilt from the foundation."

CALVIN'S HOUSE GONE

"We came to a square where used to stand the house of Calvin. That was one of Noyon's glories. A big pile of stones, in which not even a trace of a wall was distinguishable, was all that remained.

"Here the boche destructiveness seemed to have reached its height. Mine craters were everywhere, and the houses had evidently been burned as well as shelled. We turned to the right toward the Town Hall, which had been one of the finest pieces of Renaissance architecture in France. As we entered the little square Senator Noël for the first time gave full vent to his grief.

"'Oh, my poor Town Hall!' he cried. 'My poor Town Hall! What purpose could it serve to destroy it? Ah, the bandits, the criminals!'

"The place had been smashed with true German thoroughness. The inside was completely gutted by fire and piled with charred beams and blocks of carved stone. Just enough of the façade, its beautiful stonework mutilated by shell splinters, remained to show what had been its glory, now departed.

"'It is pure wantonness,' said Deputy Jouve. 'We have an aerial photograph taken ten days ago, just after the boche was driven out, which shows this square and the Town Hall practically intact. Now look at it. Mines have destroyed

what the shells spared. I was the last man to leave town in a car with the Senator on March 25, and now I am the first to enter it. Our hearts were saddened enough then by defeat, but now in the hour of victory they are sadder still.

"After noting that the wooden structures erected by the American Red Cross near the Town Hall were mere heaps of ashes, we moved on to the cathedral, which has been preserved as by a miracle. The roof has been pierced by a dozen shells, and the interior stonework of the right-hand tower has all been smashed. The porch before the left tower was well-nigh obliterated by a huge shell, but the interior of the building suffered little. Chairs were still arranged in rows, the high altar was wholly intact, and, though the floor was covered with broken glass and rubbish, the work of restoration will not be difficult. I remarked a strange thing in one of the side chapels, where no shells or splinters seemed to have penetrated. A picture of Christ, ten feet square, was pierced with seven round holes, one exactly in the left side, and I wondered whether the revolver of some boche brute had not added sacrilege to vandalism.

"With the exception of the cathedral and a little side street from the Rue de Paris, called Rue de Saint Eloi, there is not a single building in Noyon that escaped injury, and the Mayor reckoned less than 10 per cent. capable of reconstruction."

DESTRUCTION OF HAM

Mr. Duranty visited Ham, recaptured a few days previously, and described the appalling destruction of the city under date of Sept. 10:

"The boches fired the town, which was practically uninjured by shellfire of friend and foe, with deliberate thoroughness, despite the fact that its position on what was virtually an island, formed by the Somme River on the north and the St. Quentin Canal on the south, made it unavailable for military purposes once the bridges were destroyed. I crossed the canal by clamoring across the lock gate that had escaped destruction, and passed out on

the further side by a tottering series of foot-wide planks spanning the riverbed.

"Chauny Street, leading to the market place, was piled high with the wreckage of fallen walls, and at the entrance to the square a group of poilus were risking their lives in clearing the outlet of a cellar in a house whose glowing beams still crackled into flame at each gust of wind and whose side walls threatened to fall at any minute.

"I talked with a woman named Léonie Verrier, who had hidden with her father and 15-year-old sister, and had ventured to creep out on Saturday morning, (Sept. 7.)

FIRE BY ELECTRICITY

"'Ham,' said the woman, 'was destroyed methodically by fires simultaneously started in every quarter by electric devices. Nearly a month ago we noticed the boches had begun fixing up wires in all directions, and we commented on the strangeness of such installation at a time when everything else pointed to a German retreat. It did our hearts good to see the stream of guns, the material, and the shattered, dispirited troops that had been pouring backward through Ham for the last few weeks.

"'As time passed the boches steadily continued their preparations for departure, removing wagonloads of furniture, and, indeed, everything of any value. But the wiring parties continued their work all the more busily.

"'Last Wednesday we had the key to the enigma. That morning the French guns were very near and a few shells fell close. At noon the boches issued orders to all civilians to evacuate the town. There were only about fifty inhabitants here, and perhaps twice that number of French and Belgian youths in the boche press gangs. Some fifteen of us and six boys managed to hide in the cellars. I believe all save one or two are now safely accounted for.

"'On the night from Wednesday to Thursday we heard a sudden outburst of small explosions all around. At first we thought there was grenade fighting in the street, as the noise was not loud enough for shells or airbombs. Before

dawn, father stole cautiously out. The whole town was flaming above our heads, but our house did not catch fire until we were able to leave it.

"'The boche wires had been connected with incendiary bombs which were fired simultaneously from a central electric control. Ham burned furiously all Thursday and Friday. On Saturday morning the fire was dangerously close, and we left the cellar, to meet French soldiers shortly afterward.'"

A WILDERNESS CREATED

George H. Perris, in a cable dispatch dated Sept. 10, threw further light on the intent of the retreating Germans to make a wilderness of the country they evacuate. He wrote:

"The field of the French advance toward St. Quentin and St. Gobain is now a wilderness in which there is not the least shelter, and scarcely any fuel is to be found. I notice that authorized writers in the German press glory in this fact.

"'A decisive struggle,' says Colonel Gaedke, 'will be made more difficult for the enemy by the devastation of the regions that now form a buckler before the German armies and will contribute to their successful defense.' An official Wolff message of Sept. 1 said the Allies would 'find for Winter only ground completely bare and devastated,' and on the following day the same agency remarked: 'The abandonment of this sector [north of the Oise] was prepared with our customary care, and we have been able without being interrupted to take away from this region everything that would be of any use to the adversary.'

"'The customary care' of the German Army from the highest to the lowest commands in the execution of acts of wholesale destruction and of theft is a characteristic to which since the beginning of the war I have often had to testify, at first with reluctance, afterward with a deepening, and now a long-confirmed disgust. The popular term of Hun misrepresents the facts; these are not acts of savagery, but cold-blooded and highly scientific rapine. They are

not accidental, but fundamental parts of the German campaign. Cities like Noyon and scores of villages sometimes, it is true, were much damaged by bombardment, but have afterward been completely razed by fire and explosive. However, every useful article had been first removed.

"One of my companions brought away from Noyon on Sunday of the German notice boards directing the sol-

diery to the 'Korps-Beutesammelstelle,' or loot store, which is conveniently fixed near the station. Detailed instructions lie before me for the seizure throughout the occupied country of the wool filling of mattresses and cushions, of which it is stated 10,000 tons already had been obtained on July 3, and from which millions of uniforms had been made." Instances like this could be multiplied indefinitely."

Americans in the Soissons Sector

Forcing the Germans to the Aisne—A Historic General Order by Pershing

THE American forces that had participated in the first offensive, launched July 18, and that had achieved the driving of the Germans from the Marne at Château-Thierry and across the Vesle, took part in no general engagement during the month ended Sept. 18, but their pressure against the German lines was constant. So strong did it become that in the end the enemy was forced to evacuate that sector and retreated northward across the Aisne.

On Aug. 27 General Pershing issued the following order:

It fills me with pride to record in general orders a tribute to the service achievements of the 1st and 3d Corps, comprising the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 26th, 28th, 32d, and 42d Divisions of the American Expeditionary Forces.

You came to the battlefield at a crucial hour for the allied cause. For almost four years the most formidable army the world has yet seen had pressed its invasion of France and stood threatening its capital. At no time has that army been more powerful and menacing than when, on July 15, it struck again to destroy in one great battle the brave men opposed to it and to enforce its brutal will upon the world and civilization.

Three days later, in conjunction with our allies, you counterattacked. The allied armies gained a brilliant victory that marks the turning point of the war. You did more than to give the Allies the support to which, as a nation, our faith was pledged. You proved that our altruism, our pacific spirit, and our sense of justice have not blunted our virility or our courage.

You have shown that American initiative and energy are as fit for the tasks

of war as for the pursuits of peace. You have justly won unstinted praise from our allies and the eternal gratitude of our countrymen.

We have paid for our success with the lives of many of our brave comrades. We shall cherish their memory always and claim for our history and literature their bravery, achievement, and sacrifice.

This order will be read to all organizations at the first assembly formations following its receipt.

PERSHING.

FRENCH GENERAL'S TRIBUTE

The following order was issued by General Degoutte and spread upon the minutes of the United States Congress on Sept. 9, 1918:

GENERAL ORDER. [TRANSLATION.]

SIXTH ARMY, COMMANDING POST,
Aug. 9, 1918.

Before the great offensive of July 18, the American troops, forming part of the 6th French Army, distinguished themselves by clearing the "Brigade de Marine" Woods and the village of Vaux from the enemy and arresting his offensive on the Marne and at Fossoy.

Since then they have taken the most glorious part in the second battle of the Marne, rivaling the French troops in ardor and valor.

During twenty days of constant fighting they have freed numerous French villages and made, across a difficult country, an advance of forty kilometers, which has brought them to the Vesle.

Their glorious marches are marked by names which will shine in future in the military history of the United States: Torcy, Belleau, Plateau d'Etrepilly, Epieds, Le Charmel, l'Oucq, Seringes-et-Nesles, Sergy, La Vesle et Fismes.

These young divisions, who saw fire for the first time, have shown themselves

worthy of the old war traditions of the regular army. They have had the same burning desire to fight the boche, the same discipline which sees that the order given by their commander is always executed, whatever the difficulties to be overcome and the sacrifices to be suffered.

The magnificent results obtained are due to the energy and the skill of the commanders; to the bravery of the soldiers.

I am proud to have commanded such troops. DEGOUTTE,

The Commanding General of the 6th Army.

TAKING JUVIGNY PLATEAU

The most important operation in which the Americans participated was the capture of Juvigny Plateau, north of Soissons, Aug. 29. This plateau dominated important strategic points. Edwin L. James, THE NEW YORK TIMES special correspondent, described the operations in this district in his cables, which are copyrighted for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE and extracts from which are appended:

"Aug. 28.—Leaping into a new attack three hours after reaching their sector, a small unit of American troops attacked the Germans this morning in a local operation north of Soissons. The fighting is continuing. The attacking Americans were a complete surprise to the Germans, who had the French opposed to them at midnight, and seven hours later found Yankee doughboys.

"The Americans are fighting with General Mangin's 10th French Army, with which other American troops fought so successfully a short distance away to the south of Soissons in the attack starting July 18.

"The Americans who hit the Germans this morning were brought from another part of France in camions. Under cover of the dense darkness last night they were taken to the front line to relieve the French troops. The relief was completed at 4:10 o'clock, and at 7 o'clock the Americans attacked, with the French on either side. Our troops were sandwiched between two famous French shock units.

"Our men took prisoners fifteen minutes after they started. By 9 o'clock more than 150 prisoners had been count-

ed, and more were coming in. There were officers among the prisoners, who expressed the greatest surprise that the Americans had attacked them.

INTENSE FIGHTING

"Aug. 30.—The Americans fighting with General Mangin's army north of Soissons and pushing against stubborn German resistance to better positions won in attacks of yesterday morning and last night when they made good gains eastward in the vicinity of Juvigny and the Bois de Beaumont.

"The Germans are putting up a most stubborn resistance against the pushing of the 10th French Army, and the resistance has been marked by strong counterattacks. The Americans have seen no fighting more strenuous than this. It is a second Battle of the Wilderness.

"Over the terrain which is the battlefield of our boys today war has swept four times. Of the pretty French villages of 1914 there stand now only rows of scarred stones, making these places look from a distance like huge, unkept graveyards. The fields and valleys are so scarred by war's ravage that for miles there is not one foot of the land which is not marked by a shell hole, trench, pillbox, or some other scar of the disease from which the world is suffering. There are marks of the struggle of 1914 mixed up with traces of the struggle of 1915. Then 1917 added its scars, and now the crumpled and torn landscape is receiving a new blight as the Germans are thrown back.

"What little shelter remained the Germans have recently destroyed. They have laid the land in such dismal waste as can be realized only by seeing it. They place explosives in the cellars so that the stones of destroyed houses fall deep down and leave a level waste of what has been a French town or village. Forests of former beauty now are only broken and stark poles, tossed and torn by shell-fire, and the little grass that had grown up is now stained to the dirty yellow of German mustard gas in hundreds of places.

"It is a terrible wound in the side of France which is now being cleaned so

that it may be mended. True it is that it may take many years to wipe out the marks of war, but the effacing years and the love of the civilized world will help brave France in her task.

"The Americans in this sector went into the battle on Wednesday morning when they took part in local operations, bringing back some two hundred prisoners. Yesterday morning at 7 o'clock as a part of General Mangin's attacking army the American fighters, after good artillery preparation, moved forward, aided by many tanks.

FLANKED MACHINE GUNS

"Our men swept against the machine-gun positions in the wood near Juvigny. In the midst of these woods is a little plateau which the Germans had fortified strongly with machine guns. To attack it frontally meant the loss of many men, but after a while fifty German machine gunners were surprised to find Americans leaping on them from behind. Our men had filtered through the woods and attacked the Germans from the west. They brought back nearly all these Germans as prisoners. The Germans hurled many counterattacks against our men in an effort to turn our advance into a defeat. While the line swayed, we held gains all through the afternoon.

"The Germans used a new weapon against the small tanks. This weapon is for all the world like an elephant gun. It is a big rifle, something more than half an inch in diameter, and shooting an armor-piercing bullet. In these small tanks the gunner stands with his head in the turret, and the Germans used these rifles against the turrets. Tanks must move in open ground, which means that they were exposed to snipers using this big rifle, who could have good shelter and be unmolested generally, inasmuch as the tanks are used to go ahead of the infantry."

About 4 o'clock part of the American line moved forward. Juvigny was believed to have been cleared. At least, four companies of Germans had been observed to evacuate the place and an aviator who flew over the position and who was the first airman who was not fired upon while engaged in reconnoissance

operations reported that he had seen no signs of the enemy.

The enemy, however, was there and at other positions as well. The ruins of villages and the hill to the north proved to be big nests of machine guns with supporting machine guns in the positions near by.

The Americans now settled down to a heartbreaking struggle. The men dug in, advancing one line after another.

The principal nearby support position for the Germans in Juvigny was the hill to the north. On it were concealed numbers of machine guns, but the American left wing succeeded in worming a line between it and the town, and from the other side there had been sent forward to a line beyond the objective another lot of troops who came in contact with the first detachments at a point almost directly to the east of the objective. Once the enveloping movement had been consummated the little place was taken by assault.

TERNY-SORNY

American Labor Day, Sept. 2, gave the United States troops north of Soissons an occasion to celebrate their success in reaching Terny-Sorny and the Soissons-St. Quentin highway after five days' fighting against four German divisions. Terny-Sorny, which lies across the road, was reached Sept. 1.

The foothold on the highway gave the Americans and French on either side a good position on the plateau running along north of the Aisne. To reach this position marked the accomplishment of an objective for which the Americans started Aug. 28, when they were thrown into the line in the region of Bieuxy. On their way they took about 1,000 prisoners. A correspondent wrote on Sept. 2:

"This has been one of the most stubborn, if not the most stubborn, fights in which the Americans have been engaged so far. French communiqués day after day have called attention to the stubbornness of the bloody fight when the Germans tried to hold the key position against the French and Americans north of Soissons. The American advance of the last days brought many thrilling

incidents. Our artillery received congratulations for its work in following the infantry closely and firing point-blank into pestiferous German machine-gun positions. Our seventy-fives got so close yesterday that the gun crews captured fleeing Germans.

"So marked was the enthusiasm of our artillerymen that on one occasion they found they had advanced even beyond our infantry and were doing skirmish fighting against enemy machine guns. A German battery yesterday found itself without infantry between it and the Americans, with both going the same way. Our machine gunners killed the horses at two guns and we captured the guns, both six-inch pieces.

"Our final attack, which took us to Torny-Sorny, was made after a series of three barrages. After the first barrage the Germans, not thinking there could be any other system than their own plan of one barrage before an attack, rushed from their shelters to meet the Americans. They met another barrage. They went back to shelter, to come out again after that barrage. They were then met by a third barrage.

"These tactics killed so many Germans and were so demoralizing to those remaining that our infantry, advancing behind the third barrage, was easily successful, and it was this attack which won more than 500 prisoners."

The United States troops in those five days captured nearly 1,000 prisoners, and upon a two-mile front drove the Germans back to a depth of four miles, forcing them out of Juvigny, off the Juvigny tableland, and eventually pushing them across the highly important Soissons-St. Quentin road. Four different German divisions were opposed to the one American division in the course of the five-day battle.

A correspondent wrote from the battlefield under date of Sept. 6:

"Off over the valley ahead of our men lies the Chemin des Dames, that choice sector of the famed Hindenburg line toward which the Crown Prince's "strategic victory" is taking his disappointed invaders away from France, which they

found fair, but are leaving desolate to the best of their ability. For behind him the Hun ever leaves as a memento of kultur wreckage and ashes and ruin and filth, seemingly forgetful entirely that some day the war will be taken to Germany.

"America should bear in mind that, of all the troops stretched along the Vesle front from Soissons to Rheims, Americans form comparatively a small part, perhaps an eighth. This eighth part of the task has been done well by our men, but the great burden has fallen upon the French troops.

"Here and there the fields are scarred by the ruins of the once pretty Aisne villages; despoiled by the Germans, they have been ruined by allied shells. Through glasses one could just see spires jutting upward away to the northwest, marking Laon. Nearer ran the ridge on which lies the Chemin des Dames.

"With the glasses one could see camions on the distant roads. A gun barks behind, and a moment later a cloud of dust marks the landing place of the shell. One could see figures dart from the shelter of the woods when one of our shells fell there. They were Germans. Then comes a nasty, ripping whiz, and a German shell lands half a mile ahead, and one sees Americans move hurriedly away as if another might be expected in the same place. Between shellfire and shellburst one hears the steam hammer sound of the machine gun, trying to make the American advance expensive in human material.

"In the work of clearing out the German machine gunners Americans are again using the Ford cavalry, the same consisting of machine guns mounted on Ford automobiles, which scurry up the roads where the Germans have machine-gun nests. These unarmored 'tanks' are very successful. It will be remembered that the Americans used them to good advantage in July north of Chateau-Thierry.

"The German withdrawal is being made in compliance with an elaborate plan. A captured order shows the instructions issued to each unit as to just how to fall back, and what to do in case

of surprises. A significant part of the order is that providing for rearguard units, which are instructed to stay behind and hold the Allies, and to withdraw only when forced to do so. One would be lacking in fairness if he did not note the bravery of these men, who practically give up nine chances out of ten when they take the assignment."

INDIVIDUAL BRAVERY

Instances of the bravery of American officers and men on the Vesle front, where the 77th (Camp Upton) Division is fighting, were narrated by Thomas M. Johnson, the special correspondent of *The New York Evening Sun* with the American Army, in a dispatch dated Aug. 31. Mr. Johnson told how Private Sing Kee of Bayard Street, Manhattan, stuck to his post through a German shell storm, how Captain James A. Roosevelt kept cartridges and grenades going forward through a hot fight, and how Frederick Stouke of Second Avenue, College Point, alone captured three prisoners in a shell hole and brought in one of them, who had been wounded on the way, on his back. Captain H. E. Stadie of 270 Willis Avenue, the Bronx, ran out from his dugout and carried a wounded gunner 200 yards to a place of safety.

He tells how Captain Robert P. Patterson of Glens Falls, N. Y., went out with

Corporals R. A. Straub of 6 Hamilton Terrace and P. J. Carroll of 158 East 102d Street toward the outskirts of Bazoches. They ran into a German post containing about ten men, two of whom Captain Patterson killed with a rifle, while Straub and Carroll accounted for one each.

"In company with other officers," Mr. Johnson reports, "Captain Patterson did other gallant work previously, when his men were being heavily shelled in a sunken road somewhere near Chery Chartreuse. With Captain J. O. Adler of 308 West Seventy-fifth Street, [Captain Adler was a member of the staff of *THE NEW YORK TIMES* and *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*,] Lieutenant Sutherland of 57 East 127th Street, and Lieutenant Michael J. Hayes of Cleveland, Ohio, he went on an exposed crest of a ridge, where they selected suitable cover for the men. They showed them how to dig in or take advantage of the natural protection afforded by the slope, calmly walking down to direct this or that man to protect himself, disregarding their own danger.

"The result of their brave leadership was that, although the shelling continued intensely for an hour, the men under their command suffered only four casualties, about one-third of 1 per cent. of the total force."

Germans in Our Army

Charles H. Grasty, staff correspondent of *THE NEW YORK TIMES*, cabled from France on Sept. 6:

"From what I have seen in this war, I would trust all the various new elements in our population as fully as Revolutionary stock. I have never seen more true-hearted Americans than these splendid fellows from the Middle West, with their German names. I heard of one whole company in another division where German was the language spoken. Not a single case of disloyalty has appeared in the whole army, as far as I know.

"In a round way, perhaps, every fourth name in the ranks is German. We have no better soldiers. They are too confident of their own Americanism to have any sensitiveness or self-conscious-

ness. One man, whose name is very like the word 'boche,' told me laughingly that his comrades had made it into that; but he took it good-humoredly.

"While on this general subject, I should like to say that the people one meets in Europe wonder at the American solidarity. With 10 per cent. of our people of Teutonic origin, Europeans expected internal trouble. They lost sight of the absolute and complete Americanization of the elements coming to us from Europe. While there have been some few traitors, and such cases stand out conspicuously and attract general attention, the people here think that the thorough Americanism of practically the whole German-American body is one of the wonderful things of the war."

The Battle of St. Mihiel

How the First Independent American Offensive Wiped Out the Famous Salient in Lorraine

THE first major operation in France by the 1st American Army, acting as an independent unit under General Pershing, was the wiping out of the famous St. Mihiel salient in Lorraine, Sept. 13 and 14, 1918. In twenty-seven hours after the offensive was launched 155 square miles of territory were recaptured from the Germans, a hostile force estimated at 100,000 was forced to evacuate the section in haste, and more than 15,000 officers and men were captured, with hundreds of guns. General Pershing in his official communiqué on Sept. 14 made the following report:

The dash and vigor of our troops, and of the valiant French divisions which fought shoulder to shoulder with them, is shown by the fact that the forces attacking on both faces of the salient effected a junction and secured the result desired within twenty-seven hours.

Besides liberating more than 150 square miles of territory and taking 15,000 prisoners, we have captured a mass of material. Over 100 guns of all calibres and hundreds of machine guns and trench mortars have been taken.

In spite of the fact that the enemy during his retreat burned large stores, a partial examination of the battlefield shows that great quantities of ammunition, telegraph material, railroad material, rolling stock, clothing, and equipment have been abandoned. Further evidence of the haste with which the enemy retreated is found in the uninjured bridges which he left behind.

French pursuit, bombing, and reconnoissance units, and British and Italian bombing units divided with our own air service the control of the air, and contributed materially to the success of the operation.

THE OPERATION

A correspondent of The Associated Press described the operation as follows:

"The enemy did not offer the opposition expected of him, but that was partly due to the perfection in the conception and execution of the attack by which he was stopped. Prisoners tell how division

called to division in vain for aid, little knowing that the source from which it sought help was in even more desperate straits.

"Where the German troops were willing to fight—which was not everywhere—they were frequently left in such sad case by faulty liaison work that they had no option but to surrender. One such amusing case occurred when an entire regiment, with its commander and his staff, was captured. It had been left with both its flanks in the air, and suddenly found the Americans on all four sides of it.

"After surrendering, the commander requested that his roll should be called so that he might discover how heavy had been his losses. When it was called every one answered his name but one officer and one private. The commander then suggested that, as his command was so disconcertingly complete, he should march it off in whatever direction his captors desired. So it came to pass that one was met by the astonishing spectacle of an entire German regiment marching off the battlefield under its own officers, guarded by a few jocular but ridiculously inadequate troopers, who looked, with their cowboy seat in the saddle and their reckless good humor, like Highland drovers of a bygone century herding raided cattle home.

THE PINCERS AT WORK

"The operation, to explain it in more detail, was of the pincers type always used to nip off a salient. One claw of the pincers, some twelve miles thick, rested on the Moselle at about Pont-à-Mousson. The other, about eight miles thick, rested on the heights of the Meuse at Haudiomont, a little to the east of the river. The distance to be filled up between the claws of the pincers was about thirty miles, and the ground to be nipped off by them would be about 200 square miles.

"It was thus a pretty big operation to be put through in two days on a sector that had been as stubborn to impression as almost any on the whole front. But it has been carried out not only without a hitch of any kind, but throughout in advance of the scheduled program and in weather conditions that were unfavorable throughout for all arms, and especially for the tanks and the aircraft.

"The first day's fighting saw the southern claw of the pincers advance up to the full limit assigned to it, but the western had to face more difficult ground and more strenuous opposition. It, too, however, reached its assigned position later in the day.

"Consider now how interesting was the situation. The claws of the pincers were but four miles apart. They were pursuing a large force of the enemy ahead and away from the end, and at the same time they were inclosing an unknown but certainly also a large force of the enemy in the 200 square miles that their grip embraced. When the claws met, then the arms would have a big force of the enemy on either side of them, and they then might have to fight facing both ways.

"They took a chance, for the enemy was reported to be escaping between the claws at the rate of a thousand an hour when early on Sept. 13 they closed and trapped a so far unknown number of the enemy. A chance shot at the number of the Germans inside the salient when the operation began would be from 90,000 to 100,000. Many of the roads were lined with them on the 14th, and up to the 15th over 15,000 prisoners had been counted.

THE RESULTS GAINED

Thomas M. Johnson, in a cable dispatch to The New York Sun, dated Sept. 17, summarized the results gained as follows:

"The 1st American Army has demonstrated that it can handle itself in action. It has passed the leading stage now. By its capable working in all its parts it shows that the 'emergency' of last Spring when the American troops had to be amalgamated with the French and British because they could not stand

alone is now over, and from now on the trend will be toward a group of American armies fighting under their own flag, own Generals and own staff, though always on an equal footing with the French and British Armies under the master command of Foch as part of a single allied force.

"That the material results of the battle of St. Mihiel are important is readily comprehensible. The wedge that the Germans had pushed into the allied line, a dagger pointing at the heart of Eastern France, has disappeared, and immortal Verdun is freed forever from menace on its right flank. The dominating heights of the Meuse are in the hands of the Allies, who therefrom command the new German position. The trunk line railroad through Commercy to the towns of St. Mihiel, Thiaucourt, and Vigneulles has been reconquered, and Pont-à-Mousson, which was formerly in the front line, is now four miles behind the front, to say nothing of the fact that some seventy villages and 3,500 kilometers of French soil are liberated."

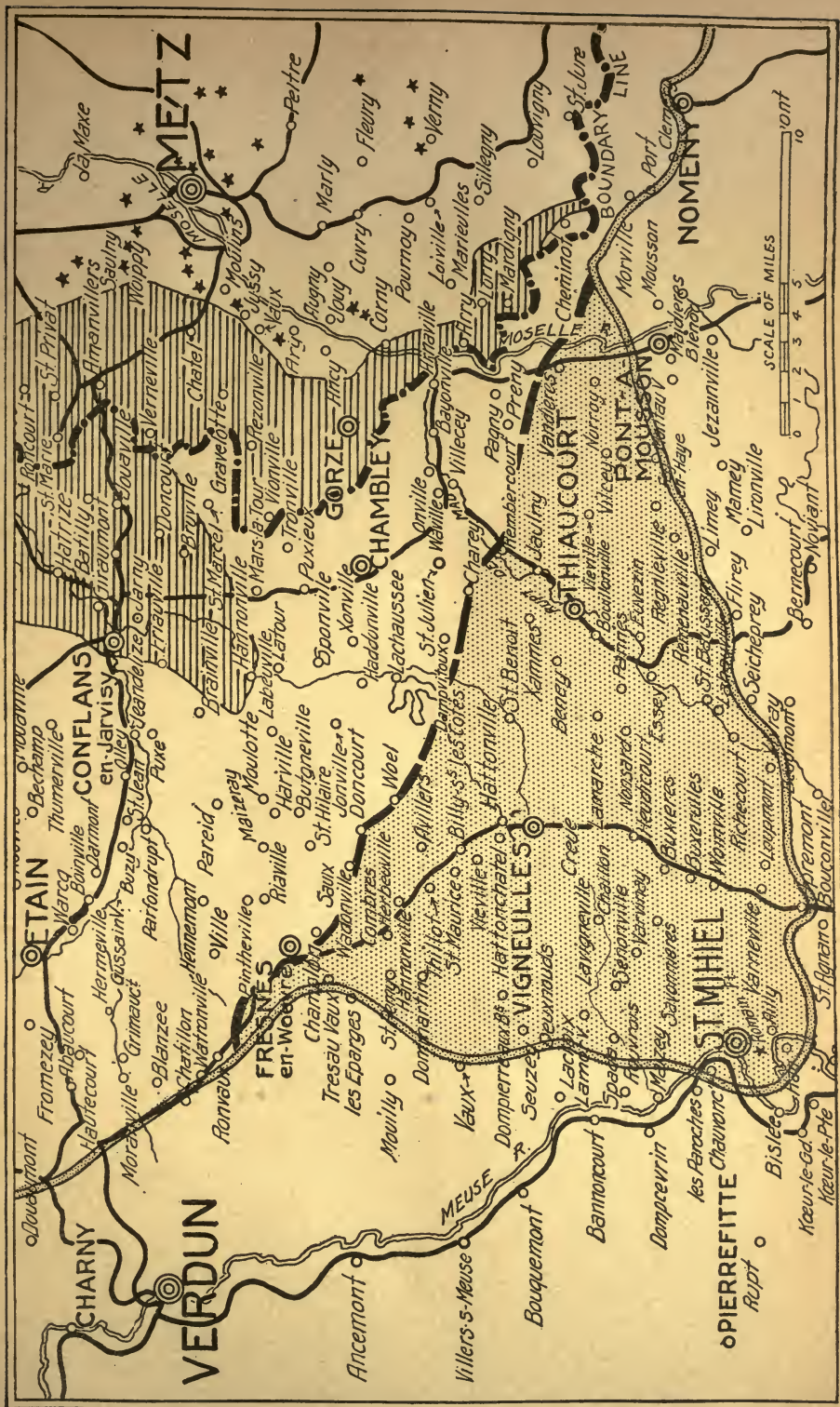
CHARGE UP LES EPARGES

The main defense was encountered along the western side of the salient. The Germans held a series of high hills which dominated the Woivre Plateau. It was to take these natural fortifications, equipped with every defensive device, that the Americans were ordered to attack. All previous efforts to capture Les Eparges, the highest elevation, had failed in the past.

At the conclusion of artillery preparation the French and Americans swept forward in a rush that never stopped until they had reached every height in the long series which extend southward nearly to St. Mihiel. Thousands of miles of barbed wire had been stretched at intervals back of the German front lines, and every foot of the way was through underbrush, thick with machine guns.

Nearly everywhere the American artillery played havoc with the barbed wire, tearing open paths for the infantry. Only the solid, reinforced concrete forts topping the heights seemed impervious to the fire from the heavy guns.

From Les Eparges the Allies stormed



SCENE OF GREAT AMERICAN DRIVE THAT WIPED OUT THE ST. MIHEL SALIENT. LOWER SHADED AREA SHOWS GAINS MADE BY PERSHING UP TO SEPT. 18, 1918. UPPER SHADED AREA IS BRIEY IRON BASIN, THE KEY TO VICTORY. STARS INDICATE GERMAN FORTS.

the villages of Herbeuville, Hannonville, Thillot, St. Maurice, Billy, and Hattongchâteau, and then in the depth of night entered Vigneulles, at the southern end of the line of heights. To reach these points they had to advance through thickets of machine guns.

WELCOME TO DELIVERERS

The inhabitants of the salient were absolutely ignorant of the events of history in the last four years, knowing only what their captors had told them. Here the sad stories heard in the whole of the reclaimed districts of France were accentuated by the long years of German control, which had isolated the people from news of relatives and of world happenings.

The civilian population, consisting almost entirely of women and children because of the forcible removal of practically every male of military age, welcomed Newton D. Baker, the American Secretary of War, and Generals Pershing and Pétain when they visited St. Mihiel a few hours after it was captured.

Aged women and girls crowded about Secretary Baker and the two Generals accompanying him to express their thanks and pay homage to their deliverers. It was not merely curiosity; it was an emotional outburst following almost four years of the conqueror's suppression. The word was passed about that the small civilian was the Secretary of War of the United States, whose armies had accomplished their relief, and from half-destroyed houses and from points far removed from the centre of the village they poured forth to get a glimpse of the visitors.

A military band was brought up from the rear, the "Marsellaïse" was played, and the restraint of the civilians in the presence of the visitors broke down completely. Women crowded forward ostensibly to shake the Secretary's hand, but instead they kissed his hands and wept, and then they joined in a chorus of "Vives." There were no speeches, but repeatedly Secretary Baker responded briefly to expressions of gratitude, often half-hysterically uttered by the women and children.

Every American entering the village had the same reception as that accorded to Secretary Baker and General Pershing and their party. Aged men and women seized and kissed the hands of the officers and correspondents, crying and laughing, the curiously aged children imitating their elders unknowingly. For their own compatriots, however, the greetings were deeper, and the French patrols and troops following were even more affected than those who had been delivered.

DETAILS OF THE PROGRESS

Edwin L. James, THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE correspondent, in his cable of Sept. 14 gave these details:

"Our artillery preparation, which was of unprecedented intensity, started at 1 A. M. Sept. 12, and at 5 o'clock the attack on the south side of the salient began. An hour later the attack on the west side started. The big attack was successful from the start. By noon we had taken Lahayville, St. Baussant, the Bois de Mortmare and Vilcey, and at nightfall we had pushed beyond Essey, had taken the important town of Thiaucourt and had reached Villers sur Penny. By night out attack on the west, which had met some resistance, had passed St. Remy and Combres. We took 10,000 prisoners on the first day.

"On the night of the 12th we moved on into Pannes, which had been cleared by the tanks, and took Nonsard and Buxieres. We surrounded Montsec, got Woinville, and occupied St. Mihiel before 9 o'clock. On the west side we pushed in by Spada and Lavigneville and by midnight we got to Chaillon. In a brilliant advance, meanwhile, our forces, attacking near St. Remy, swept through the Forêt de Montagne, and just at midnight they occupied the western part of Vigneulles.

"Army headquarters was electrified to get the news that at 3 o'clock the forces attacking from the south had also reached Vigneulles. This meant that the St. Mihiel salient had been cut off. We did not hold all the ground south of us, paradoxical as it may sound, for in a large stretch of wood, north of St. Mihiel,

we did not know what was there. By 9 A. M., Sept. 13, our forces met.

"The junction was made at Heudicourt, and we had cleaned out all the territory immediately north of the woods lying north of St. Mihiel. Meanwhile other troops had chased the Germans from Norroy and had gone into the Bois de Grandfontain and captured Jaulnay, Xammes, and St. Benoit, as well as Hattonville.

"In the afternoon we started to pry into our prize package north of St. Mihiel. This comprised the Bois de Versel, the Bois de Gaumont, and the Bois de Wawroils, and we found there several thousands of men. A Colonel and a Major sent word that they wished to surrender and were accommodated. They seemed glad to be captured and could not tire of talking about what being under our artillery fire was like. They said it was like hell.

"In those woods were tons and tons of ammunition. On the upper end a big American shell had landed on the railroad track. Just behind the break stood twenty-two cars, all loaded with big gun ammunition. There were also guns to use it. Several thousand machine guns formed part of the booty there. Among our prisoners were a considerable number of Austrians, whom the Kaiser had brought to the west front to oppose the Americans. They did not fight at all. Several hundred were taken from the 35th Austro-Hungarian Division."

GERMAN LOOTING

When the Germans withdrew they took practically all the man power among the French civilians in thirty villages. From St. Mihiel town they took all the men between 16 and 45 years back into Germany. They had used these men during their four years' occupation of the salient. Thiaucourt, a beautiful town, was stripped of all valuables and the stores had been rifled of all supplies of every nature weeks before. At St. Mihiel the two banks of the city had been broken open and all moneys and papers taken. The city had been forced to pay a contribution of 2,000,000 francs to the Germans.

The Mayor of St. Mihiel made the fol-

lowing statement to THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE correspondent:

"The Germans exacted a heavy money toll. First there was 1,500,000 francs on their arrival—'to ransom us from sack,' said the German commander. We could never have paid even that much without the establishment of a syndicate bond system, guaranteed by forty communes in the Woevre region. Those bonds formed our money, (the unit value was 5 francs each,) and small change was supplied by paper-money from Lille, Roubaix, Douai, and other occupied towns. Then the boches exacted an additional 500,000 in three installments during the last two years, nominally for the maintenance of roads, water, conduits, and the like. We met that in the same way.

"They refused to accept French money at the canteens and the market gardens established after the first year, but willingly changed it for bonds and small bills. They tried especially to get gold. They even offered a premium of 45 per cent. at their own bank, set up in the square. But the boches got precious little.

"It was in respect to 'requisitions' of furniture and mattresses that they treated us worst. All unoccupied houses were stripped first; then they took what they wanted from the rest of us."

The correspondent talked with a man of 74 whom the Germans robbed of a mattress on which he was lying sick, early this year. When he protested against the outrage, they said that the German soldiers' comfort was worth more than the lives of old Frenchmen.

"During the last two years," continued the Mayor, "they took away all metal utensils, and even bells, statues, and all water pipes they could find. As regards food, we were kept alive by the American Committee. At first we got meat (horseflesh) pretty regularly, but for the last year we have had nothing save vegetables and the daily allowance of 300 grams of very bad bread, thirty grams of fat and a little bacon. About once a month when a horse was killed or died it was distributed among us.

But we were forced to slaughter all dogs."

PERSHING CONGRATULATED

The success of the American Army was hailed with delirious joy throughout France and produced a profound effect in all countries. President Wilson sent his "warmest congratulations on the brilliant achievement," and his "affectionate thanks." Congratulatory messages were received by General Pershing from Marshal Foch, Premier Lloyd George, Premier Clemenceau, and Field Marshal Haig; cablegrams of congratulation were received by President Wilson from the Kings of Italy and Great Britain; from President Poincaré, and the Presidents of several Central and South American States.

BATTLEGROUND A FORTRESS

Thomas Johnson visited the salient Sept. 14 and described the battleground as follows:

"The further one goes the stronger becomes the impression of how strongly fortified was this whole place. It abounded in dugouts deep and strong and well built, while in all villages and many other places were the famous steel and concrete German pill boxes. American officers and soldiers were eating German food and drinking German beer in the captured dugouts.

"To get the full flavor of the victory the best way is to go over the battlefield from our old front line starting at Seicheprey, where the Americans had their first real fight with the enemy last April. Passing Remières Wood on the right one rides through our old trenches, then goes into No Man's Land and across to Lahayville, Sainteaussant, and Richécourt—villages that thousands of Americans have looked at longingly since Jan. 18, when the first American force took over the sector facing them. One trip over the ground is enough to show that the defenses the Americans went up against here were as strong as those on the Somme, Chemin des Dames or any other famous battle sectors of the west front.

"The greatest fortress of all was

Montsec itself, and nothing that has ever been said about that solitary peak can convey an idea of how it dominated and looked down upon our old trenches around Seicheprey, Xivray, Beaumont, Rambucourt, Bouconville, and all those other towns that one is able now for the first time to name as having held the Americans ever since January. The only way to get an idea of it is to climb to the top of the Woolworth tower. It dominates New York no more than Montsec dominates its surroundings.

STEEL DUGOUTS

"From there the boche could see every single American who walked in the road or in a trench for ten miles on a clear day. That's not the only reason why Montsec seemed a great goal. It was a symbol of the future, for they knew that when they could take it it would mean the time of the fulfillment of their promise had come. Seeing Montsec, one realizes what a veritable fortress it was, not only because of its steep wooded sides, but because of its dugouts, which were not really dugouts but subterranean chambers capable of holding thousands of men. They were made of steel, concrete, stone, mortar, brick, forty or fifty feet within the mountainside. Some built in 1915 are ornamented with the German coat of arms. They are littered with maps, papers, clothing, knickknacks, showing they were furnished in great comfort with beds, chairs, and pictures.

"The Germans had four years to do it in. These dugouts, facing north and so difficult of observation by the Allies, had fine porches, pretty tables with a splendid view across to the Meuse heights, and it was there the German officers used to drink their beer. One of them had a hammock slung under the trees and another had an open air bath tub, but great gaps showed where our shells had crashed in upon them, and one big dugout, by name 'Villa Minna,' had completely caved in. The occupants lay on their faces on the floor. In another dugout lay a dead German officer, while beside him lay a dog silently watching his dead master. He wouldn't make a responsive sign to coaxing or whistling.

PROFESSOR THOMAS G. MASARYK



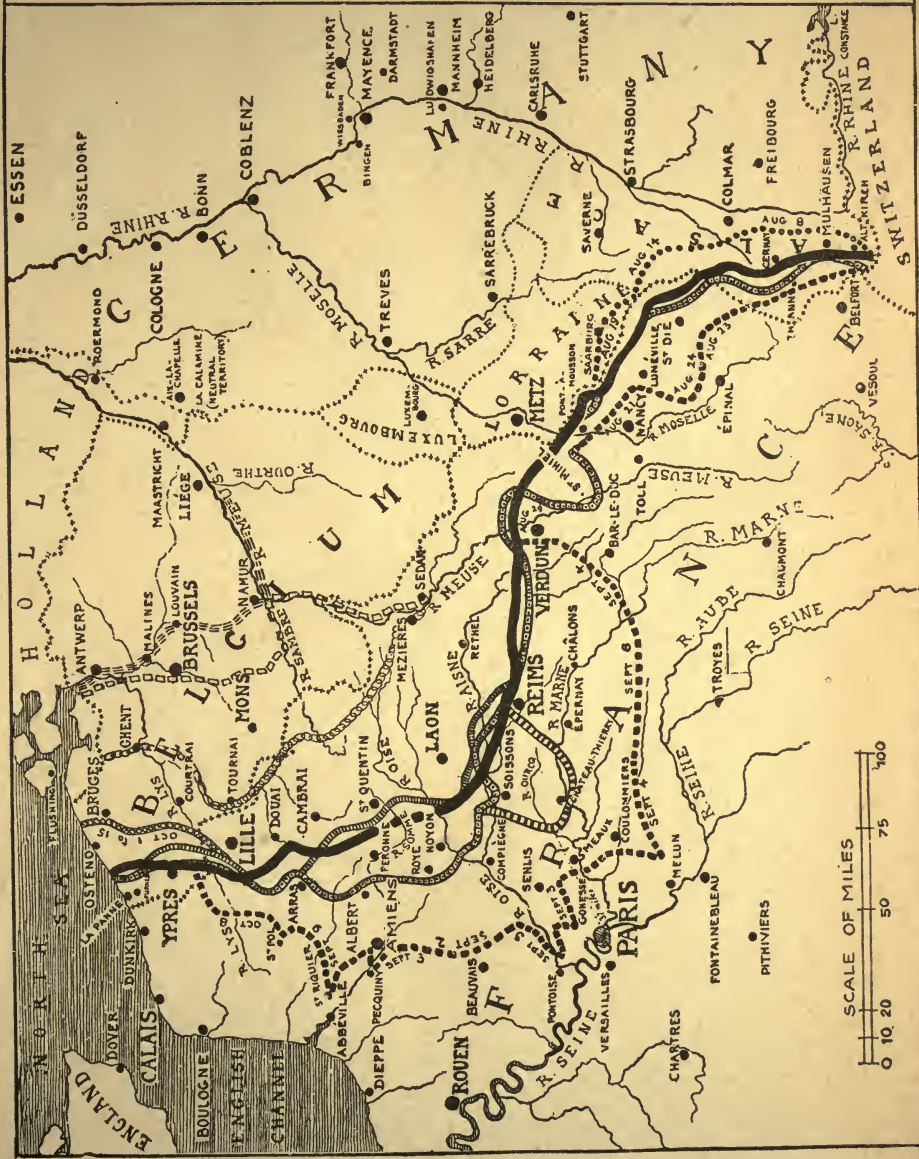
Chairman of the Czechoslovak National Committee, which has been
recognized by the Allies as the governing body of
the Czechoslovak Nation

(© Harris & Ewing)



Arras Cathedral as it appears after four years of war

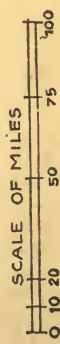
(© Underwood & Underwood)



PRINCIPAL CHANGES
IN WESTERN BATTLE
FRONT FROM AUGUST
1914 TO SEPTEMBER 1918

- BATTLE LINE
SEPT 18, 1918
- LINE AT END
OF 1914
- ▨ LINE ON MARCH
21, 1918
- ⊠ FARTHEST ADVANCE
OF ALLIES IN BELGIUM
- FARTHEST FRENCH
ADVANCE IN ALSACE
AND LORRAINE
- ▤ FARTHEST GERMAN
ADVANCE, JUNE 1918
- ▥ FARTHEST GERMAN
ADVANCE IN 1914
- ⊞ FIRST GERMAN
LINE OF DEFENCE
- SECOND GERMAN
LINE OF DEFENCE
- ≡≡≡ THIRD GERMAN
LINE OF DEFENCE
- ++++ FRONTIER LINES

NOTE: ALL DATES IN THE
MAP REFER TO 1914



"The whole top of the mountain is elaborately interlaced with paved paths railed with rustic woodwork, leading to all manner of observation posts with outlooks at every possible angle. One big, pretentious villa had been occupied

by a German Brigadier. The strange coincidence is that the Americans got at Château-Thierry complete information as to the exact whereabouts of everything atop Montsec. They captured maps showing the whole thing."

Raising a New and Greater Army

The United States Extends Draft Ages to Make All Men Between 18 and 45 Liable for Service

IN record time Congress enacted a new law extending the American draft ages to all males between 18 and 45, inclusive. President Wilson signed the bill on Aug. 31, 1918, and simultaneously issued a proclamation in which he appointed Thursday, Sept. 12, as the day of registration. The President's proclamation said in part:

Fifteen months ago the men of the country from 21 to 31 years of age registered. Three months ago, and again this month, those who had just reached the ages of 21 were added. It now remains to include all men between the ages of 18 and 45.

This is not a new policy. A century and a quarter ago it was deliberately ordained by those who were then responsible for the safety and defense of the nation that the duty of military service should rest upon all able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45. We now accept and fulfill the obligation which they established, an obligation expressed in our national statutes from that time until now. We solemnly purpose a decisive victory of arms, and deliberately to devote the larger part of the military man power of the nation to the accomplishment of that purpose.

The younger men have from the first been ready to go. They have furnished voluntary enlistments out of all proportion to their numbers. Our military authorities regard them as having the highest combatant qualities. Their youthful enthusiasm, their virile eagerness, their gallant spirit of daring, make them the admiration of all who see them in action. They covet not only the distinction of serving in this great war, but also the inspiring memories, which hundreds of thousands of them will cherish through the years to come, of a great day and a great service for their country and for mankind.

By the men of the older group now

called on the opportunity now opened to them will be accepted with the calm resolution of those who realize to the full the deep and solemn significance of what they do. Having made a place for themselves in their respective communities, having assumed at home the graver responsibilities of life in many spheres, looking back upon honorable records in civil and industrial life, they will realize as perhaps no others could how entirely their own fortunes and the fortunes of all whom they love are put at stake in this war for right, and will know that the very records they have made render this new duty the commanding duty of their lives. They know how surely this is the nation's war, how imperatively it demands the mobilization and massing of all our resources of every kind. They will regard this call as the supreme call of their day, and will answer it accordingly.

Only a portion of those who register will be called upon to bear arms. Those who are not physically fit will be excused; those exempted by alien allegiance; those who should not be relieved of their present responsibilities; above all, those who cannot be spared from the civil and industrial tasks at home upon which the success of our armies depends as much as upon the fighting at the front. But all must be registered, in order that the selection for military service may be made intelligently and with full information.

This will be our final demonstration of loyalty, democracy, and the will to win, our solemn notice to all the world that we stand absolutely together in a common resolution and purpose. It is the call to duty to which every true man in the country will respond with pride and with the consciousness that in doing so he plays his part in vindication of a great cause at whose summons every true heart offers its supreme service.

An estimate prepared by the Provost Marshal General's office gave the num-

ber of men who would be affected by the new law as 12,788,758, as compared with 9,586,508 registered under the original service law. The Provost Marshal General's statement read in part:

At the time preparations were first being made for the registration under the law extending the ages to 18 and 45, both inclusive, the calculations of the Provost Marshal General, based on data furnished by the Census Bureau and by insurance actuaries, placed the total population of the new ages to be included at 13,000,000 in round numbers. More accurately stated, the number was 13,190,000. But, although this is the estimated number of males of those ages, the law does not require persons in active military or naval service to register, such registration being obviously impracticable for these men.

It cannot be stated with certainty just what is the number of men of these ages in the army and navy. But all of the inductions under the selective service law have been between the ages of 21 and 30; therefore, all men between the ages of 18 and 20 and 32 and 45 now in active service in the army and navy must have come in by enlistment.

The total number of enlistments in the army, navy, and Marine Corps to date is estimated at nearly 1,400,000. Of this number it is estimated that those under the age of 21 (which includes a small number under the age of 18) total about 245,000; and that the number between the ages of 32 and 45 is about 165,000, or an estimated total of 410,000 men in active military and naval service between the ages of 18 to 20 and 32 to 45. These 410,000 are, under the law, not obliged to register and must, therefore, be deducted from the 13,190,000 in making estimates as to the number who are actually due to register. This deduction will leave about 12,780,000 as the approximate number of registrants to be expected if the maximum number is attained.

To ascertain the estimated shares of those registrants to be expected in the several States the above figure of 12,780,000 has been distributed in the same ratio shown by the registration of ages 21 to 30 on June 5, 1917. This ratio, of course, will not be exactly fulfilled in the coming registration, owing to the shifting of the industrial population, the different distribution of ages in the different States, and certain other minor considerations, but it is the nearest ratio that is attainable.

The total number of men to be obtained for general military service under the registration was estimated at 2,300,000, of whom probably two-thirds would be between the ages of 18 and 20 years,

inclusive. Youths in their nineteenth year were placed in a separate group, which was not to be drawn upon until the supply of other available men in the new classes was exhausted. The first classes to be called to the colors, it was announced, would be youths of 19 and 20 years and men of 32 to 36 inclusive.

POLLING OUR MAN POWER

The registration of millions of youths and men in the prime of life took place quietly on Sept. 12 all over the United States. A noteworthy feature of the day was the absence of any report of disturbance or breakdown in the registration machinery anywhere in the country. In the words of Provost General Crowder, it was "a superb demonstration of the will of the American people." The following day enough of the results had been reported to show that the total registration would considerably exceed the Government's estimate. General Crowder sent this message to General Pershing:

The nation responded yesterday with an enrollment which promises to exceed all estimates, thus assuring an uninterrupted flow of man power to the army under your command.

The work of stamping the serial numbers on the cards and arranging them in classes was begun immediately by the 5,000 local boards, and the mailing of questionnaires to youths of 19 and 20 years and men of 32 to 36 years, inclusive, was started about a week later. General Crowder announced that the draft would be held as early in October as possible, and that the first 250,000 or 300,000 men of the new draft would be called to their cantonments within a few weeks thereafter. The War Department announced plans for enlarging nine or more of the cantonments to provide immediately for 77,000 more men than in the first draft, and it was stated that before Spring there would be quarters for upward of 150,000 more men than at the time of the first call.

ARMY OF FIVE MILLIONS

The new draft made it possible to carry out the program of having eighty divisions, or approximately 4,000,000

men, in France by June 30, 1919. This great army was easily obtainable from the men eligible under the new law, as well as eighteen additional divisions to be trained and held in readiness in the United States by the same date, making a total of nearly 5,000,000 men under arms. Plans to provide supplies and equipment for that number of men were already under way before registration day. Brig. Gen. R. E. Wood, Quartermaster General, exhibited a chart of the staggering items early in September, and said to a reporter:

Here are some of the requirements of an army of 5,000,000: 17,600,000 blankets, 28,000,000 woolen breeches, 34,000,000 woolen drawers, 7,973,000 overcoats, 33,000,000 pairs of shoes, 25,000,000 flannel shirts, 110,000,000 pairs of stockings, 7,000,000 campaign hats, 9,500,000 overseas caps. In certain items we are now ready for the army of 5,000,000; that is, either the stuff has been bought or the contracts have been let. Among items in this class are Summer undershirts, gloves, khaki coats and trousers, puttees, and barrack bags.

The General Staff notifies us thirty days ahead of a draft, and we have things fixed now so that we are not afraid of it, in whatever part of the country the demand for supplies comes. We have great storage depots in this country at Boston, New York, Baltimore, Atlanta, Chicago, St. Louis, Jeffersonville, Ind.; San Antonio, San Francisco, and El Paso. From these depots we serve the camps nearest to them. The biggest distributing depot is that in Atlanta; there are ten camps in the Atlanta district.

On the other side our stock depots are of three kinds—the one at the base section, where a forty-five-day surplus is maintained; then at the intermediate section, where the supply is for thirty days, and at the advance section, where it is for fifteen days. The key to the whole situation is the stock report.

DRAFTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

During the debate in Congress considerable discussion took place on the question of drafting youths of 18. To throw further light on the subject the following facts were presented and read into the record:

DRAFTING OF YOUNG MEN IN GREAT BRITAIN DURING THE EUROPEAN WAR

Under the provisions of the Military Service act of 1916, which went into effect Feb. 10, 1916, every male British subject, a resident of Great Britain, who

had reached the age of 18 and was under 41 and was unmarried or a widower without children, was deemed to have been duly enlisted in the regular army for general service with the colors or in the reserves for the period of the war.

The Statesman's Yearbook, 1918, states that all the groups of unmarried men were called out by March 18, 1916.

The Military Service act, 1916, which became law May 25, 1916, extended the liability to service to married men within the same age limits. Section 1 (1) of this act contains the following proviso:

"Provided, That steps shall be taken to prevent, so far as possible, the sending of men to serve abroad before they attain the age of 19."

Premier Lloyd George, in presenting to the House of Commons on April 9, 1918, the Government's bill raising the military age to 50, referred to this proviso, as follows:

"There was an understanding that boys under 19 years would only be used in case of emergency. We felt that the emergency had arisen, and, in so far as those who were over 18 were concerned, those who had already received six months' training, we felt it necessary that they should be sent to France."

By the terms of the recent treaty between the United States and Great Britain young men of British nationality may be drafted under the laws of the United States after they have reached the age of 20.

DRAFTING OF YOUNG MEN IN FRANCE

I. BEFORE THE EUROPEAN WAR

Under the military service law in force before the outbreak of the European war, namely, the Act of Aug. 7, 1913, young men were called to military service during the year following that in which they reached 19 years of age, and the class to which they belonged was designated by the calendar year in which service under this law began—that is, the year in which the twentieth birthday occurred.

II. DURING THE EUROPEAN WAR

This draft age for beginning compulsory military service was not lowered until March 15, 1915, when an act was passed providing that—

"The class of 1916 shall be called to the colors in advance of the regular time, at such date as may be fixed by order of the Minister of War."

The class of 1916 consisted of young men who became 19 in 1915.

By the acts of Dec. 30, 1915, March 31, 1917, and March 29, 1918, (Journal Officiel, 1915, p. 9663; 1917, p. 2557; 1918, p. 2831,) the same authority was conferred upon the Minister of War to call out the classes of 1917, 1918, and 1919, respectively, in the year in which they became 19.

Circulars of the Minister of War, dated Jan. 22, 1917, and Sept. 30, 1917, (Journal Officiel, 1917, pp. 738, 7844,) show that this authority had been exercised with respect to the class of 1917 before Oct. 1, 1916, and, with respect to the class of 1918, before Oct. 1, 1917.

DRAFTING YOUNG MEN IN GERMANY

I. BEFORE THE EUROPEAN WAR.

Liability to military service in Germany commences with the completion of the seventeenth year. Such service is compulsory and universal, but does not actually begin until the age of 20. Every young man is enrolled in the military register during January of the year in which he completes his twentieth year. Prior to this—that is, from the seventeenth to the twentieth year, unless he has volunteered for actual service—the young man belongs to the Landsturm, a home defense force consisting of two classes, namely, the first including all men from 17 to 39 who for one reason or another have received no military training, the second class including all men over 39 up to 45, whether trained or untrained. (Constitution of the German Empire, April 16, 1871, Article 59; law relating to military service, Feb. 11, 1888, Sections 23-24; Reichsgesetzblatt, 1888, p. 18.)

II. DURING THE EUROPEAN WAR

The Landsturm was called out for purposes of registration on Aug. 1, 1914, (Reichsgesetzblatt, 1914, p. 273.) Whether or not young men below the age of 20, except volunteers, were actually put into the military service at that time or later is not ascertainable from any official documents available in the Library of Congress. The following statement is given in Information Annual, 1916, page 259:

"According to the Lokal-Anzeiger of Berlin, June 18, all the 17-year-old boys in Germany had been ordered to report themselves to the military authorities. In Germany liability for military service begins at the age of 17 years, but in peace time actual service begins at 20."

The 1918 Statesman's Yearbook, at page 898, states that—

"By December, 1916, the whole of the 1917 class of recruits had been incorporated in the army, and by May, 1917, lads entering their seventeenth year."

The latter statement is ambiguous and does not indicate whether the 1917 class means those who completed their twentieth year or those who had completed their seventeenth year in 1917.

Nothing has been found in official sources to show that this service below the age of 20 was compulsory and not volunteer. The Berliner Tageblatt, Aug. 22, 1914, (evening edition,) page 4. con-

tains an order of the military commander of Berlin to the effect that boys who have completed their sixteenth year may enroll for a course of military training under the instruction of retired army officers.

In a dispatch dated Paris, Aug. 20, 1918, it is stated that a number of boys of the 1919 class have been found among the latest prisoners, and that the proportion of boys taken in recent hauls indicates that practically all of the class of 1919 have been sent to the front.

"SLACKER ROUNDUP"

A roundup of suspected slackers in the Federal districts of Southern and Eastern New York and Northern New Jersey began on the morning of Sept. 3, and proceeded vigorously for three days. Many thousands of regular and special agents of the Department of Justice, including several thousand volunteers from the American Protective League, as well as soldiers and sailors, were engaged in stopping men between 21 and 31 years of age and demanding whether they had their registration and classification cards. Those who could not produce their cards were taken to armories, police stations, and other places and held until they could prove that they had not evaded the law. The number of arrests, after three days, when the roundup was ended, was 60,187, and of these 16,505 were either ordered immediately into the service as intentional slackers or were referred back to their local boards. In the end it was stated officially that only 199 of the whole 60,000 were found to be actual draft dodgers, and that 85 of these were men not living in New York.

A vehement attack was launched in the Senate on Sept. 5 against the roundup, and after various Senators had condemned the proceedings, Senator Smoot offered a resolution calling upon the Military Affairs Committee to ascertain who was responsible and the reasons. The Chairman of the committee, Senator Chamberlain, was one of the bitterest critics of the roundup. "There is not a man in the Senate or in the country," he said, "who despises a man who undertakes to evade his military duty as much as I do, but, notwithstanding that, these men who are slackers ought to be reached by due process of law. The

whole Department of Justice, the Intelligence Bureaus of the War and Navy Departments, all the American Defense Societies, the United States Marshals, and all the officers of the law have means and instrumentalities for reaching the slackers. But here we have an instance where thousands and tens of thousands of perfectly innocent men are being haled before the courts and some of them held overnight in crowded prisons, although they were perfectly innocent of trying to evade military duty."

Senators Johnson of California and Sherman of Illinois characterized the proceedings as militarism and terrorism of the Prussian type. President Wilson called on the Attorney General for a full report on all the circumstances, after which the excitement in Congress subsided.

TOTAL CASUALTIES

While preparations were making for the drafting of a great new army, the men already in service were in the midst

of constant fighting on the French front. The total casualties from the first that had been suffered by American troops up to and including those reported on Sept. 18, were as follows:

ARMY CASUALTIES

Killed in action.....	5,623
Lost at sea.....	291
Died of wounds.....	1,819
Died of accident and other causes..	830
Died of disease.....	1,754

Total	10,317
Wounded	17,081
Missing, including prisoners.....	4,285

Total	31,683
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MARINE CASUALTIES

	Officers.	Men.
Deaths	37	919
Wounded	64	1,925
In hands of enemy.....	..	11
Missing	1	151

Total	102	3,005
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Total	3,108
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Grand total of army and marine corps casualties	34,791
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Who's Who in General Pershing's Army

Names of Chief Officers and Titles of All Units in First Five Army Corps

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE presents herewith a convenient and complete summary of the various military units and of the corps, division, and brigade commanders in the five American Army corps which are now facing the Central Powers on the French front. The list represents the commanding personnel of our fighting units as it stood in the first week of September, 1918. All five corps are under the personal command of General John J. Pershing.

1ST ARMY CORPS

Major Gen. Hunter Liggett, commanding.

1st and 2d Divisions, Regular Army; 26th, (New England,) 32d, (Michigan and Wisconsin,) 41st, (Washington, Oregon, North and South Dakota, Colorado, New Mexico, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, and Minnesota,) and 42d (Rainbow, troops from twenty-six States) Divisions, National Guard.

1ST DIVISION—Major Gen. Charles P. Sumnerall, commanding; Lieut. Col. Campbell King, Chief of Staff; Major H. K. Loughry, Adjutant General.

1st Brigade, Infantry—Major John L. Hines; 16th and 18th Regiments; 2d Machine Gun Battalion.

2d Brigade, Infantry—Major Gen. Beaumont B. Buck; 26th and 28th Regiments; 3d Machine Gun Battalion.

1st Brigade, Field Artillery—(Commanding officer not announced;) 5th, 6th, and 7th Regiments; 1st Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—1st Regiment.

Signal Troops—2d Battalion.

Division Units—1st Machine Gun Battalion.

2D DIVISION (U. S. M. C.)—Brig. Gen. John E. Le Jeune, commanding; Brig Gen. Preston Brown, Chief of Staff.

3d Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Hanson E. Ely; 9th and 23d Regiments; 5th Machine Gun Battalion.

4th Brigade, Infantry (Marines)—Brig.

Gen. John E. Le Jeune; 5th and 6th Regiments; 6th Machine Gun Battalion.

2d Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. A. J. Bowley; 12th, 15th, and 17th Regiments; 2d Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—2d Regiment.

Signal Troops—1st Battalion.

Division Units—2d Division Headquarters Troop; 4th Machine Gun Battalion.

26TH DIVISION—Major Gen. Clarence R. Edwards, commanding; Lieut. Col. Cassius M. Dowell, Chief of Staff; Major Charles A. Stevens, Adjutant General.

51st Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. George H. Shelton; 101st and 102d Regiments; 102d Machine Gun Battalion.

52d Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. C. H. Cole; 103d and 104th Regiments; 103d Machine Gun Battalion.

51st Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. D. E. Aultman; 101st, 102d, and 103d Regiments; 101st Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—101st Regiment.

Signal Troops—101st Field Battalion.

Division Units—26th Headquarters Troop; 101st Machine Gun Battalion.

32D DIVISION—Major Gen. W. G. Haan, commanding; Lieut. Col. Allen L. Briggs, Chief of Staff; Major John H. Howard, Adjutant General.

63d Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. William D. Connor; 125th and 126th Regiments; 120th Machine Gun Battalion.

64th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. E. B. Winans; 127th and 128th Regiments; 121st Machine Gun Battalion.

57th Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. G. Le Roy Irwin; 119th, 120th, and 121st Regiments; 107th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—107th Regiment.

Signal Troops—107th Battalion.

Division Units—32d Headquarters Troop; 119th Machine Gun Battalion.

41ST DIVISION (Sunset)—Major Gen. Robert Alexander, commanding; Colonel Harry H. Tebbetts, Chief of Staff; Major Herbert H. White, Adjutant General.

81st Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Wilson B. Burt; 161st and 162d Regiments; 147th Machine Gun Battalion.

82d Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Edward Vollrath; 163d and 164th Regiments; 148th Machine Gun Battalion.

66th Brigade, Field Artillery—(Commanding officer not announced;) 146th, 147th, and 148th Regiments; 116th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—116th Regiment.

Signal Troops—116th Battalion.

Division Units—41st Division Headquarters Troop; 146th Machine Gun Battalion.

42D DIVISION (Rainbow)—Major Gen. C. T. Menoher, commanding; (Chief of Staff not announced;) Major Walter E. Powers, Adjutant General.

83d Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. M.

Lenihan; 165th and 166th Regiments; 150th Machine Gun Battalion.

84th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. R. A. Brown; 167th and 168th Regiments; 151st Machine Gun Battalion.

67th Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. G. C. Gatley; 149th, 150th, and 151st Regiments; 117th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—117th Regiment.

Signal Troops—117th Field Signal Battalion.

Division Units—42d Division Headquarters Troop; 149th Machine Gun Battalion.

2D ARMY CORPS

Major Gen. Robert Lee Bullard, commanding.

4th Division, Regular Army; 28th, (Pennsylvania,) 30th, (Tennessee, North and South Carolina, and District of Columbia,) and 36th (Missouri and Kansas) Divisions, National Guard; 77th (New York) and 82d (Georgia, Alabama, and Florida) Divisions, National Army.

4TH DIVISION—Major Gen. George H. Cameron, commanding; Lieut. Col. Christian A. Bach, Chief of Staff; Major Jesse D. Elliott, Adjutant General.

7th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. B. A. Poore; 39th and 47th Regiments; 11th Machine Gun Battalion.

8th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. E. E. Booth; 58th and 59th Regiments; 12th Machine Gun Battalion.

4th Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. E. B. Babbitt; 13th, 16th, and 77th Regiments; 4th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—4th Regiment.

Signal Troops—8th Battalion.

Division Units—4th Division Headquarters Troop; 10th Machine Gun Battalion.

28TH DIVISION—Major Gen. C. H. Muir, commanding; (Chief of Staff not announced;) Lieut. Col. David J. Davis, Adjutant General.

55th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. T. W. Darrah; 109th and 110th Regiments; 108th Machine Gun Battalion.

56th Brigade, Infantry—Major Gen. William Weigel; 111th and 112th Regiments; 109th Machine Gun Battalion.

53d Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. W. G. Price; 107th, 108th, and 109th Regiments; 103d Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—103d Regiment.

Signal Troops—103d Battalion.

Division Units—28th Division Headquarters Troop; 107th Machine Gun Battalion.

30TH DIVISION (Wild Cat)—Major Gen. Edward M. Lewis, commanding; Lieut. Col. Robert B. McBride, Chief of Staff; Lieut. Col. Francis B. Hinkle, Adjutant General.

59th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Lawrence D. Tyson; 117th and 118th Regiments; 114th Machine Gun Battalion.

60th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Samuel L. Faison; 119th and 120th Regiments; 115th Machine Gun Battalion.

55th Brigade, Field Artillery—(Commanding officer not announced;) 113th, 114th, and 115th Regiments; 105th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—105th Regiment.

Signal Troops—105th Battalion.

Division Units—30th Division Headquarters Troop; 113th Machine Gun Battalion.

35TH DIVISION—Major Gen. Peter E. Traub, commanding; Colonel Robert McCleave, Chief of Staff; Major J. M. Hobson, Adjutant General.

69th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Nathaniel McClure; 137th and 138th Regiments; 129th Machine Gun Battalion.

70th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Charles I. Martin; 139th and 140th Regiments; 130th Machine Gun Battalion.

60th Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. L. G. Berry; 128th, 129th, and 130th Regiments; 110th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—110th Regiment.

Signal Troops—110th Battalion.

Division Units—35th Division Headquarters Troop; 128th Machine Gun Battalion.

77TH DIVISION (Upton)—Major Gen. George B. Duncan, commanding; (Chief of Staff not announced;) Major W. N. Haskell, Adjutant General.

153d Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Edward Wittenmeyer; 205th and 306th Regiments; 305th Machine Gun Battalion.

154th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Evan M. Johnson; 307th and 308th Regiments; 306th Machine Gun Battalion.

152d Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. Thomas H. Reeves; 304th, 305th, and 306th Regiments; 302d Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—302d Regiment.

Signal Troops—302d Battalion.

Division Units—77th Division Headquarters Troop; 304th Machine Gun Battalion.

82D DIVISION—Major Gen. W. P. Burnham, commanding; Lieut. Col. Royden E. Beebe, Chief of Staff; Lieut. Col. John R. Thomas, Adjutant General.

163d Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Marcus D. Cronin; 325th and 326th Regiments; 320th Machine Gun Battalion.

164th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Julian R. Lindsay; 327th and 328th Regiments 321st Machine Gun Battalion.

157th Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. Charles D. Rhodes; 319th, 320th, and 321st Regiments; 307th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—307th Regiment.

Signal Troops—307th Battalion.

Division Units—319th Machine Gun Battalion.

3D ARMY CORPS

Major Gen. William M. Wright,
commanding.

3d and 5th Divisions, Regular Army; 27th

(New York) and 33d (Illinois) Divisions, National Guard; 78th (Delaware and New York) and 80th (New Jersey, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and District of Columbia) Divisions, National Army.

3D DIVISION—Major Gen. Joseph T. Dickman, commanding; Colonel Robert H. Kelton, Chief of Staff; Captain Frank L. Purdon, Adjutant General.

5th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. F. W. Sladen; 4th and 7th Regiments; 8th Machine Gun Battalion.

8th Brigade, Infantry—(Commanding officer not announced;) 30th and 38th Regiments; 9th Machine Gun Battalion.

3d Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. W. M. Cruikshank; 10th, 76th, and 18th Regiments; 3d Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—6th Regiment.

Signal Troops—5th Battalion.

Division Units—3d Division Headquarters Troop; 7th Machine Gun Battalion.

5TH DIVISION—Major Gen. John E. McMahon, commanding; Colonel Ralph E. Ingram, Chief of Staff; Major David P. Wood, Adjutant General.

9th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. J. C. Castner; 60th and 61st Regiments; 14th Machine Gun Battalion.

10th Brigade, Infantry—Major Gen. W. H. Gordon; 6th and 11th Regiments; 15th Machine Gun Battalion.

5th Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. C. A. F. Flagler; 19th, 20th, and 21st Regiments; 5th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—7th Regiment.

Signal Troops—9th Battalion.

Division Units—5th Division Headquarters Troop; 13th Machine Gun Battalion.

27TH DIVISION (New York) — Major Gen. J. F. O'Ryan, commanding; Lieut. Col. Stanley H. Ford, Chief of Staff; Lieut. Col. Frank W. Ward, Adjutant General.

53d Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Alfred W. Bjornstad; 105th and 106th Regiments; 105th Machine Gun Battalion.

54th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Palmer E. Pierce; 107th and 108th Regiments; 106th Machine Gun Battalion.

52d Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. George A. Wingate; 104th, 105th, and 106th Regiments; 102d Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—102d Regiment.

Signal Troops—102d Battalion.

Division Units—27th Division Headquarters Troop; 104th Machine Gun Battalion.

33D DIVISION—Major Gen. George Bell, Jr., commanding; Colonel William K. Naylot, Chief of Staff; (Adjutant General not announced.)

65th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Edward L. King; 129th and 130th Regiments; 123d Machine Gun Battalion.

66th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Paul A. Wolff; 131st and 132d Regiments; 124th Machine Gun Battalion.

58th Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. James A. Shipton; 122d, 123d, and 124th Regiments; 108th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—108th Regiment.

Signal Troops—108th Battalion.

Division Units—33d Division Headquarters Troop; 112th Machine Gun Battalion. 78TH DIVISION—Major Gen. James H. McRae, commanding; Lieut. Col. Harry N. Cootes, Chief of Staff; Major William T. MacMill, Adjutant General.

155th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Mark L. Hersey; 309th and 310th Regiments; 308th Machine Gun Battalion.

156th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. James T. Dean; 311th and 312th Regiments; 309th Machine Gun Battalion.

153d Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. Clint C. Hearn; 307th, 308th, and 309th Regiments; 303d Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—303d Regiment.

Signal Troops—303d Battalion.

Division Units—78th Division Headquarters Troop; 307th Machine Gun Battalion.

80TH DIVISION—Major Gen. Adelbert Cronkhite, commanding; Lieut. Col. William H. Waldron, Chief of Staff; Major Steven C. Clark, Adjutant General.

159th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. George H. Jamerson; 317th and 318th Regiments; 314th Machine Gun Battalion.

160th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Lloyd M. Bratt; 319th and 320th Regiments; 315th Machine Gun Battalion.

155th Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. Gordon G. Heiner; 313th, 314th, and 315th Regiments; 305th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—305th Regiment.

Signal Troops—305th Battalion.

Division Units—80th Division Headquarters Troop; 313th Machine Gun Battalion.

4TH ARMY CORPS

Major Gen. George W. Read, commanding.

83d, (Ohio and Pennsylvania,) 89th, (Kansas, Missouri, South Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona,) 90th, (Texas and Oklahoma,) and 92d (negro troops) Divisions, National Army; 37th (Ohio) and 29th (New Jersey, Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, and District of Columbia) Divisions, National Guard.

29TH DIVISION—Major Gen. C. G. Morton, commanding; Colonel George S. Goodale, Chief of Staff; Major James A. Ullo, Adjutant General.

57th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Charles W. Barber; 113th and 114th Regiments; 111th Machine Gun Battalion.

58th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. H. H. Bandholtz; 115th and 116th Regiments; 112th Machine Gun Battalion.

54th Brigade, Field Artillery—(Com-

manding officer not announced;) 110th, 111th, and 112th Regiments; 104th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—104th Regiment.

Signal Troops—104th Battalion.

Division Units—29th Division Headquarters Troop; 110th Machine Gun Battalion.

37TH DIVISION—Major Gen. C. S. Farnsworth, commanding; Lieut. Col. Dana T. Merrill, Chief of Staff; Major Edward W. Wildrick, Adjutant General.

73d Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. C. F. Zimmerman; 145th and 146th Regiments; 135th Machine Gun Battalion.

74th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. W. P. Jackson; 147th and 148th Regiments; 136th Machine Gun Battalion.

62d Brigade, Field Artillery—(Commanding officer not announced;) 134th, 135th, and 136th Regiments; 112th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—112th Regiment.

Signal Troops—112th Battalion.

Division Units—37th Division Headquarters Troop; 134th Machine Gun Battalion.

83D DIVISION—Major Gen. E. F. Glenn, commanding; Lieut. Col. A. Trott, Chief of Staff; Major James L. Cochran, Adjutant General.

165th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Ora E. Hunt; 329th and 330th Regiments; 323d Machine Gun Battalion.

166th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Malin Craig; 331st and 332d Regiments; 324th Machine Gun Battalion.

158th Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. Adrian S. Fleming; 322d, 323d, and 324th Regiments; 308th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—308th Regiment.

Signal Troops—308th Battalion.

Division Units—83d Division Headquarters Troop; 322d Machine Gun Battalion.

89TH DIVISION—Brig. Gen. Frank L. Winn, commanding, (acting;) Colonel C. E. Kilbourne, Chief of Staff; Major Jerome G. Pillow, Adjutant General.

177th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Frank L. Winn; 353d and 354th Regiments; 341st Machine Gun Battalion.

178th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Thomas G. Hanson; 355th and 356th Regiments; 342d Machine Gun Battalion.

164th Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. Edward T. Donnelly; 340th, 341st, and 342d Regiments; 314th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—314th Regiment.

Signal Troops—314th Battalion.

Division Units—89th Division Headquarters Troop; 340th Machine Gun Battalion.

90TH DIVISION—Major Gen. Henry T. Allen, commanding; Colonel John J. Kingman, Chief of Staff; Major Wyatt O. Selkirk, Adjutant General.

179th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. John T. O'Neill; 357th and 358th Regiments; 344th Machine Gun Battalion.

180th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. W. H. Johnston; 359th and 360th Regiments; 345th Machine Gun Battalion.

165th Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. Francis C. Marshall; 343d, 344th, and 345th Regiments; 315th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—315th Regiment.
Signal Troops—315th Battalion.

Division Units—90th Division Headquarters Troop; 349th Machine Gun Battalion.

92D DIVISION—Major Gen. C. C. Ballou, commanding; Lieut. Col. Allen J. Greer, Chief of Staff; Major Sherburne Whipple, Adjutant General.

183d Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Malvern H. Barnum; 365th and 366th Regiments; 350th Machine Gun Battalion.

184th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. W. A. Hay; 367th and 368th Regiments; 351st Machine Gun Battalion.

167th Brigade, Field Artillery—(Commanding officer not announced;) 349th, 350th, and 351st Regiments; 317th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—317th Regiment.
Signal Troops—317th Battalion.

Division Units—92d Division Headquarters Troop; 349th Machine Gun Battalion.

5TH ARMY CORPS

Major Gen. Omar Bundy, commanding.

6th Division, *Regular Army*; 36th (Texas and Oklahoma) Division, *National Guard*; 75th, (New England,) 79th, (Pennsylvania, Maryland, and District of Columbia,) 85th, (Michigan and Wisconsin,) and 91st (Washington, Oregon, Alaska, California, Idaho, Nevada, Montana, Wyoming, and Utah) Divisions, *National Army*.

6TH DIVISION—Brig. Gen. James B. Erwin, commanding; Colonel James M. Pickering, Chief of Staff; Lieut. Col. Robert S. Knox, Adjutant General.

11th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. W. R. Dashiell; 51st and 52d Regiments; 17th Machine Gun Battalion.

12th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. J. B. Erwin; 53d and 54th Regiments; 18th Machine Gun Battalion.

6th Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. E. A. Miller; 3d, 11th, and 78th Regiments; 6th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—318th Regiment.
Signal Troops—6th Battalion.

Division Units—6th Division Headquarters Troop; 16th Machine Gun Battalion.

36TH DIVISION—Major Gen. W. R. Smith, commanding; Colonel E. J. Williams, Chief of Staff; Major William R. Scott, Adjutant General.

71st Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Henry Hutchings; 141st and 142d Regiments; 132d Machine Gun Battalion.

72d Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. John A. Hulen; 143d and 144th Regiments; 133d Machine Gun Battalion.

61st Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen.

John A. Stevens; 131st, 132d, and 133d Regiments; 111th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—111th Regiment.

Signal Troops—111th Battalion.

Division Units—36th Division Headquarters Troop; 131st Machine Gun Battalion.

76TH DIVISION—Major Gen. Harry F. Hodges, commanding; (Chief of Staff not announced;) Major George M. Peek, Adjutant General.

151st Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Frank M. Albright; 301st and 302d Regiments; 302d Machine Gun Battalion.

152d Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. F. D. Evans; 303d and 304th Regiments; 303d Machine Gun Battalion.

151st Brigade, Field Artillery—Major Gen. William S. McNair; 301st, 302d, and 303d Regiments; 301st Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—301st Regiment.
Signal Troops—301st Battalion.

Division Units—76th Division Headquarters Troop; 301st Machine Gun Battalion.

79TH DIVISION—Major Gen. Joseph E. Kuhn, commanding; Colonel Tenny Ross, Chief of Staff; Major Charles B. Moore, Adjutant General.

157th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. William L. Nicholson; 313th and 314th Regiments; 311th Machine Gun Battalion.

158th Brigade, Infantry—(Commanding officer not announced;) 315th and 316th Regiments; 312th Machine Gun Battalion.

154th Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. Andrew Hero, Jr.; 310th, 311th, and 312th Regiments; 304th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—304th Regiment.
Signal Troops—304th Battalion.

Division Units—79th Division Headquarters Troop; 310th Machine Gun Battalion.

85TH DIVISION—Major Gen. C. W. Kennedy, commanding; Colonel Edgar T. Collins, Chief of Staff; Lieut. Col. Clarence Lininger, Adjutant General.

169th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Thomas B. Dugan; 337th and 338th Regiments; 329th Machine Gun Battalion.

170th Brigade, Infantry—(Commanding officer not announced;) 339th and 340th Regiments; 330th Machine Gun Battalion.

160th Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. Guy M. Preston; 328th, 329th, and 330th Regiments; 310th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—310th Regiment.
Signal Troops—310th Battalion.

Division Units—85th Division Headquarters Troop; 328th Machine Gun Battalion.

91ST DIVISION—Brig. Gen. F. H. Foltz, commanding; Colonel Herbert J. Brees, Chief of Staff; Major Frederick W. Manley, Adjutant General.

181st Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen.

John B. McDonald; 361st and 362d Regiments; 347th Machine Gun Battalion.

182d Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Frederick S. Foltz; 363d and 364th Regiments; 348th Machine Gun Battalion.

166th Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. Edward Burr; 346th, 347th, and 348th Regiments; 316th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—316th Regiment.

Signal Troops—316th Battalion.

Division Units—91st Division Headquarters Troop; 346th Machine Gun Battalion.

UNASSIGNED TO CORPS

81ST DIVISION—Major Gen. C. J. Bailey, commanding; Colonel Charles D. Roberts, Chief of Staff; Major Arthur E. Ahrends, Adjutant General.

161st Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. George W. McIver; 321st and 322d Regiments; 317th Machine Gun Battalion.

162d Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. Monroe McFarland; 323d and 324th Regiments; 318th Machine Gun Battalion.

156th Brigade, Field Artillery—Brig. Gen. Andrew Moses; 316th, 317th, and 318th Regiments; 306th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—306th Regiment.

Signal Troops—306th Battalion.

Division Units—81st Division Headquarters Troop; 316th Machine Gun Battalion.

93D DIVISION—(Commander not announced;) Major Lee S. Tiltonson, Adjutant General.

185th Brigade, Infantry—(Commanding officer not announced;) 369th and 370th Regiments; 333d Machine Gun Battalion.

186th Brigade, Infantry—Brig. Gen. George H. Harries; 371st and 372d Regiments; 334th Machine Gun Battalion.

168th Brigade, Field Artillery—(Commanding officer not announced;) 332d, 333d, and 334th Regiments; 318th Trench Mortar Battery.

Engineer Troops—318th Regiment.

Signal Troops—318th Battalion.

Division Units—332d Machine Gun Battalion.

President Wilson's Labor Day Appeal

A Call for Sustained War Effort

Labor Day of 1918, Sept. 2, was observed in all industrial centres with parades of unusual size, the turnout in New York City being estimated at 60,000. The workingmen everywhere were addressed by patriotic speakers, and pledged afresh their loyalty and firm resolve to win the war. President Wilson recognized the day by issuing, on Sept. 1, the following formal appeal to organized labor and to the people generally:

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS: Labor Day, 1918, is not like any Labor Day that we have known. Labor Day was always deeply significant with us. Now it is supremely significant. Keenly as we were aware a year ago of the enterprise of life and death upon which the nation had embarked, we did not perceive its meaning as clearly as we do now. We knew that we were all partners and must stand and strive together, but we did not realize, as we do now, that we are all enlisted men, members of a single army, of many parts and many tasks, but commanded by a single obligation, our faces set toward a single object. We now know that every tool in every essential industry is a weapon, and a weapon wielded for the same purpose that an army rifle is wielded—a weapon which if we were to lay down no rifle would be of any use.

And a weapon for what? What is the war for? Why are we enlisted? Why should we be ashamed if we were not enlisted? At first it seemed hardly more than a war of defense against the military aggression of Germany. Belgium had been violated, France invaded, and Germany was afield again, as in 1870 and 1866, to work out her ambitions in Europe, and it was necessary to meet her force with force. But it is clear now that it is much more than a war to alter the balance of power in Europe. Germany, it is now plain, was striking at what free men everywhere desire and must have—the right to determine their own fortunes, to insist upon justice, and to oblige Governments to act for them and not for the private and selfish interest of a governing class. It is a war to make the nations and peoples of the world secure against every such power

as the German autocracy represents. It is a war of emancipation. Not until it is won can men anywhere live free from constant fear or breathe freely while they go about their daily tasks and know that Governments are their servants, not their masters.

This is, therefore, the war of all wars, which labor should support and support with all its concentrated power. The world cannot be safe, men's lives cannot be secure, no man's rights can be confidently and successfully asserted against the rule and mastery of arbitrary groups and special interests so long as Governments like that which after long premeditation drew Austria and Germany into this war are permitted to control the destinies and the daily fortunes of men and nations, plotting while honest men work, laying the fires of which innocent men, women, and children are to be the fuel.

You know the nature of this war. It is a war which industry must sustain. The army of laborers at home is as important, as essential, as the army of fighting men in the far fields of actual battle. And the laborer is not only needed as much as the soldier. It is his war. The soldier is his champion and representative. To fail to win would be to imperil everything that the laborer has striven for and held dear since freedom first had its dawn and its struggle for justice began. The soldiers at the front know this. It steels their muscles to think of it. They are crusaders. They are fighting for no selfish advantage for their own nation. They would despise any one who fought for the selfish advantage of any

nation. They are giving their lives that homes everywhere, as well as the homes they love in America, may be kept sacred and safe, and men everywhere be free as they insist upon being free. They are fighting for the ideals of their own land—great ideals, immortal ideals, ideals which shall light the way for all men to the places where justice is done and men live with lifted heads and emancipated spirits. That is the reason they fight with solemn joy and are invincible.

Let us make this, therefore, a day of fresh comprehension not only for what we are about and of renewed and clear-eyed resolution, but a day of consecration also in which we devote ourselves without pause or limit to the great task of setting our own country and the whole world free to render justice to all, and of making it impossible for small groups of political rulers anywhere to disturb our peace or the peace of the world, or in any way to make tools and puppets of those upon whose consent and upon whose power their own authority and their own very existence depend.

We may count upon each other. The nation is of a single mind. It is taking counsel with no special class. It is serving no private or single interest. Its own mind has been cleared and fortified by these days, which burn the dross away. The light of a new conviction has penetrated to every class among us. We realize as we never realized before that we are comrades dependent upon one another, irresistible when united, powerless when divided. And so we join hands to lead the world to a new and better day. WOODROW WILSON.



Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From August 17 Up to and Including September 18, 1918

UNITED STATES

John D. Ryan on Aug. 27 was appointed Second Assistant Secretary of War, with full responsibility over the army's air service, and Benedict C. Crowell, First Assistant Secretary of War, was put in charge of the munitions program. Secretary Baker, accompanied by Mr. Ryan and other War Department officials, arrived in France Sept. 7.

The Man Power bill, providing for the drafting of men between the ages of 18 and 45, passed its final stages, and was signed by President Wilson on Aug. 31, and 12,-875,000 men registered on Sept. 12.

William D. Haywood and fourteen of his chief aids in the conspiracy of the Industrial Workers of the World to overturn the American war program were sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment and fined \$20,000 each. Eighty others received terms of from ten years to ten days and were fined. Sentences were imposed on Aug. 30.

Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist leader, was found guilty of violating the Espionage act and was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The crew of a British oil tanker reported on Aug. 19 that a German submarine had been sunk in a running battle with the tanker off the coast of Nantucket, on Aug. 16, and on Aug. 20 another British tanker reported that she had sunk a U-boat.

Two Norwegian ships, the San José and the Nordhav, were sunk on Aug. 19; the San José was attacked off the coast of Nantucket and the Nordhav off Virginia Capes.

The British steam trawler Triumph was captured by a submarine on Aug. 20. She was turned into a raider with a German crew on board and destroyed practically the entire fleet of the Maritime Fish Corporation off the coast of Newfoundland.

Aug. 25—The Canadian steamer Eric was destroyed by shellfire off Miquelon Island; five members of the crew were wounded.

Aug. 25—The Gloucester fishing steamer J. J. Flaherty was sunk.

Aug. 26—The American fishing schooner Rush was sunk off the Canadian coast.

Aug. 28—The Newfoundland schooner Bianca was attacked but not sunk.

Aug. 29—The fishing schooner Gloaming was sunk off the coast of Nova Scotia.

Sept. 14—A steamship carrying wounded Canadian officers was attacked ninety miles off the Atlantic coast, but escaped.

Aug. 16—The American S. S. Montanan was sunk in foreign waters; five of the crew were lost.

Aug. 17—The U. S. cargo S. S. Joseph Cudahy was torpedoed 700 miles off the coast of England; thirteen of the crew missing.

Aug. 21—The army chartered cargo transport Lake Edon sunk; six of the crew killed and two others missing.

Sept. 2—The U. S. steamer Omega torpedoed; twenty-six of the crew missing.

Sept. 4—American steamship Dora sunk off the French coast and on the same day the liner Persic, with 2,800 American soldiers on board, was torpedoed off the coast of England. All on board were saved, the ship was beached, and the attacking U-boat reported sunk.

Sept. 5—American troop transport Mount Vernon torpedoed off the French coast, while homeward bound, but she was able to return to port under her own steam; thirty-five of the crew killed.

Sept. 9—Canadian Pacific liner Missanable, westward bound, torpedoed.

Sept. 12—British steamer Galway Castle sunk; 189 persons lost; among them women and children.

Aug. 17—French cruiser Dupetit Thouars sunk and thirteen of the crew missing.

Aug. 26—Seven fishing ships, three of Dutch registry, destroyed near the "free channel" in North Sea.

Six German steamers were given to Holland as reparation for ships sunk by U-boats.

Sept. 11—Portuguese steamship Leixoes torpedoed in the South Atlantic.

Aug. 21—The Spanish Government announced that German ships interned in Spanish ports would be taken to replace Spanish ships sunk by German submarines; Germany finally acceded to the decision.

Aug. 31—The Spanish ship Alexandrine attacked by a U-boat.

Aug. 31—At a meeting of the Spanish Cabinet the Foreign Minister announced the sinking of the steamship Ataz-Trendi, carrying a cargo of coal from England to Spain. One of the interned German steamers was seized in reprisal.

Losses of merchant shipping by Great Britain during July aggregated 176,479 tons.

Other allied and neutral gross tonnage sunk aggregated 136,532.

Sept. 1—Norwegian steamer Borgsdal torpedoed and sunk.

The sinking of a large German submarine, camouflaged and flying no flag, far out in the Atlantic Ocean on the morning of Sept. 3 by the American tank steamer Frank H. Buck, was officially reported Sept. 10.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Aug. 17—French enter German positions north of Autrechtes to a depth of nearly a mile on a front of more than three miles, and take Canny-sur-Matz, two miles northwest of Lassigny; Americans in Lorraine take the village of Frapelle.

Aug. 18—British in the Lys salient force Germans back along a four-mile front between Bailleul and Vieux Berquin, capturing Outersteene, and improve their positions north of Roye; Americans gain more ground at Frapelle.

Aug. 19—French advance on a fifteen-mile front east of Ribecourt and cross the Oise to Fontenoy, capturing four villages, and capture Fresnières on the Roye highroad; British gain on a six-mile front and enter Merville; Americans and French push forward on the north bank of the Vesle.

Aug. 20—French drive ahead two and one-half miles on a fifteen-and-a-half-mile front between the Oise and the Aisne, taking seven towns and 8,000 prisoners; British push forward in the Merville sector.

Aug. 21—French take Lassigny and advance over a front of fifteen miles east and west of the Oise, driving the Germans from twenty villages; British attack on a ten-mile front from the Ancre River to the neighborhood of Moyenneville, taking seven villages, and pierce German line in Flanders near Loere half a mile on a mile front.

Aug. 22—British capture Albert in new drive in which they gain two miles on a six-mile front; French advance seven miles along the front from Lassigny to the region north of Soissons, taking several villages and crossing the Ailette River.

Aug. 23—French 3d Army crosses the Divette River in the region of Evricourt; Mangin's troops cross the Oise River and the canal at Manicamp, eight miles east of Noyon, and reach the outskirts of Morlincourt; French also make progress east of Bagneux and to the west of Crecy-au-Mont; British advance more than two miles on the six-mile front from south-east of Albert to the neighborhood of Grancourt, take nine towns, and close in on Bapaume; Americans repulse violent attacks west of Fismes.

Aug. 24—British capture Bray and ten other towns and carry the dominating position of Thiepval Ridge; French advance at

Crecy; Americans win a half-mile front on the Soissons-Rheims front west of Fismes.

Aug. 25—British sweep on north of the Somme, taking twelve towns, and seizing and crossing the highroad between Albert and Bapaume, and carrying the new front to within 1,000 yards of the old Hindenburg line; French make progress east of Bagneux.

Aug. 26—British fight on a 30-mile front from the River Scarpe at a point east of Arras to Lihons, crossing the Hindenburg line on the northernmost sector of their attack; Canadians capture Wancourt and Monchy-le-Preux; French, in move to encircle Roye, take Fresnoy and St. Mars.

Aug. 27—British smash through the Hindenburg line for three or four miles south-east of Arras, occupying Cherisy, Vis-en-Artois, and the Bois du Sart; Scottish soldiers cross the Sensée River, seizing Fontaine-lez-Croisilles, and north of the Scarpe take Roeux and Gavrelle; English troops take Arleux-en-Gohelle and the old German line to the south; French take Roye and six other towns in an advance on a front of more than twelve miles; Americans attack Bazoches and resist assault on Fismette.

Aug. 28—French take Chaulnes and drive ahead eight miles, reaching the Somme, and recapture forty villages; British force Germans to give up Croisilles; Americans advance their lines at Chavigny and repulse German attacks at Bazoches.

Aug. 29—French take Noyon, gain a foothold on the southern slope of Mt. St. Siméon, force the crossing of the Oise at Morlincourt, take Landrimont, and capture Beaurains and Quesnoy Wood; British capture Bapaume and force a German retreat along the whole front southward to Péronne and Brie.

Aug. 30—French take Mt. St. Siméon and cross the Canal du Nord at Cantigny and Beaurains; French and American troops north of Soissons capture Chavigny and Cuffies and advance their line to the west of Crouy; British capture villages east and northeast of Bapaume, are checked at Bullecourt, but take Comblès and Cléry; Germans evacuate Bailleul; Americans take Juivigny.

Aug. 31—Australians storm Mt. St. Quentin and Feuillaucourt; English capture Marrières Wood and high ground further north along the Péronne-Bapaume road; British capture Riencourt; Germans retire from the Lys salient; British take Kemmel Hill; Americans make gains eastward in the vicinity of Juivigny and the Bois de Beaumont.

Sept. 1—British take Péronne, Bouchavesnes, and Rancourt, and drive the Germans from several villages south of Bapaume; Bullecourt and Hendecourt in hands of

- the British; Germans lose several villages in the Lys salient; French advance on the Ailette, capturing Crecy-au-Mont and Leury; Americans forge ahead two miles beyond Juigny; Americans fight for the first time on Belgian soil and take Voormezele and nearby strongholds.
- Sept. 2—British carry the Quéant-Drocourt "switch line" on a front of about six miles, taking several villages in a four-mile advance; Germans continue to retreat on the Lys; British occupy Neuve Eglise; Americans north of Soissons reach TERNY-SORNY and the Soissons-St. Quentin highway.
- Sept. 3—British push forward to Baralle, taking Quéant and thirteen other villages in an advance along a twenty-six-mile front to a maximum depth of six miles; Germans driven in hasty retreat to the Canal du Nord.
- Sept. 4—Germans retreat on a front of nearly twenty miles north of the Vesle; French and American troops force a passage of the river and occupy Chasseny, Bucy-le-Long, Branelle, Vauxcerc, and Blanzay; French make gains northeast of Noyon and drive the Germans before them in the territory between the Canal du Nord and the Oise; British force the passage of the Canal du Nord on a front of approximately fifteen miles northward from Moislans and advance to the east; British advance in Flanders, reaching the neighborhood of Neuve Chapelle and Laventie; Germans evacuate Lens, but British refrain from occupying it because of poison gas fumes.
- Sept. 6—Germans retreat on a ninety-mile front from the posts of the Americans on the Aisne to the breaches in the Hindenburg line before Cambrai; French capture Ham and Chauny and advance east of the Canal du Nord to a depth of more than six miles at some points; British push on eastward south from the Somme, penetrating German positions nearly seven miles on a twelve-mile front, and capturing several villages; Americans south of the Aisne make progress in the region of Villers-en-Prayeres and Revillon.
- Sept. 8—British make gains toward St. Quentin and Laon, capturing Villévêque and Ste. Emilie and the greater part of Havrincourt Wood; French advance along the banks of the St. Quentin Canal north of the Somme, capturing Hamel and several other villages, and advance on both sides of the Oise; Americans advance northward on the Aisne in the vicinity of Viell Arcy, Villers-en-Prayeres, and Revillon.
- Sept. 9—British gain on a four-mile front, capturing dominating positions south of Havrincourt Wood; French troops cross the Crôzat Canal opposite Llez; Germans throw in new divisions to check American advance on the St. Gobain massif.
- Sept. 12—First American Army attacks the St. Mihiel salient from all sides and advances on a thirty-mile front to a depth of five miles, aided by the French; St. Mihiel and several towns captured; British improve their positions between La Bassée and east of Péronne, and make important progress toward Cambrai, taking Havrincourt, Moeuvres, and Trescault.
- Sept. 13—Americans wipe out St. Mihiel salient, reducing the front from forty to twenty miles, capturing 15,000 prisoners, and extending the battleline past Norroy, Jaulny, Xammes, St. Benoît, Hattonville, Hannonville, and Herbeuville. British occupy additional territory in the region of Vermand and Jeancourt.
- Sept. 14—Americans repulse counterattacks in the St. Mihiel sector and push on; French begin new attack on both sides of the Ailette River and between the Aisne and the Vesle, advancing for a distance of between one and two miles on an eleven-mile front; Mont des Singes and the villages of Allemant and Sanoy taken; British advance their lines toward Cambrai and St. Quentin and gain in the Lys region.
- Sept. 15—Americans in St. Mihiel sector advance from two to three miles on a thirty-three-mile front; guns from fortress of Metz in action against them; villages of Norroy and Vilcey captured; British gain on the St. Quentin front, capturing the village of Malssemy and adjacent trench systems; French in the Chemin des Dames region capture the plateau east of Vauxaillon and the ridge northwest of Celles-sur-Aisne.
- Sept. 17—Americans in Lorraine advance on extreme right of the line; Germans shell and gas the woods north of Pont-a-Mousson and near Norroy; Germans burn towns along the Moselle as American infantry advances; French guns shell Metz.
- Sept. 18—British launch attack on St. Quentin defenses on a sixteen-mile line northwest of the city, occupying ten villages and crossing the Hindenburg line at Villaret and Gouzeaucourt; French attack to the right of the British and push their lines forward a mile and a quarter on the six-mile front between Holnon and Essigny le Grand; Americans build strong front line in Lorraine, and threaten Metz and the Briey coal fields.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

- Sept. 15-16—French and Serbian troops capture first and second line Bulgarian positions along a ten-mile section of the Doiran-Vardar front.
- Sept. 17—Allies progress more than five miles on a front of twelve miles, taking important ridges and the village of Gradshnitsa; Yugoslav division, fighting with Serbs and French, reaches Koziak.
- Sept. 18—Allies advance on the Macedonian front an average of ten miles—east of

Monastir—and penetrate the Bulgarian third line, opening up the region for advances into Bulgarian and Serbian territory.

AERIAL RECORD

During August 324 German machines were destroyed or driven out of control on the western front by British airmen; 116 British fliers were reported missing. French aviators dropped 629 tons of bombs and downed 280 Teuton planes.

An allied hospital southwest of Soissons was bombed at night, Sept. 4; no casualties.

Allied aviators made many raids on German towns; Cologne was bombed Aug. 22; five persons killed, two injured.

Nine persons killed, six injured, in a raid on Karlsruhe, Aug. 23.

Sept. 2—Fifteen tons of bombs were dropped on German military works in the Rhine provinces. Three raids were made on the airdrome at Bruehl, where the hangars were demolished. The railways at Ehrang, Burbach, and Saarbrücken were bombed and fires started in the Burbach works.

Sept. 5—The railways at Metz-Sablons and Mainz and the docks and sidings at Karlsruhe bombed; extensive damage at Karlsruhe.

Sept. 7—A British squadron attacked the railways at Ehrang and the chemical works at Mannheim.

Metz and nearby cities were raided on Sept. 14, 15, and 16, over 87 tons of bombs being dropped.

Sept. 15—Allied machines dropped seventeen tons of bombs on Courcilles, Ehrang, Saarbrücken, Conflans, and other points on the Lorraine front. Constantinople was raided several times by allied airmen; on Aug. 27 bombs and manifestoes were dropped. One person was killed and eleven wounded. Venice was bombed on Aug. 22. Some material damage was caused and several persons were wounded. Bombs were dropped on Padua Aug. 25. Some buildings were slightly damaged.

Sept. 16—Paris bombed by a large squadron; six killed, fifteen injured; one German brought down.

NAVAL RECORD

Dutch steamer Gasconier, operated by the Belgian Relief Commission, was sunk by a mine in the North Sea Aug. 21. Six were lost.

One of a squadron of German warships cruising off the coast of the Island of Ameland, Sept. 6, ran into a mine or was torpedoed.

RUSSIA

Japanese forces landed at Vladivostok on Aug. 12 and joined the French and British, and on Aug. 13 the Japanese Government announced that under an agreement with China troops were being sent through Manchuria to protect the border from the

Bolsheviks and Teuton prisoners. On Aug. 19 word was received that China had sent troops to the Siberian border. American forces were sent to guard the railroad between Vladivostok and Nikolsk, thus releasing Czechoslovak troops.

The Japanese General Kikuzo Otani took command of the allied forces in Siberia on Aug. 17.

Ministers of neutral countries addressed a note to Foreign Minister Tchitcherin, Aug. 26, protesting against the fresh demands which he made in connection with arrangements for the departure of allied Consuls and missions from Moscow.

The British Embassy at Petrograd was sacked by Bolsheviks Aug. 31, and Captain Cromie, the British attaché, was killed. Great Britain demanded reparation and interned the Bolshevik Envoy at London as a hostage.

Word was received on Sept. 8 that the Soviet Government would agree to the exchange of diplomats with Great Britain if the neutral powers would undertake to guarantee that the Bolshevik representatives in London were given a safe conduct home.

Eleven Englishmen, including R. H. B. Lockhart, the British Consul General at Moscow, were imprisoned by the Reds in the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul.

On Aug. 26 the Reds were driven back fifteen miles on the Ussuri River front and on Aug. 28 Japanese cavalry occupied Krasnoyarsk.

On Sept. 1 Japanese cavalry occupied Iman, at the junction of the Iman and Ussuri Rivers. On the Manchurian front General Semenoff's Cossacks reached the fortifications of Borgia on the Trans-Siberian Railway, and Japanese cavalry took Chingyang. On the same day the Bolshevik Council at Blagovieshtchensk, capital of the Amur Province, declared war on China because of China's sending troops to the Northern Manchurian front.

Announcement was made on Sept. 4 that Major General William S. Graves had arrived at Vladivostok to assume command of the American forces there.

Announcement was made on Sept. 5 that Czechoslovaks had captured Chita, the capital and largest city of Transbaikalia. On the same day allied troops occupied Obozerskaya and peasants captured Nizhni-Novgorod on the Volga.

Khabarovsk, at the junction of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers, was occupied by Japanese forces, Sept. 7.

On Sept. 11 announcement was made that American troops had arrived safely at Archangel.

Vologda was captured by the White Guards, Sept. 11. It was burned by the Reds before they evacuated it.

Simbirsk, on the Volga, was captured by the Reds, Sept. 14.

General Horvath attempted by a coup d'état to assume control of all the Russian military forces in the Far East, Aug. 25, but was obliged to relinquish his pretensions to a dictatorship at the demand of the Allies.

On Sept. 12 word was received that the Entente Governments had refused to recognize the Horvath Government and had appointed a committee to administer municipal affairs.

Nikolai Lenine, the Bolshevik Premier, was shot on Aug. 30 at Moscow by Dora Kaplan, a revolutionist. Drastic measures were taken by the Soviet Government. Thousands of persons were sent to Petrograd and summary execution was decreed for all persons in Moscow found with a weapon. Mlle. Kaplan was executed on Sept. 4, and, by Sept. 8, twenty-six British officials had been arrested and threatened with death should Lenine die.

Leo Kameneff, Vice President of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, was appointed Acting Premier in Lenine's place.

The reign of terror instituted by the Bolshevik Government brought forth a joint protest from neutral diplomats, Sept. 8. They announced that their Governments would expel all Russian Bolsheviks if the Soviet Government did not stop the wholesale execution of civilians and officers and other drastic measures against its political opponents.

Up to Sept. 9, 512 counter-revolutionaries had been killed as a reprisal for the murder of Moses Uritsky, Chairman of the Petrograd Commission for the suppression of a counter-revolution. In Smolensk, thirty-four landowners and the former Moscow Archimandrite, Nakari, were shot as a reprisal for the attempt on the life of Lenine. Many important personages, including Grand Dukes and ex-Ministers, were held as hostages to prevent a fresh attempt at a counter-revolt.

Admiral A. V. Razvozoff, former Commander in Chief of the Russian naval forces in the Baltic, was reported murdered in Petrograd, Sept. 12.

General Soukhomlinoff, former Minister of War in the Russian Imperial Cabinet, was court-martialed and shot on Sept. 6.

Three supplementary agreements to the Brest-Litovsk treaty were signed at Berlin, Aug. 27. They conceded to Russia routes of commerce and free ports in Esthonia and Livonia; Germany dropped her claims in the Caucasus, but obtained the promise of its oil supply; the independence of Georgia was recognized, and the indemnity demanded of Russia was partly shifted to Ukraine and Finland. Official information received by the American State Department showed that an offensive and defensive alliance with Germany was involved in the treaty, and Russia's commercial affairs were to be controlled by Germany for five years.

The first portion of the Russian war indemnity was reported to have been paid to Germany Sept. 7, amounting to \$1,500,000,000.

The United States Committee on Public Information, on Sept. 14, made public a series of official communications between the German Imperial Government and the Russian Bolshevik Government and the Bolsheviks themselves, showing that Lenine and Trotzky were German agents, that the Bolshevik revolution was financed by the German Imperial Bank and arranged for by the German General Staff, and that the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was a betrayal of the Russian people by German agents.

Representatives of the former Esthonian Diet and Government, in a declaration to allied and neutral countries, repudiated the Brest-Litovsk treaty, Aug. 25.

MISCELLANEOUS

On Sept. 14 the Austro-Hungarian Government invited all belligerent Governments to enter into non-binding discussions at a secret conference at some neutral meeting place, with a view to the calling of a peace conference. The suggestion was immediately rejected by the United States Government in a curt note forwarded to Austria Sept. 17.

An unofficial report was received on Sept. 15 that Germany had made a definite peace offer to Belgium. It was stated that Belgium had flatly rejected the offer. The story was denied by Berlin.

Word was received on Sept. 7 that a treaty of alliance had been concluded between Germany and Finland under which the entire man power of Finland was put at Germany's disposal.

Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse declared his willingness to accept the crown of Finland.

The Swedish Government entered into an agreement with Great Britain, France, and the United States under which these Governments agreed to the rationing of Sweden in return for the use of 400,000 tons of Swedish shipping, the use of some Swedish products, including rich Swedish iron ores, and certain other conditions. Announcement to this effect was made Aug. 22. A similar arrangement with Denmark was also agreed to, announced Sept. 19.

Word was received on Sept. 6 that General von Linsingen had placed the City of Berlin and the Province of Brandenburg in a state of siege, providing for a fine or imprisonment for persons inventing or circulating untrue rumors calculated to disquiet the populace.

Secretary Lansing announced on Sept. 3 that the United States Government recognized the Czechoslovaks as a belligerent nation and the Czechoslovak National Council as a de facto belligerent Government.

Austria's Peace Conference Note

Proposal for a "Confidential" Discussion Is Promptly Rejected by the United States

THE Austro-Hungarian Government on Sept. 15, 1918, addressed a communication and note to belligerent and neutral powers and the Holy See suggesting a meeting for a preliminary and "non-binding" discussion of war aims with a view to the possible calling of a peace conference.* It was transmitted to the United States Government through the Swedish Government. The official text of the introductory communication follows:

An objective and conscientious examination of the situation of all the belligerent States no longer leaves doubt that all peoples, on whatever side they may be fighting, long for a speedy end to the bloody struggle. Despite this natural and comprehensible desire for peace, it has not so far been possible to create those preliminary conditions calculated to bring the peace efforts nearer to realization and bridge the gap which at present still separates the belligerents from one another.

A more effective means must therefore be considered whereby the responsible factors of all the countries can be offered an opportunity to investigate the present possibilities of an understanding.

The first step which Austria-Hungary, in accord with her allies, undertook on Dec. 12, 1916, for the bringing about of peace did not lead to the end hoped for.

The grounds for this lay assuredly in the situation at that time. In order to maintain in their peoples the war spirit, which was steadily declining, the allied Governments had by the most severe means suppressed even any discussion of the peace idea. And so it came about that the ground for a peace understanding was not properly prepared. The natural transition from the wildest war agitation to a condition of conciliation was lacking.

It would, however, be wrong to believe that the peace step we then took was entirely without result. Its fruits consist of something which is not to be overlooked—that the peace question has not since vanished from the order of the day. The discussions which have been carried on before the tribunal of public opinion have disclosed proof

of the not slight differences which today still separate the warring powers in their conception of peace conditions.

Nevertheless, an atmosphere has been created which no longer excludes the discussion of the peace problem.

Without optimism, it at least assuredly may be deduced from the utterances of responsible statesmen that the desire to reach an understanding and not to decide the war exclusively by force of arms is also gradually beginning to penetrate into allied States, save for some exceptions in the case of blinded war agitators, which are certainly not to be estimated lightly.

The Austro-Hungarian Government is aware that after the deep-reaching convulsions which have been caused in the life of the peoples by the devastating effects of the world war will not be possible to re-establish order in the tottering world at a single stroke. The path that leads to the restoration of peaceful relations between the peoples is cut by hatred and embitterment. It is toilsome and wearisome, yet it is our duty to tread this path—the path of negotiation—and if there are still such responsible factors as desire to overcome the opponent by military means and to force the will to victory upon him, there can, nevertheless, no longer be doubt that this aim, even assuming that it is attainable, would first necessitate a further sanguinary and protracted struggle.

But even a later victorious peace will no longer be able to make good the consequences of such a policy—consequences which will be fatal to all the States and peoples of Europe. The only peace which could righteously adjust the still divergent conceptions of the opponents would be a peace desired by all the peoples. With this consciousness, and in its unswerving endeavor to work in the interests of peace, the Austro-Hungarian Government now again comes forward with a suggestion with the object of bringing about a direct discussion between the enemy powers.

The earnest will to peace of wide classes of the population of all the States who are jointly suffering through the war—the indisputable rapprochement in individual controversial questions—as well as the more conciliatory atmosphere that is general, seem to the Austro-Hungarian Government to give a certain guarantee that a fresh step in the interests of peace, which also takes account of past experiences in this domain, might at the present moment offer the possibility of success.

The Austro-Hungarian Government has

*See address by Baron Burian at Vienna Sept. 10, 1918, foreshadowing this formal proposal. It appears on Page 132 of this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

therefore resolved to point out to all the belligerents, friend and foe, a path considered practicable by it, and to propose to them jointly to examine in a free exchange of views whether those prerequisites exist which would make the speedy inauguration of peace negotiations appear promising. To this end the Austro-Hungarian Government has today invited the Governments of all the belligerent States to a confidential and unbinding discussion at a neutral meeting place, and has addressed to them a note drawn up in this sense.

This step has been brought to the knowl-

edge of the Holy See in a special note, and an appeal thereby made to the Pope's interest in peace. Furthermore, the Governments of the neutral States have been acquainted with the step taken.

The constant close accord which exists between the four allied powers warrants the assumption that the allies of Austria-Hungary, to whom the proposal is being sent in the same manner, share the views developed in the note.

[The official telegram proceeds to say that the note has been drawn up in French, and runs as follows:]

Text of the Note to the Powers

The peace offer which the powers of the Quadruple Alliance addressed to their opponents on Dec. 12, 1916, and the conciliatory basic ideas of which they have never given up, signifies, despite the rejection which it experienced, an important stage in the history of this war. In contrast to the first two and a half war years, the question of peace has from that moment been the centre of European, aye, of world, discussion, and dominates it in ever-increasing measure.

Almost all the belligerent States have in turn again and again expressed themselves on the question of peace, its prerequisites and conditions. The line of development of this discussion, however, has not been uniform and steady. The basic standpoint changed under the influence of the military and political position, and hitherto, at any rate, it has not led to a tangible general result that could be utilized.

It is true that, independent of all these oscillations, it can be stated that the distance between the conceptions of the two sides has, on the whole, grown somewhat less; that despite the indisputable continuance of decided and hitherto unbridged differences, a partial turning from many of the most extreme concrete war aims is visible and a certain agreement upon the relative general basic principles of a world peace manifests itself. In both camps there is undoubtedly observable in wide classes of the population a growth of the will to peace and understanding. Moreover, a comparison of the reception of the peace proposal of the powers of the Quadruple Alliance on the part of their opponents with the later utterances of responsible statesmen of the latter, as well as of the non-responsible but, in a political respect, nowise uninfluential personalities, confirms this impression.

While, for example, the reply of the Allies to President Wilson made demands which amounted to the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, to a diminution and a deep internal transformation of the German Empire, and the destruction of Turkish European ownership, these demands, the realization of which was based on the supposition of an overwhelming victory, were later modi-

fied in many declarations from official Entente quarters, or in part were dropped.

Thus, in a declaration made in the British House of Commons a year ago, Secretary Balfour expressly recognized that Austria-Hungary must itself solve its internal problems, and that none could impose a Constitution upon Germany from the outside. Premier Lloyd George declared at the beginning of this year that it was not one of the Allies' war aims to partition Austria-Hungary, to rob the Ottoman Empire of its Turkish provinces, or to reform Germany internally. It may also be considered symptomatic that in December, 1917, Mr. Balfour categorically repudiated the assumption that British policy had ever engaged itself for the creation of an independent State out of the territories on the left bank of the Rhine.

The Central Powers leave it in no doubt that they are only waging a war of defense for the integrity and the security of their territories.

Far more outspoken than in the domain of concrete war aims has the rapprochement of conceptions proceeded regarding those guiding lines upon the basis of which peace shall be concluded and the future order of Europe and the world built up. In this direction President Wilson in his speeches of Feb. 12 and July 4 of this year has formulated principles which have not encountered contradiction on the part of his allies, and the far-reaching application of which is likely to meet with no objection on the part of the powers of the Quadruple Alliance also, presupposing that this application is general and reconcilable with the vital interests of the States concerned.

It is true, it must be remembered, that an agreement on general principles is insufficient, but that there remains the further matter of reaching an accord upon their interpretation and their application to individual concrete war and peace questions.

To an unprejudiced observer there can be no doubt that in all the belligerent States, without exception, the desire for a peace of understanding has been enormously strengthened; that the conviction is increasingly spreading that the further continuance of

the bloody struggle must transform Europe into ruins and into a state of exhaustion that will mar its development for decades to come, and this without any guarantee of thereby bringing about that decision by arms which has been vainly striven after by both sides in four years filled with enormous sacrifices, sufferings, and exertions.

In what manner, however, can the way be paved for an understanding, and an understanding finally attained? Is there any serious prospect whatever of reaching this aim by continuing the discussion of the peace problem in the way hitherto followed?

We have not the courage to answer the latter question in the affirmative. The discussion from one public tribune to another, as has hitherto taken place between statesmen of the various countries, was really only a series of monologues. It lacked, above everything, directness. Speech and counter-speech did not fit into each other. The speakers spoke over one another's heads.

On the other hand, it was the publicity and the ground of these discussions which robbed them of the possibility of fruitful progress. In all public statements of this nature a form of eloquence is used which reckons with the effect at great distances and on the masses. Consciously or unconsciously, however, one thereby increases the distance of the opponents' conception, produces misunderstandings which take root and are not removed, and makes the frank exchange of ideas more difficult. Every pronouncement of leading statesmen is, directly after its delivery and before the authoritative quarters of the opposite side can reply to it, made the subject of passionate or exaggerated discussion of irresponsible elements.

But anxiety lest they should endanger the interests of their arms by unfavorably influencing feeling at home, and lest they prematurely betray their own ultimate intentions, also causes the responsible statesmen themselves to strike a higher tone and stubbornly to adhere to extreme standpoints.

If, therefore, an attempt is made to see whether the basis exists for an understanding calculated to deliver Europe from the catastrophe of the suicidal continuation of the struggle, then, in any case, another method should be chosen which renders possible a direct, verbal discussion between the representatives of the Governments, and only between them. The opposing conceptions of individual belligerent States would likewise have to form the subject of such a discussion, for mutual enlightenment, as well as the general principles that shall serve as the

basis for peace and the future relations of the States to one another, and regarding which, in the first place, an accord can be sought with a prospect of success.

As soon as an agreement were reached on the fundamental principles, an attempt would have to be made in the course of the discussions concretely to apply them to individual peace questions, and thereby bring about their solution.

We venture to hope that there will be no objection on the part of any belligerents to such an exchange of views. The war activities would experience no interruption. The discussions, too, would only go so far as was considered by the participants to offer a prospect of success. No disadvantages would arise therefrom for the States represented. Far from harming, such an exchange of views could on'y be useful to the cause of peace.

What did not succeed the first time can be repeated, and perhaps it has already at least contributed to the clarification of views. Mountains of old misunderstandings might be removed and many new things perceived. Streams of pent-up human kindness would be released, in the warmth of which everything essential would remain, and, on the other hand, much that is antagonistic, to which excessive importance is still attributed, would disappear.

According to our conviction, all the belligerents jointly owe to humanity to examine whether now, after so many years of a costly but undecided struggle, the entire course of which points to an understanding, it is possible to make an end to the terrible grapple.

The Royal and Imperial Government would like, therefore, to propose to the Governments of all the belligerent States to send delegates to a confidential and unbinding discussion on the basic principles for the conclusion of peace, in a place in a neutral country and at a near date that would yet have to be agreed upon—delegates who were charged to make known to one another the conception of their Governments regarding those principles and to receive analogous communications, as well as to request and give frank and candid explanations on all those points which need to be precisely defined.

The Royal and Imperial Government has the honor to request the Government of —, through the kind mediation of your Excellency, to bring this communication to the knowledge of the Government of —.

[The names of the intermediary Government and of that addressed in the particular note dispatched are left blank.]

The Reply of the United States

The official communication from Austria-Hungary was handed to Secretary of State Lansing in Washington at 6:20 o'clock, Sept. 16; at 6:45 o'clock the following abbreviated reply of the United States Government was made public by the Secretary of State:

I am authorized by the President to state that the following will be the reply of this Government to the Austro-Hungarian note proposing an unofficial conference of belligerents:

"The Government of the United States feels that there is only one reply which it can make to the suggestion of the Imperial Austro-Hungarian Government. It has repeatedly and with entire candor stated the terms upon which the United States would consider peace and can and will entertain no proposal for a conference upon a matter concerning which it has made its position and purpose so plain."

The full text of the reply of the United States, in the form in which it was handed to the Swedish Minister, W. A. F. Ekengren, was made public by Secretary Lansing on Sept. 18. It was as follows:

Department of State,

Sept. 17, 1918.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note, dated Sept. 16,

communicating to me a note from the Imperial Government of Austria-Hungary, containing a proposal to the Government of all the belligerent States to send delegates to a confidential and unbinding discussion on the basic principles for the conclusion of peace. Furthermore, it is proposed that the delegates would be charged to make known to one another the conception of their Governments regarding these principles and to receive analogous communications, as well as to request and give frank and candid explanations on all those points which need to be precisely defined.

In reply I beg to say that the substance of your communication has been submitted to the President, who now directs me to inform you that the Government of the United States feels that there is only one reply which it can make to the suggestion of the Imperial Austro-Hungarian Government. It has repeatedly and with entire candor stated the terms upon which the United States would consider peace, and can and will entertain no proposal for a conference upon a matter concerning which it has made its position and purpose so plain.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

[Signed] ROBERT LANSING.

Mr. W. A. F. Ekengren, Minister of Sweden, in charge of Austro-Hungarian interests.

Britain's Answer Indicated by Mr. Balfour.

Arthur J. Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, in a statement made Sept. 16, regarding the Austrian note, said: "It is incredible that anything can come of this proposal." The calamities imposed by the continuation of hostilities were so overwhelming, he said, that he would never treat with disrespect any peace proposal.

"But," he went on, "I cannot honestly see, in the proposals now made to us the slightest hope that the goal we all desire—the goal of a peace which shall be more than a truce—can really be attained."

Coming after the recent speech of Friedrich von Payer, the German Imperial Vice Chancellor, [See Page 69,] Mr. Balfour continued, "This cynical proposal of the Austrian Government is not a genuine attempt to obtain peace. It is

an attempt to divide the Allies." No coalition ever had been so strong as the allied coalition and the enemy would not succeed in breaking it.

Conversations such as were proposed by Austria-Hungary undoubtedly would have great value under certain circumstances. They would serve to smooth out obscurities such as questions of pride, &c., but the questions now between the belligerents were clearly defined.

"I am not taking the proposals of two years ago, or of last year, but of last week," Secretary Balfour said. "The German Vice Chancellor, speaking for the German Government, clearly and without obscure verbiage, showed where Germany stood on the question of Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine, the German colonies, and the Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest treaties."

It could not be more clearly set forth than it was by von Payer that Germany intended to pay no indemnity to Belgium. The Vice Chancellor indicated that Germany did not believe in the principle of indemnities, and yet at the same time she was squeezing millions of dollars out of Russia.

"This," the speaker went on, "was for the wrongs Russia is supposed to have done Germany. How can those wrongs be compared with the devastation and ruin which Germany is wreaking on Russia now?"

Regarding the question of colonies, Secretary Balfour said:

"The colonies are one question on which there is no misunderstanding. We stand on one side and Germany on the other."

Referring to the lack of concerted effort by the Central Powers, as emphasized by the von Payer speech and the Austrian note, the Foreign Secretary commented on the clumsiness of German diplomacy. He continued:

Take Belgium, for example. The phrase von Payer uses is a very curious one, but I suppose it is intended to mean that Germany feels that she really must restore Belgian independence. She does not say what she is going to do to restore Belgian prosperity or that indemnities are to be given to the country she wasted, brutalized, and ravaged.

Attitude of France and Italy

Premier Clemenceau foreshadowed the attitude of France regarding the note by the following statement, which was made in the French Senate, Sept. 18:

We will fight until the hour when the enemy comes to understand that bargaining between crime and right is no longer possible. We want a just and a strong peace, protecting the future against the abominations of the past.

In beginning, M. Clemenceau spoke of the gratitude the people of the allied nations feel toward "those marvelous soldiers of the Entente" by whom those nations would "at last be liberated from the barbarian menace." He recalled the threatening attitude of Germany toward pacific France, which had endured for half a century "the infamous wounds,

But it seems that if Belgium will consent to make certain modifications in her internal arrangements she is to be allowed to get back her independence. Explicit though it be, it explicitly refuses that which we think obviously just, namely, restoration of and indemnity to Belgium, which has been so monstrously treated.

Von Payer stated that the German boundaries should remain intact, which, of course, means that Germany will keep Alsace-Lorraine. How are conversations going to set that right? There are no misunderstandings between the belligerents on that score.

Mr. Balfour recalled that von Payer said the Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest treaties should stand, and declared:

There is no misunderstanding there. It is in black and white, without circumspection or fine phrasing. No dexterity of dialogue is going to smooth differences of that kind. * * *

Until the Central Powers are of open mind and are prepared to discuss our views of what we believe to be right and just and for the uplift of civilization, mere conversations for practical results are useless.

They evidently think they can embitter whatever differences may exist between the allied countries and counteract the present allied successes on all fronts. I cannot bring myself to believe that this is an honest attempt at peace by understanding, but I am driven to the opposite opinion—that it is an attempt to weaken the forces in the field, which are proving too strong for them.

brutalities and tyrannies of an enemy who would not forgive us for having saved from the wreck the consciousness of right and our indefeasible claims to independence." He pointed out how, without the slightest pretext, Germany hurled herself on French territory, devastated the fields of France, burned and pillaged her towns and villages and enslaved her men, women, and children. He added:

The enemy thought that victory would cause all this to be pardoned, but fortune has changed. The day of glory has come. Our sons are completing the formidable task of their fathers, and with brotherly nations are securing a supreme victory. All right-minded humanity is with our troops, who are liberating the nations from the furor of evil force.

The address was enthusiastically received and the Senate voted to post it throughout the country.

THE ITALIAN REPLY

A semi-official statement issued by Italy, Sept. 19, said:

The Austrian note has not yet reached the Government, but if the newspaper text is exact, Italy must point out that the proposal aiming at the creation of so-called negotiations is devoid of any real intent toward peace and the possibility of practical success.

Recent statements by Austro-Hungarian and German statesmen, excluding the ceding of territories, and the final iniquitous Brest and Bucharest treaties, render impossible the beginning of useful negotiations.

The Entente and the United States have made known their eager aspirations toward a just peace and also an essential basis whereon they see a just peace must be founded. On these points the Austrian proposal says nothing. It also says nothing with regard to the Italian aspirations. They are well known to Austria and also to the Allies, who have recognized them.

These aspirations are summed up in the accomplishment of Italian unity through the liberation of Italian populations still subject to Austria.

Until Austria recognizes these particular aims, as well as the general ones for which the Allies are fighting, Italy will not abandon the struggle, aiming at the creation of a humanitarian organization which will make safer a lasting peace, liberty and justice.

NO ACTION BY POPE

Foreign Minister Burian on Sept. 14 sent the following note to the Pope through the Apostolic Nuncio, Di Bouzo, at Vienna:

After four years of unheard-of struggle and gigantic sacrifices, the battle devastating Europe has not brought a decision. Animated by a spirit of reconciliation, Austria-Hungary has decided to approach all belligerents and invite them to pave the way toward peace by a confidential and unbinding exchange of views. With full gratitude, Austria-Hungary remembers the touching appeal the Pope sent to the belligerents last year. Firmly convinced that the Pope also today, (a word missing from cabled text,) that long-suffering mankind soon will again enjoy the blessings of peace, we confidently hope he will sympathize with the note and support it with his moral influence.

It was announced from Rome Sept. 19 that the Vatican would not reply.

GERMANY APPROVED NOTE

Baron Burian set at rest speculation as to whether Germany had approved the note by an announcement made at Vienna Sept. 19, that the Austrian proposal to the belligerents for a secret peace conference had been considered for weeks, and that the step was taken "after consultation with our allies and being certain of their approval in principle."

The German and Austrian press caustically criticised the failure of the step. The curt rejection of the proposal increased the profound unrest and revolutionary agitation both in Germany and Austria. The Kaiser, von Hindenburg, and other military leaders sought to raise the drooping spirits of their people by means of encouraging manifestoes and fervent appeals to "save the Fatherland from despoilers."

Germany's Diminishing Peace Demands

Friedrich von Payer, German Vice Chancellor, Mentions
Belgium and Yields Indemnities

THE German Vice Chancellor, Friedrich von Payer, delivered the following significant address at Stuttgart on Sept. 12, 1918, indicating the extent to which the German Government was willing to reduce its peace demands:

In former peace negotiations the middle and lower classes, when it came to the council table, fell quietly into the background.

That time is now past, and the Governments will conclude the coming peace treaties in close harmony with the entire people.

The main thing for them in peace is not the acquisition of land, treasure, and glory; they aim, nowadays at least, at the conclusion of a lasting peace, and therefore there will be no peace of conquest. * * *

Russia collapsed because she could not maintain internal cohesion. Our victories and

those of our allies now have given the subjects of that colossal empire an opportunity to liberate themselves. It is unthinkable that Germany would contribute to the restoration of the despotic Russian Empire, which, by its mere existence, always menaced the world.

We cannot hand over Poland to Russia, nor can we assist in having Finland again placed under the Russian yoke. We cannot leave to their fate the border States which lie on the German frontier and the Baltic to be subjected against their will to Russian imperialism or thrown into the perils of civil war and anarchy.

In fact, these States, having come to an understanding with us as those most nearly interested, can only be an advantage to the world, and we can never permit any one to meddle with us in this matter from the standpoint of the present European balance of power, or rather British predominance.

For the rest, the territorial possessions which existed before the war can everywhere be restored. A preliminary condition for us and our allies is that all the territory should again be restored which we possessed on Aug. 1, 1914. Germany must, therefore, in the first place, receive back her colonies, in which connection the idea of an exchange on the ground of expediency need not be excluded.

We Germans, as soon as peace is concluded, can evacuate the occupied regions. We can, when once things have been got to that stage, restore Belgium. If we and our allies are once again in possession of what belonged to us and if we first are sure that in Belgium no other State will be more favorably placed than we, then Belgium, I think I may say, can be given back without incumbrance and without reserve. * * *

It is hypocrisy to represent Belgium as the innocent victim of our policy and to clothe her, as it were, in the white garment of innocence. The Belgium Government—and that is what matters, not the Belgian people—took an active part in Great Britain's policy of encircling Germany.

There is still the question of war indemnities from one or the other party. Had Germany been allowed to pursue her work in peace, there would have been no war or injury. There can be no question, therefore, of our paying, but only whether we should receive compensation for the injuries inflicted on us. We are deeply convinced that as the innocent and attacked party we have a right to indemnification. To go on prosecuting the war, however, to that point would cost us such heavy sacrifice, irreparable by money, that we prefer, on calm reflection, and even with our favorable military situation, to abandon this idea, quite apart from the question of jeopardizing a future peace which would be inevitable if compensation were forcibly urged.

Unrealizable conditions of peace, of course, could not be laid down for our participation in the peace negotiations. We laugh at the idea that we should first penitently ask for mercy before we are admitted. We laugh at the fools who babble of revenge. I have wished only to show that peace by understanding will bring nothing humiliating for us nor a period of misery and wretchedness.

Strong and courageous in the consciousness of our invincibility, equal among the nations of the earth, we will lead a life of labor, but also with contentment and with an assured future. In common with others we will protect the world's peace from future dangers.

It would be an illusion to count on will to peace in those circles among our enemies which are responsible for the opening and the continuing of hostilities. For years they have been living on the inflaming of war passions. They cannot admit to their countrymen that their aims are unattainable and that their sacrifices have been made in vain. Others among those peoples will think differently. Moreover, they will prevail sooner or later. Until then, however, there remains nothing for us to do but to defend our lives. We place on the shoulders of our enemies the responsibility for the blood which will yet be shed, but whoever will not hear must fall. On our outer and inner front the will to destruction of our enemies will be shattered. Germany's strength, capacity, courage, and self-sacrifice, to which for four years we owe everything, must teach them that it has become hopeless for them to continue to wage this baneful war.

Despite everything, the peace treaty will have purely positive contents. The nations of the earth cry out for preservation from the further misery of wars, for leagues of nations, for international courts of arbitration, and agreements regarding equal disarmament, which cries the enemy Governments have made their own, and the fulfillment of which would not be wrecked by the German Government's opposition. We are, on the contrary, ready to collaborate to the best of our ability.

We desire a disarmament agreement on the condition of complete reciprocity applied not merely to land armies, but even to naval forces. In pursuance of the same idea and even going beyond it, we will raise in the negotiations a demand for freedom of the seas and sea routes, for the open door in all overseas possessions, and for the protection of private property at sea. And if negotiations take place regarding the protection of small nations and of national minorities in individual States, we shall willingly advocate international arrangements which will act for deliverance in countries under Great Britain's domination.

[For earlier peace utterances of the month see Page 131.]

Kaiser's Speech to Krupp Workers

An Appeal to Labor in Which the German Emperor's Tone Is Somewhat Altered

[DELIVERED SEPT. 12, 1918, AT ESSEN]

After preliminary remarks of welcome to the men and thanks for their labor, the Kaiser proceeded:

INDUSTRIAL mobilization, without distinction of age or sex, has constituted a demand such as never before was made on the German people, and yet it was responded to willingly and joyfully. In that connection I should like, above all, to express my warm thanks as the country's father to the women as well as the girls and the men for their self-sacrificing performance of their duty despite their harassing cares.

No one among our people should imagine I am not conversant with this. In my journeyings through the land I have spoken with many a widow, many a peasant, many a member of the Landwehr and the Landsturm, whose hearts were heavy with cares, but who glowed with the thought of duty first. I have been touched by your cares to the depths of my heart. What paternal suggestion could do to diminish the burden as far as possible has been done. Much could have been done otherwise, and it is no wonder there is dissatisfaction here and there.

But to whom, after all, do we owe this? Who spoke at the very beginning of the war of starving out the German women and children? Who was it who introduced terrible hatred into this war? It was the enemy.

Every one of you in the remotest corner of the Fatherland knows that I left no stone unturned to shorten the war as far as possible for you and your people and for the entire civilized European world. In December, 1916, I presented the enemy public with a clear and unambiguous offer of peace in the name of the German Empire and my allies. Jeers, mockery, and contempt were the answer.

He up above knows my sense of responsibility. Repeatedly during the past months the responsible leaders of the Imperial Government have unambiguously given to understand, to every one who wished to understand, that we are at all times ready to offer the hand to peace.

To make peace, two are needed. If either is unwilling, the other cannot, presuming that he does not overthrow the other. Thus we are confronted with the enemy's absolute will to destruction. And against this absolute will to destruction we must place our absolute will to preserve our existence.

Our brave army out there has shown you this will and deed. Whether in assault, or withdrawal, or trench fighting, the only thing that matters is that the enemy should lose as much as possible. That has occurred and continues to occur.

CLAIMS NAVAL VICTORY

Our death-defying navy also has proved that. It beat the enemy at the Skagerrak, despite his great superiority. Our U-boats, like a consuming worm, gnaw at the enemy's vitals more than our enemies will admit.

Even though, in the opinion of many among you, it is lasting too long, every German man and every German woman must, as witnesses of these incomparable heroic deeds of our army and our navy, be aware we are fighting and struggling for existence and that we must make the utmost effort to defend ourselves victoriously, not only through the work but as regards the thoughts of our people.

Many among you have often asked themselves during this long war: "How did such a thing happen? Why did we have to undergo such a thing after forty

years of peace?" I think it is a question well worthy of an answer and which must be answered for the future—for our children and our grandchildren. I have thought long on the matter and have come to the following answer:

In this world good clashes with evil. That is how things have been ordered from on high—the yes and the no; the no of the doubting mind against the yes of the creative mind; the no of the pessimist against the yes of the optimist; the no of the unbeliever against the yes of the champion of faith; the yes of Heaven against the no of Hell.

You will acknowledge that I am right in describing this war as the product of a great negation. And do you ask what negation it is? It is the negation of the German people's right to existence. It is the negation of all our kultur, a negation of our achievements, of all our work.

The German people was industrious, meditative, assiduous, imaginative in all domains. It worked with body and soul. But there were people who did not wish to work but to rest on their laurels. Those were our enemies. We got close to them through our profitable work and the development of our industry, science, and art; through our popular education and social legislation. Thereby our people thrive, and then came envy.

TO BLAME WAR ON ALLIES

Envy induced our enemies to fight, and war came upon us. And now when our opponents see that their hopes have been deceptive and how our mighty generals, after whom your new workshops are rightly named, have dealt them blow upon blow, hatred springs up. We only know the honest wrath which deals the enemy the blow, but when he lies prostrate and bleeding we extend to him our hand and see to his recovery.

Hatred manifests itself only among peoples who feel themselves beaten. If, therefore, such terrible hatred exists among our enemies, it owes its origin to the fact that their calculations have been wrong. Every one who knows the character of the Anglo-Saxons knows what it means to fight them—how

tenacious they are. We do not know when the struggle will end, but one thing we do know, namely, that we must fight the battle through.

And now, my friends, let me draw your attention to something more. You have read what recently happened in Moscow—the mighty conspiracy against the present Government. The parliamentary governed, democratic British Nation has endeavored to overthrow the ultra-democratic Government which the Russian people had begun to construct, because this Government, considering the interests of its fatherland, wishes to maintain its people in the peace for which it clamors.

But the Anglo-Saxon does not yet desire peace. That is how things are. It is proof of his feeling of inferiority that the Anglo-Saxon has recourse to such criminal means.

Everything now depends on our final exertions, everything is at stake, and because our enemies know it, because they have the greatest respect for the German Army, because they see they cannot overcome our army and navy, they are trying to overcome us by means of internal disintegration and to weaken us by false rumors.

These do not emanate from the German people. They are artificial productions. But whoever hearkens to such rumors, whoever passes on unsubstantiated news in the railway workshop or elsewhere, sins against the Fatherland, he is a traitor and is liable to severe punishment, no matter whether he be a Count or a workman.

I know very well every one of you will acknowledge that I am right in this matter. Believe me, it is not easy for me to bear every day the anxiety and the responsibility for a nation of 70,000,000, and for more than four years be a spectator to all the difficulties and increasing distress of the people. * * *

THE GERMAN WAR GOD

How can we please God and soften His heart? By doing our duty! In making our Fatherland free! Consequently it is our duty to hold out with all our strength in the fight against our enemies.

Each one of us has received his ap-

pointed task from on high. You at your hammer, you at your lathe, and I on my throne. We must all, however, build on God's assistance. Doubt is the greatest ingratitude toward the Lord, and now I ask you all simply and honestly: Have we, then, really ground for doubt?

Just look at the four years of war! What immense achievements we have behind us! Half the world stood against us and our loyal allies, and now we have peace with Russia and peace with Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro is finished.

Only in the west do we still fight, and is it to be thought that the good God will abandon us there at the last moment? We should be ashamed of the faint-heartedness which comes when one gives credence to rumors. From the facts which you yourselves have experienced forge for yourselves a firm belief in the future of your Fatherland. We often at home and at the front, in church and in the open air, have sung: "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott." So it is resounded in the blue vault of heaven and in the thunderclouds. The nation from which such a hymn originated must be invincible.

My request, my demand of you and through you to all the workers who have proved themselves so admirable and capable, and through you again to the en-

tire German people, is this: For me and for my relations to my people my words of Aug. 4, 1914, hold good. I know no party. I know only Germans.

It is now no time for factions. We must all now combine into a block, and, here, the most appropriate word is to be as hard as steel, and a block of the German people welded into steel shall show its strength to the enemy.

Whoever, therefore, is determined to obey this summons, whoever has his heart in the right place, and whoever intends to keep faith, let him stand up.

Now promise me on behalf of the entire German labor, "We intend to fight and to hold out to the last, so help us, God." Whoever so intends let him answer "Yes."

[The assembly loudly chorused "Yes," and the Emperor continued:]

I thank you. With this "Yes" I go now to the Field Marshal. Now it is for every one of us to fulfill his vow of duty and to exert his body and mind to the utmost for the Fatherland. Every doubt must be banished from mind and heart.

Our watchword now is, The German swords are raised, hearts are strong, and muscles are taut. On to battle against everything that stands against us, no matter how long it lasts, so help us God. Amen. And now, farewell.

Baiser Au Drapeau

Par STEPHAN BORDESE

Cette fois, la blessure est grave
C'en est fini. Soldats, un brave!
Si j'ai mal défendu ma peau
Tant pis pour moi, mais le drapeau!
Prenez-le, mes enfants, courage!
Ne permettez pas qu'on l'outrage
Hardi, je meurs!

Ce n'est pas moi qu'il faut défendre,
Mais le drapeau, venez le prendre
Qu'il ne me soit pas arraché.
De sang français je l'ai taché
En le pressant sur ma blessure,
Gardez-le d'une flétrissure
Vite, je meurs!

Drapeau, fleur du champ de bataille
Ta tige meurt sous la mitraille,
Mais avant, laisse-moi poser
Sur ta soie un dernier baiser
D'amour, d'honneur et d'espérance,
Pour les fières couleurs de France
Adieu, je meurs!

Russia's Reign of Terror

Internal War Between Social Revolutionists and Bolsheviki— Attacks on Allied Diplomats

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 15, 1918]

EARLY in September, 1918, the world received information from Russia shedding considerable light on the secession of the Social Revolutionaries of the Left from the Bolshevik ranks, which had occurred in July, 1917, and which had won the Soviet Government an implacable enemy. The Bolsheviki and the Social Revolutionists had split on Lenine's policy of pitting the poor peasants against the well-to-do farmers, and also on the Government's attitude toward Germany. The defection was led by Miss Spiridonova, a Social Revolutionist, who had been one of the leading spirits of Soviet Russia, and who had rendered invaluable service to the Bolsheviki. At the All-Russian Soviet Congress on July 4, 1918, she made a speech in which she violently denounced Lenine's policies, pointing out that the majority of the workmen and peasants are not with him. She was ready, she announced, to fight, with bomb in hand, for the peasants against their oppressors. She shook her fist at the box of the German Ambassador, saying that Russia would never become a German colony.

Shortly after the break between the Social Revolutionists and the party in power a series of successful terroristic acts led to the death of prominent German and Soviet officials. Miss Spiridonova was arrested, but, contrary to first reports, she did not share the fate of a great number of her comrades, who were executed by the Bolshevik authorities.

An attempt on Premier Lenine's life was made in Moscow on Friday night, Aug. 30. The attack was made by a young woman student, Dora Kaplan, a member of the Social Revolutionary Party, who fired three shots at the Bolshevik leader. The wounds inflicted, although not fatal, were so serious that Lenine temporarily retired from his post

and was replaced by Leo Kamenev, Vice President of the Petrograd Soviet. Dora Kaplan was arrested on the scene of the assault and executed on Sept. 4.

On Aug. 31 Moses Uritzki, Chairman of the Commission Extraordinary for Combating the Counter-Revolution, was assassinated in Petrograd by a young man who, when arrested, gave the name of Leonid Kannegiessers.

Two attempts were made on the life of Dr. Karl Helfferich, the German Ambassador at Moscow, who hurriedly left the Russian capital after a stay of a few days. His post was offered to Scheidemann, Ebert, and Eisler, but these Socialist leaders declined the offer, whereupon the Counselor of the German Embassy at Moscow became the *Chargé d'Affaires*.

REIGN OF TERROR

To these acts the Bolsheviki opposed a reign of terror. The Commission Extraordinary for Combating the Counter-Revolution issued the following decree:

The criminal adventures of our enemies force us to reply with measures of terror. Every person found with a weapon in his hand will be immediately executed. Every person who agitates against the Soviet Government will be arrested and taken into a concentration camp and all his private property seized.

A great number of houses were searched and many persons arrested. Numerous priests and men of prominence, such as former Ministers Verkhovski and Prince Shakhovskoy, Social Revolutionists, were reported to have been seized by the Bolsheviki as hostages. Several hundred Russian officers were said to have been shot. Up to Sept. 9, 512 persons were shot and twenty-six British officials arrested in connection with the assassination of Uritzki, while thirty-four landowners and the former Moscow Archimandrite

Makary were executed in retaliation for the attempt on Lenin's life. A report, dated Sept. 12, told of the murder in Petrograd of Rear Admiral Razvozov, former commander of the Russian Baltic Fleet. An earlier report announced the arrest of Kerensky's relatives. The arrest of Prince Kropotkin at Petrograd and the murder of General Brusiloff, former Russian Generalissimo, were also reported. According to a dispatch of Sept. 10, the Bolshevik newspapers are demanding a "mass terror" against the propertied classes and the Social Revolutionists. Neutral diplomats filed a protest to Foreign Minister Tchitcherin against the attitude of terrorism taken by the Moscow Government toward its political enemies.

AN AMERICAN'S EXPERIENCE

"The struggle," telegraphed on Sept. 7 an American correspondent who had recently escaped from Russia, "has passed the stage of class war. Every man is at every other man's throat." The Bolshevik reign of terror is strikingly depicted in the story told by Roger Simmons, an American sent to Russia by the United States Government, of how he was arrested by the Soviet authorities and escaped death by execution. The following is a passage from this narrative:

While in prison I talked with dozens of men condemned to death, many not knowing why. I learned from men past hope of the travesty of trials before the revolutionary tribunals, and also saw men ordered shot for merely criticising Commissioners. During the year I spent studying the forests I lived among simple people and saw the injustice of the old régime, and learned to have much sympathy for the Bolshevik movement, but in prison I saw it turned to hate and vengeance without caring how innocent the victims.

In speaking of the trial to which the prisoners of the Bolsheviks were subjected, Mr. Simmons says: "They all were led before half a dozen men with raging eyes who asked a few questions, conferred, and then convicted. Few were found innocent. One had a jury of twelve, but the jury was instructed by the Judge to bring in a verdict of guilty."

On Sept. 10 the Russian Embassy at Washington made public a message re-

ceived by it directly from Nicholas Tchaikovsky, Premier of the Government of Northern Russia. The text of the document follows:

Archangel, Aug. 31.—In the region of Northern Russia the yoke of the Bolsheviks is thrown off. In accord with the Allies, the Government of the region of Northern Russia, not recognizing the peace treaty of Brest, has set as its aim the expulsion of the Germans out of the boundaries of Russia and the creation anew of a great and indivisible Russia.

Owing to the initiative of the League of Regeneration of Russia, composed of representatives of all political parties, except the extreme ones, the Government of the region of Northern Russia was formed by delegates of the Northern Provinces to the Constituent Assembly and by representatives of the Zemstvos and towns of the region.

The municipalities and judicial bodies are reconstituted. The Russian Army is again created and on the basis of discipline. The Allies are aiding us. Mobilization has been declared in the northern region.

Desiring to secure real liberty and a democratic régime, the Government of Northern Russia, joining hands with other regional Governments, has as final aim the formation of a single Government for the whole of Russia based on universal suffrage.

The Government of Northern Russia appeals to all Russian citizens to rally around the banner of salvation of their native country, of the liberties gained, and the rebirth of Russia.

NICHOLAS TCHAIKOVSKY,
President of the Government of Northern Russia.

The Government of Northern Russia is composed of members of the Constituent Assembly, who were elected by the Northern provinces under Kerensky. It is known as the Supreme Administration of the Region of the North, and is backed by Social Revolutionists and the Menshevik wing of the Social Democrats. A volunteer army is in process of organization. The Government is trying to meet its pecuniary difficulties by raising money by subscription and by printing notes in England.

On Sept. 8, Tchaikovsky's Government was overthrown, and the Premier, together with several other members of the Government, arrested. The perpetrators of the coup d'état were anti-German and anti-Bolshevik. The allied representatives at Archangel, however,

demanding immediately that Tchaikovsky's Government be restored to power, and the request was complied with.

THE SAMARA ASSEMBLY

It became known late in August that 200 members of the Constituent Assembly which had been dissolved by the Bolsheviks met in the City of Samara and formed a Government ready to assume control of Russia. The Samara Assembly was reported to have elected a triumvirate with directorial powers, consisting of General Alekseyev, the well-known military leader, and Stepanov and Avksentyev. The Samara authorities came to an understanding with the Orenburg and Ural Governments on the basis of a federated Russia and a war against Germany in alliance with the Entente, but it failed to form a similar agreement with the Siberian Government.

Purely military movements directed against the Soviet Government by the peasantry have become an important feature of the situation throughout the North and East of European Russia. The peasants have made serious attempts to wrest from the Bolsheviks Nizhni-Novgorod and Petrograd itself. Anti-Bolshevik movements are reported in the Provinces of Vologda, Vladimir, Uyatka, and Oryol.

GENERAL HORVATH'S COUP

A Vladivostok dispatch dated Aug. 25 announced that General Pleshkov, acting in the name of Lieut. Gen. Horvath, the anti-Soviet military leader in Siberia, had assumed control of all the Russian troops in the Far East in defiance of the will of the Siberian Government. General Horvath's self-appointed dictatorship lasted scarcely an hour. The allied representatives at Vladivostok made it clear to General Horvath's representative that the Allies were resolved to uphold the authority of the Siberian Government against any dictatorial rule. Thereupon, General Horvath submitted. The small body of Russian volunteers who had gone over to the would-be dictator were disarmed and removed from Vladivostok, and the incident was closed without bloodshed.

It was reported on Sept. 13 that the

Entente representatives had taken over the municipal administration of Vladivostok as a step toward stabilizing self-government in Siberia.

A dispatch from Petrograd, dated Aug. 17, estimated the number of German troops occupying the Ukraine at 500,000. The peasant risings continued and the railroad strike was reported to be on the increase. Late in August the Petrograd daily, Pravda, reported that a peasant army of 40,000 was fighting German forces co-operating with Ukrainian Government troops near the Skvira railway in the Government of Kiev. The town and district of Dymera in the same Government were declared by the German army commander in a state of siege. It was in this region that about 1,200 German mutineers, with a number of machine guns, joined the peasant rebels and assisted them in fighting the German forces.

SENTIMENT IN UKRAINE

The situation in the Ukraine is vividly depicted in letters written home by German soldiers. Here is an extract from one written by a member of the 76th Regiment of the Landwehr and dated June 16:

I am still at Kiev, but let me tell you one thing: it is much more terrible here than in the trenches, for there the enemy is before you, while here the opposite is true. The people are so badly disposed toward us that they would devour us alive if they could, but they cannot. For here there are all too many foreigners. So long as we stay here the people will not be able to do anything, for there are too many German and Austrian troops. Police patrols are everywhere. In spite of all this, a great disaster occurred. It happened on June 6, at 10:15 in the morning. Ten ammunition depots were blown up. * * * The dead and wounded number 1,700. The men of the 2d Landwehr Regiment had trouble with the Ukrainians. I tell you, I'd like to leave Kiev today rather than tomorrow. Of course, it is always well to get money, but of what good is it if one is not sure of one's life? You never know what may come next.

A widespread sentiment in favor of reunion with Great Russia was reported to be in existence, but Germany showed no signs of changing her policy of supporting Hetman Skoropadski's dictatorial régime. A Berlin dispatch reported

the speeches exchanged by the German Emperor and Skoropadski at a luncheon in Berlin. Emperor William said that Ukraine owed its existence as a State to Germany. He referred to the happy lot of the Ukrainians in the following words:

Henceforth a citizen can follow his vocation undisturbed and a peasant can cultivate the soil in safety and enjoy the fruits of his labor. There still remains much to do, but under the direction of your Highness Ukraine already has made considerable progress in internal consolidation and has thereby assured to itself a basis for future development.

The Germans succeeded in getting only one-eighth of the grain which the Ukraine was to supply under the provisions of the Brest-Litovsk treaty. Germany, on the other hand, failed to supply the Ukrainians with manufactured goods. Arrangements were reported to be under way whereby the Ukraine was to hand over to Russia 6,000,000 to 9,000,000 pounds of flour in return for textile fabrics, and also supply Russia with sugar.

INDEMNITIES FROM PEASANTS

According to a letter from Kiev, published in a Ukrainian paper, the Austro-German forces were assisting the landowners in raising large indemnities from the peasants. "With the object," says the cabled summary of the letter, "of enforcing payment of contributions troops come to villages during the night. Bombs and machine guns announce their arrival. The panic-stricken population are assembled before the Town Hall, surrounded, and ordered to pay so many hundreds of thousands of rubles, being threatened with the pillage and burning of the village. Profiting by experience, the peasants fetch money, but the sum being insufficient, the soldiers beat the peasants with rifles and whips." According to a dispatch of Sept. 12, revolted peasants exterminated the German garrison in the village of Brusilovka. A bloody clash occurred also between the Germans and Ukrainian village folk in the Government of Mohilev.

Similar conditions prevailed in White Russia. The systematic Germanization of Esthonia continues. According to in-

formation furnished by an official Esthonian courier and made public on Aug. 31, Esthonian music was forbidden and the national life of the people was suppressed in other ways. Shortly before this representatives of the Esthonian Diet and Government, which had been dissolved by the Germans, had repudiated in the name of the Republic of Esthonia the treaty between Berlin and the Soviet Government regarding the Baltic provinces. The Moscow Government had previously renounced all claims to the former Baltic provinces. A Geneva dispatch, dated Aug. 2, announced that General von Harbou was going to be appointed head of the military administration of a new territorial unit, "the Baltikum," consisting of Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia.

Information came through on Sept. 1 to the effect that Duke William of Urach had been selected to be King of Lithuania, and that Vilna was to be the capital of the new kingdom. Early in August it was reported that a considerable Lithuanian force, under the command of General Kaimaitis, was fighting the Soviet troops and had captured Vitebsk.

AFFAIRS IN FINLAND

At the first session of the Russo-Finnish peace conference, held on Aug. 2, President Enckel of the Finnish delegation made a speech, in which he said:

The Finnish Senate, (Government,) once drawn into the international whirlwind, will naturally exercise its political activity in accord with the ally who aided it to triumph over the internal enemy. This fact holds no danger of a disadvantage to us, we are sure. We are convinced that the common interest of Finland as well as of Russia and Germany impels us to an amicable agreement and will lead us to it.

The recent policies of the present rulers of Finland are in keeping with this statement of alliance with Germany. A dispatch from Copenhagen, dated Sept. 7, reported that an alliance had been formed between Germany and Finland, which put Finland's entire man power at the disposal of Germany. Several dispatches conveyed the impression that Finns were fleeing their country to avoid the military and labor conscription

which the Germans are forcing on the people.

On Aug. 22 a Finnish delegation left for Germany for the purpose of offering the crown of Finland to a German Prince. Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse was reported to have expressed his willingness to become the King of the Finns. He was said to be touring the country and conferring with various political leaders. He is accompanied by a strong guard. Sept. 26 was set as the date for the election of a King by the Finnish Diet.

Up to Aug. 19, 32,701 persons were arrested in Finland in connection with the suppression of the Finnish revolution. Of this number 15,555 persons were, up to Aug. 15, unconditionally sentenced and 13,732 conditionally; 1,775 persons were acquitted. A Finnish newspaper asserted that 20,000 of the Red Guards convicted for participating in the recent revolution would be sent to Germany as slaves.

BARGAINING AWAY POLAND

The Polish Central Committee has recently made public a secret treaty regarding the status of Poland, which the Soviet Government had concluded with Germany. Dated Jan. 16, 1918, the document is signed by the German plenipotentiaries, von Tauber, Erich von Schunemann and Rausch, and on the Russian side by Krylenko, Volodarsky, Zalkind, Uritsky, Raskolnikov, Teurabend, Antonov, Dzierzinsky, and Ekrypkin. The text of the treaty follows:

1. The Polish policy is to be conducted by the German Government.

2. The Russian Government agrees not to interfere in any way whatever in the organization of Poland; in consequence it does not have the right to interpellate or protest in connection with the question of separating the metallurgic basin and coal mines of Dombrowa and annexing them to Germany, nor in the question of limiting the rights of persons of Polish origin in so far as the petroleum industry of Galicia is concerned; nor in the question of the separation and the Government of the Polish province of Khelm; nor in the question of the German customs policy; nor in the question of the German economic policy in Posen and the Austro-Hungarian policy in Galicia, as well as

in the Russian provinces which have been detached from Russia.

3. The Council of the People's Commissaries has the right of remaining in contact with the revolutionary and democratic centres existing in Poland with the purpose of spreading revolutionary ideas by sending to Poland agitators registered in the lists of the German bureaus of instructions in Petrograd and Warsaw.

4. The sending of agitators to Germany and Austria-Hungary will be stopped by the Council of People's Commissaries.

5. The Council of People's Commissaries will have to watch the groups of Polish chauvinists in order to prevent them from raising voluntary forces for a territorial army in Russia.

6. Russia will have to consider the crossing of Ukraina or Luthuania by Polish forces as a declaration of war by Poland to the Austrian and German empires, and Russia will lend her assistance to Germans and Austrians in crushing these armies.

7. The Council of People's Commissaries, by the interposition of its representatives at the future peace congress, will have to protest in the name of socialism and the abolition of wars against the formation of a Polish army and of a Polish Ministry of War.

8. The Council of People's Commissaries, with the assistance of its financial agents, will have to see to it that Russian citizens should not invest their own capital, nor that of the French, English, or Americans, in municipal, industrial, railroad or maritime enterprises in Poland.

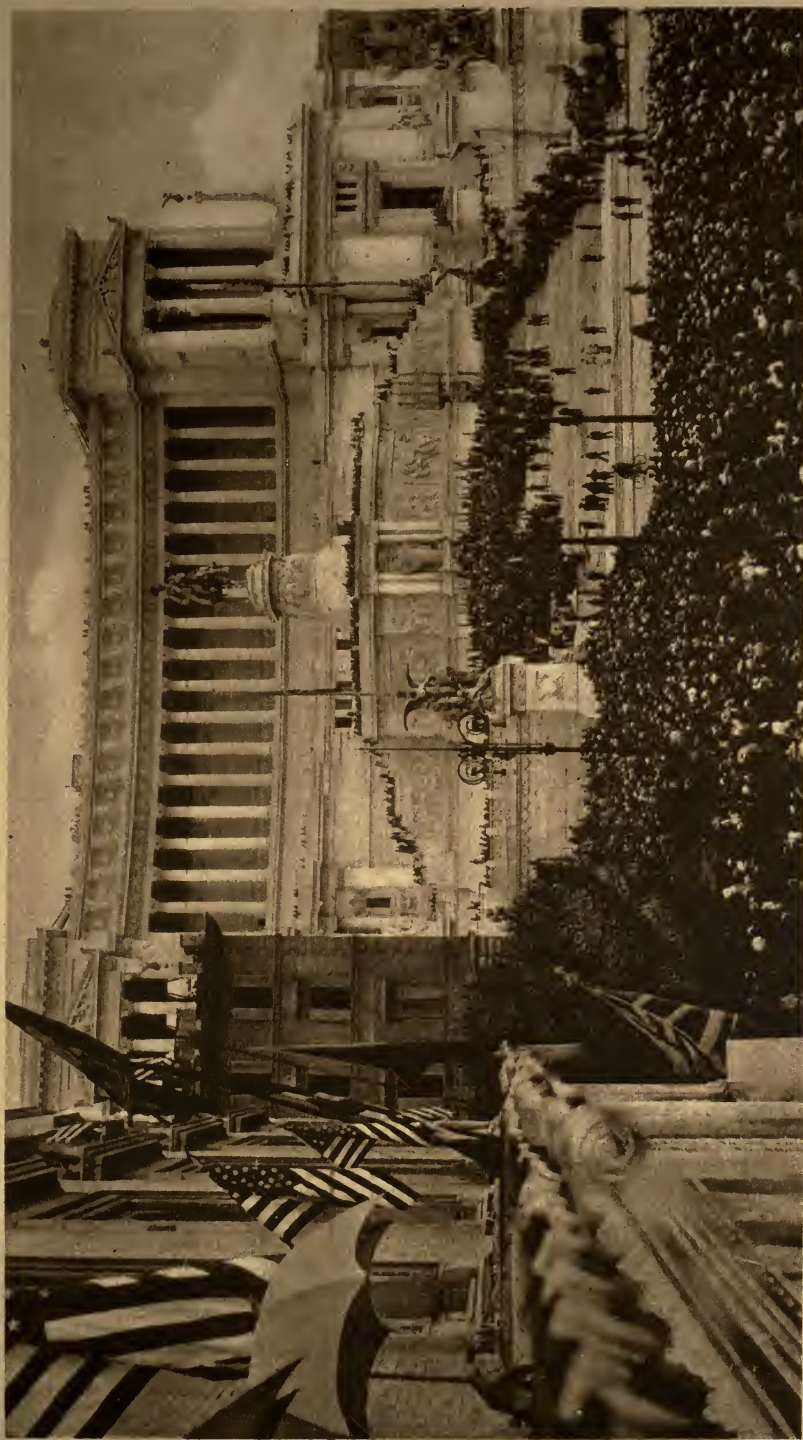
9. If the German or the Austro-Hungarian Governments deem it necessary to completely modify their political relations in regard to Poland, the Government of the People's Commissaries agrees to recognize the new course of affairs and to defend it against the obstacles which may arise and against the opposition on the part of the former allies of Russia.

The treaty was signed by German and Bolshevik representatives mentioned above, and was dated Jan. 16, 1918.

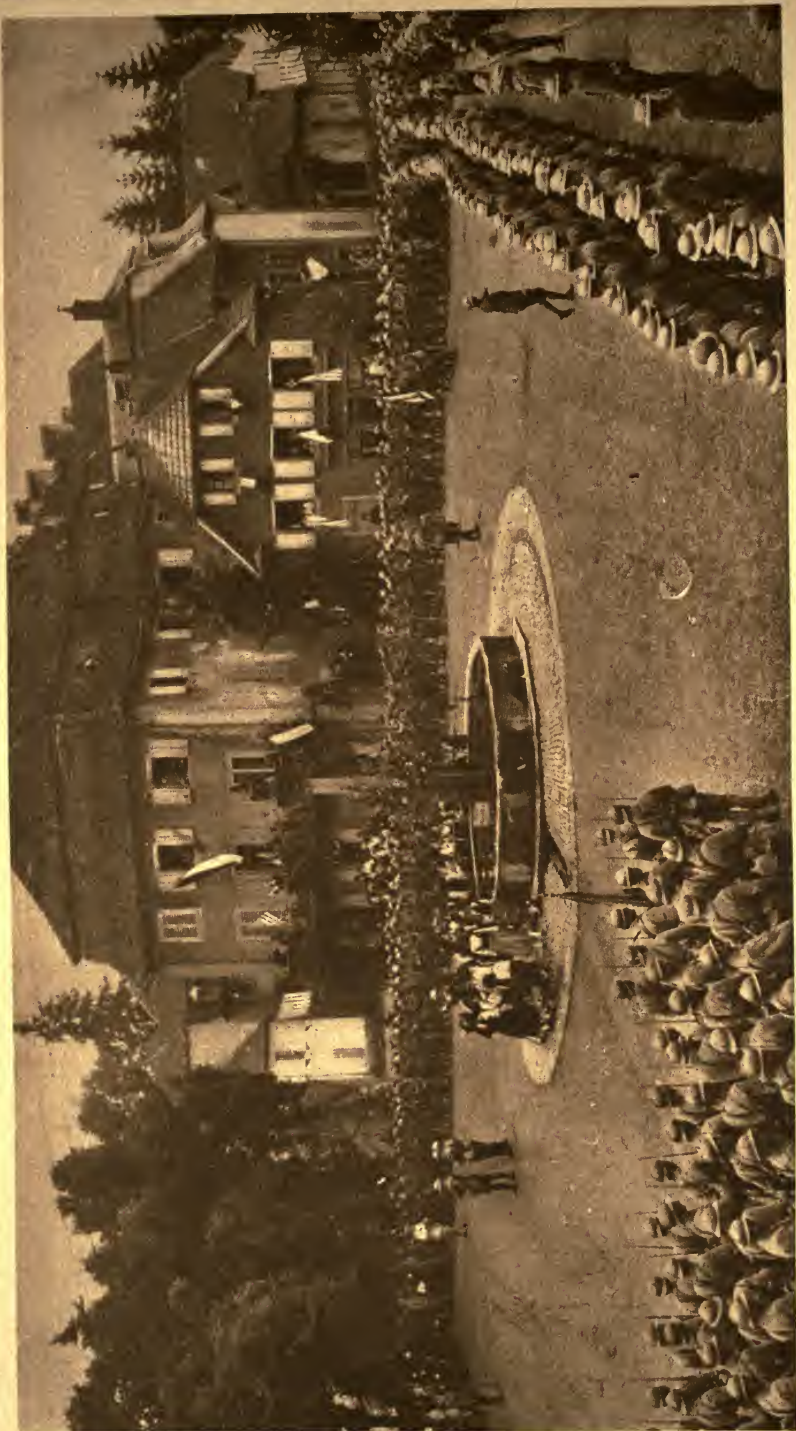
SUPPLEMENTARY TREATIES

On Aug. 27 three agreements supplementary to the Brest-Litovsk treaty were signed in Berlin by the representatives of the two contracting parties. Commenting upon the new treaties Premier Lenine declared that Germany had conceded to the Soviet Government full liberty of nationalizing Russian national economy, and, in addition, returned to Russia a number of towns and provinces.

An article in the North German Ga-



The demonstration at the Victor Emmanuel Monument in Rome, July 4, 1918, when Italians for the first time celebrated America's Independence Day



American troops on the front in Alsace celebrating the 4th of July, 1918, in a German town

(© Underwood & Underwood)

zette indicates that the supplementary treaties relate mostly to Russia's relations with the border States, which were formerly Russian provinces. The underlying principle is that of "not causing or supporting the forcible disunion of former Russian territory." The Baltic States of Esthonia and Livonia are assured independence, but at the same time Russia is given free ports on the Baltic and trading routes to that sea. Of all the Caucasian States the independence of Georgia alone is recognized, while the Baku territory, with its rich naphtha deposits, is left in Russia's hands, with the understanding that Russia pledges itself to place a portion of the naphtha at the disposal of Germany.

Russia agrees to pay to Germany an indemnity of 6,000,000,000 marks, (\$1,500,000,000,) of which sum 1,000,000,000 marks will be jointly paid by the Ukraine and Finland. Germany recognizes as legal expropriations in Russia, which affect natives and foreigners alike, but German property should not be further expropriated, nor shall the new Russian inheritance laws apply to Germans. According to a London dispatch, a portion of the Russian war indemnity amounting to 250,000,000 rubles (\$125,000,000) was dispatched from Moscow to Berlin on Sept. 7.

A dispatch from Ambassador Francis at Archangel, which reached Washington on Sept. 10, threw new light on the contents of these supplementary treaties. Under them Germany guarantees Russia against attack either by or through Finland in the event of Russia's undertaking an offensive against the Allies in the north. Germany agrees also to guarantee the security of the Russian coastal and fishing fleets in Russian waters after the territory of the Soviet republic is cleared from allied troops.

Thus during the month under record the relation between Berlin and Moscow has come nearer to being one of conciliation and united action. At the same time the hostility of the Soviet authorities toward the Entente Allies reached what may be properly termed a state of war.

The allied Ambassadors left Vologda for Archangel on July 26. Fearing ap-

parently that the Ambassadors might become a rallying point for the anti-Bolshevist elements in the north, the Soviet authorities insisted that the allied envoys should either go to Moscow or leave the country. As the Ambassadors refused to go to Moscow, they were ordered to leave. In reply to this order, delivered by Mr. Radek, Ambassador Francis is reported to have said: "If I leave the country, I leave only to return."

Foreign Minister Tchitcherin hastened to declare that the departure of the Ambassadors did not mean the severance of relations between the Allies and Russia. Lenine, however, announced before the Executive Committee that a state of war existed between the Soviet Republic and the allied countries. When called upon by the allied officials to explain this statement, Mr. Tchitcherin said that what the Bolshevik Premier really meant was "a state of defense." But in the meantime the Soviet authorities in Petrograd informed Robert W. Imbrie, the American Vice Consul at Petrograd, that a state of war existed between Russia and the United States. Thereupon the Vice Consul lowered the American flag on the consulate, turned over the interests of the United States to the Norwegian Consul and notified all Americans to leave the country.

Late in August De Witt C. Poole, American Consul General at Moscow, was still awaiting a safe conduct from the German Government. On Sept. 9 he was arrested in Moscow on the charge of having been involved in an attempt to bribe the Lettish troops, the Bolshevik Praetorian Guard.

BRITISH EMBASSY SACKED

On Aug. 31 the British Embassy in Petrograd, situated on Palace Quay, was sacked by mobs and troops, and an English Captain who defended it was murdered. The British Government sent the following protest to the Bolshevik authorities:

An outrageous attack has been made on the British Embassy at Petrograd, its contents have been sacked and destroyed, Captain Cromie, who tried to defend it, was murdered, and his body barbarously mutilated. We demand immediate reparation and the prompt punishment of any

one responsible for or concerned in this abominable outrage.

Should the Russian Soviet Government fail to give complete satisfaction, or should any further acts of violence be committed against a British subject, his Majesty's Government will hold the members of the Soviet Government individually responsible and will make every endeavor to secure that they shall be treated as outlaws by the Governments of all civilized nations and that no place of refuge shall be left to them.

You have already been informed through M. Litvinoff that his Majesty's Government was prepared to do everything possible to secure the immediate return of the official representatives of Great Britain and of the Russian Soviet Government to their respective countries. A guarantee was given by his Majesty's Government that as soon as the British officials were allowed to pass the Russo-Finnish frontier, M. Litvinoff and all the members of his staff should have permission to proceed immediately to Russia.

We have now learned that a decree was published on Aug. 29 ordering the arrest of all British and French subjects between the ages of 18 and 40, and that British officials have been arrested on trumped-up charges of conspiring against the Soviet Government.

His Majesty's Government has therefore found it necessary to place M. Litvinoff and the members of his staff under preventive arrest until such time as all British representatives are set at liberty and allowed to proceed to the Finnish frontier free from molestation.

It was previously reported that, according to an order of the Commission Extraordinary for Combating the Counter-revolution, all Allied subjects between the ages of 16 and 45 were being interned on the charge of assisting the anti-Bolshevist elements. A cable dated Sept. 11 declared that the Bolsheviks held at least a thousand British subjects as hostages and threatened to take revenge on them if attempts were made on the life of the Bolshevik leaders.

FAMINE IMPENDING

Food conditions in Great Russia continued to grow worse. Starvation prevailed in the cities, and potatoes and vegetables were the chief food resources of Moscow and Petrograd. In Moscow the control of the food supply exercised by the Soviet through the agency of the Provisioning Commission broke down

completely, and the people took the food supply into their own hands. In the north, the food ration in some places consisted of two pounds of oats weekly per person. Epidemics of cholera and hunger typhus were reported all along the Volga and in the northern provinces.

The Soviet Government has entered into an agreement under which Germany is to get Russian goods, such as cloth and leather, which the Russians themselves badly need. A dispatch of Sept. 12 conveys the impression that Russian workmen, railroad men and even troops bitterly resented the shipment of goods to Germany and in many cases were effectively checking it. Railroad traffic was further crippled by strikes and the surging tide of civil war.

A BOLSHEVIST DECREE

The Decree on the Nationalization of Foreign Trade in Russia, which follows, is a sample of recent Bolshevik legislation in the field of economic reform:

1. The entire foreign trade is nationalized. Commercial agreements with foreign countries and various commercial concerns abroad with regard to the purchase and sale of products of every kind are to be completed in the name of the Russian Republic by specially authorized bodies. All commercial agreements with foreign countries as regards exports and imports without the direct sanction of these bodies are forbidden.

(N. B.—Special instructions will be issued regarding postal packets and travelers' luggage entering or leaving the country.)

2. The body intrusted with the administration of the nationalized foreign trade is the People's Commissariat for Trade and Industry.

3. For the organization of import and export the People's Commissariat for Trade and Industry will establish a Council for Foreign Trade. To this council belong representatives of the following bodies, institutions, and organizations:

(a) The bodies responsible for the army, navy, agriculture, food, traffic, foreign affairs, and finance.

(b) Representatives of the central bodies for regulating and administering various branches of production.

(c) Central organizations of the co-operative societies.

(d) Central administrative bodies of the commercial and agricultural organizations.

(e) Central administrative bodies of the

trade unions and of associations of commercial employes.

(f) Central bodies of the commercial concerns established for the import and export of essential products.

(N. B.—The People's Commissariat for Trade and Industry is empowered to add to the Council for Foreign Trade representatives of organizations not included in the above list.)

4. The Council for Foreign Trade will carry out a scheme for exchanging commodities with foreign countries. Its functions are:

(a) To determine the supply and demand of products to be imported and exported.

(b) To organize the system of supply and the purchase, with the co-operation of the proper central offices, of individual

branches of industry, and, in their default, with the intermediary assistance of the co-operative societies, private agents, and commercial firms.

(c) To organize purchases in foreign countries with the aid of Government Purchasing Committees and agents, co-operative societies, and commercial firms.

(d) To determine the prices of imported and exported goods.

5. The Council for Foreign Trade will be divided into departments according to the various branches of industry and the most important groups of import and export commodities, and a representative of the People's Commissariat for Trade and Industry will officiate as Chairman of each department.

6. The present decree comes into force immediately on publication.

Progress of the Allied Expeditions

Japanese and Americans Help to Reopen Communications With Czechoslovaks in Central Russia

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 20, 1918]

THE expeditionary force of American, Japanese, British, French, and Chinese troops sent to Vladivostok to help the Czechoslovak and Russian forces in restoring the military situation in Siberia and Russia began active operations early in August, 1918. British and French contingents were first to arrive, and the Japanese under General Kikuzo Otani reached Vladivostok on Aug. 12. The two American regiments from the Philippines arrived on the 15th and 16th, astonishing the residents by their cheering as they entered the harbor. General Diedrichs, the commander of the Czechoslovak forces in Siberia, greeted them warmly and presented a memorandum to all the allied representatives setting forth the urgent need of speedy action to aid the Czechoslovaks 4,000 miles away in Eastern Russia. Major Gen. William S. Graves, commander of the American contingent, sailed from the United States with a staff of forty-three officers and 1,888 men, and reached Vladivostok on Sept. 4.

Meanwhile the Japanese and British had gone to the aid of the Czechoslovaks who were fighting the Bolsheviks and German ex-prisoners in the region north

of Vladivostok, along the Ussuri River, which forms the eastern boundary of Manchuria. As soon as the Americans arrived from Manila some of them were sent to occupy points along the railway in the direction of Nikolsk, thus releasing several hundred Czechoslovaks for service on the Ussuri front. On Aug. 23 it was announced that Generals D. G. Stcherbatcheff and V. A. Tcheremisoff, former Russian leaders, had accepted commands in the Czechoslovak army.

There were two main groups of Czechoslovaks separated by thousands of miles, and the first urgent task was to establish communications between these and save the western group from being isolated through the Winter. The eastern group at Vladivostok already had the active aid of the Allies. The second and larger group was distributed along the Trans-Siberian Railway all the way from Irkutsk, on the western shore of Lake Baikal, to Samara, in European Russia, a distance of more than 2,000 miles. Between the two groups, in the region around Chita, lay a well-armed force of Bolsheviks and German or Hungarian ex-prisoners, estimated at 40,000 or 50,000 men.

The first operations of the joint allied forces, therefore, were directed against two main obstacles—the enemy stronghold along the Ussuri and Amur Rivers, north of Vladivostok, and that around Chita, in Transbaikalia. The Allies took the offensive on the Ussuri on Aug. 24, and after hard fighting drove the Red Guards fifteen miles to the north. The enemy's strength here was 8,000 infantry, with at least fourteen field guns, and his loss was 300 men. On Aug. 28 Japanese cavalry occupied Krasnoyarsk. The Bolsheviks retired to the region on the Amur River, between Khabarovsk and Blagovestchensk. Japanese cavalry and an infantry battalion captured the enemy naval base at Khabarovsk on Sept. 7, taking seventeen gunboats, four other vessels, a wireless station, and 120 guns.

CAPTURE OF CHITA

Meanwhile the danger to the Czechoslovaks in the interior of the continent was dissipated by an unexpected success. The isolated Czechoslovak forces had been working eastward under Colonel Gaida from Lake Baikal toward Chita, while Cossack forces under General Semenoff, supported by Japanese who had come up from China, were working westward from Manchuria toward the same point. A delayed dispatch from Consul Harris at Irkutsk, dated Aug. 13, brought word that the Bolshevik army east of Lake Baikal had been destroyed, and on Sept. 4 telegraphic communication was reopened between Irkutsk and Vladivostok—also from Irkutsk to Peking, via Penza—thus re-establishing connection for 4,000 miles between the extreme ends of Siberia.

On the same day Secretary Lansing received a telegram through the American Legation at Peking announcing that Chita, the capital of Transbaikalia and the chief stronghold of the enemy in Siberia, had been captured by Czechoslovak troops, who had joined hands with the Cossack army approaching from the other direction. Another official report stated that railway communication had been re-established between the widely separated Czechoslovak groups. Pro-Entente forces were thus in control of

the Siberian and Manchurian railways all the way from Vladivostok to Samara, on the Volga River, a few hundred miles from Moscow.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF CZECHS

The following account of how the Czechoslovaks had fought their way across Siberia was telegraphed from their field headquarters in Transbaikalia on Sept. 5:

The Czechoslovaks seized Novo Nikolaevsk on May 26, but it was only on June 11 that Irkutsk was reached, after severe fighting all the way. Thirty-nine tunnels on the Trans-Siberian Railroad had been mined, but the Bolshevik forces were taken by surprise, and only one tunnel was successfully blown up.

In the meantime Czechoslovaks had seized Listvinichskaya, near Irkutsk, on the west bank of Lake Baikal, where they found two small damaged steamers. These vessels were hastily repaired, and after two guns were mounted and several machine guns set up on the ships, they steamed to the eastward, towing barges filled with soldiers.

By a ruse the Czechoslovaks managed to land near Misovoya, though the larger vessels came out to give battle. Shots from the Czechoslovak guns shattered the gasoline tanks and set fire to the enemy steamers. The Bolshevik sailors became panic-stricken and permitted the Czechoslovaks to land and attack them from the rear.

In the battle of Misovoya the Bolshevik forces lost forty complete trains out of sixty. Of their forces, estimated to number 20,000, some 6,000 were killed and 2,000 taken prisoner. The others fled into the woods, and their defeat demoralized the troops further to the east.

On Aug. 10, at Troitskovasavsk, 1,200 Magyars, who had styled themselves "internationalists," surrendered to Colonel Linevitch's detachment. The trophies taken by the Czechoslovaks included four steamers, several barges, and a number of automobiles and horses.

A Czecho-Russian force sent overland from Irkutsk against the Bolsheviks working the Yakutsk gold mines disposed entirely of the Red Guard, took the mines under control, and occupied Yakutsk.

The main body of the Czecho-Russian troops then proceeded along the Amur railway in pursuit of the main body of Red Guards, which withdrew from Nerchinsk to Srenensk after the capture of Chita. The Cossacks freely entered the ranks of the Czechoslovaks.

The Bolshevik Government at Moscow issued a reply to the Japanese and

American statements of Aug. 3 regarding the reasons for intervention in Russia. The version appearing in the Tageblatt of Berlin about Aug. 20 is given below:

The American and Japanese Governments have addressed a message to the Russian people in connection with the landing of their armed forces on Russian territory. Both Governments declare their armed intervention was dictated by the desire to come to the aid of the Czechoslovaks who, it is alleged, are menaced by Germans and Austrians.

The Russian Federal Republic feels compelled to make this declaration:

The statement made by the American and Japanese Governments is not based on accurate information. The Czechoslovak detachments are not menaced by either Germans or Austrians. On the soil of the Soviet Republic the battle continues between the Red Soviet Army, created by peasants and workers, on the one hand, and Czechoslovak detachments, in concert with land owners, the bourgeoisie, and counter-revolutionaries, on the other.

In this battle the workmen and peasants are defending the revolution, which is endangered by a counter-revolution aided and abetted by the Czechoslovaks.

The Soviet Government is convinced that its enemies are only attempting to blind proletarian elements of the population and they seek to deceive them by fostering in them the belief that Germans and Austrians are menacing the Czechoslovaks.

Should, however, the grounds of this attack on the Soviet Republic be really those stated in the Japanese-American message, the Soviet Government suggests that the Governments exactly formulate their wishes in the matter.

TCHITCHERIN.

IN NORTHERN RUSSIA

The other allied expeditionary force, which had landed at Murmansk and Archangel in July and early August, continued to make progress southward

from the White Sea toward Vologda, with the purpose of joining hands with the Czechoslovak forces and completing a circuit of allied control from the Pacific to the Arctic Ocean. Volunteer detachments of Russian White Guards joined in driving the Bolshevik forces southward from Archangel, and on Aug. 31 the enemy positions at Obozerskaya, seventy-five miles south of Archangel, were captured.

Thus far only American marines had taken part in this expedition, but on Sept. 11 American troops from the French front were safely landed at Archangel. These soldiers were picked men, with knowledge of the Russian or French language, and with special aptitude for enduring the rigors of a Russian Winter. They were reviewed by Ambassador Francis and the commanders of the allied forces, and were cheered as they marched through the streets of Archangel.

The Tchaikovsky Provisional Government at Archangel was overthrown by a rival faction on Sept. 8, but the allied diplomatic and military chiefs convinced the new leaders, who were friendly to the Entente, that they were acting unwisely and reinstated the Tchaikovsky Government on Sept. 12.

Progress southward continued slowly but steadily. On Sept. 14 the Bolshevik official organ, Pravda, admitted repulse on the northern front at the hands of American, British, and French troops. The Red Guards, after an initial success, had been routed by British reinforcements and had fled in panic. A number of the Bolshevik officers, the newspaper said, had deserted to the British.



Czechs Recognized by U. S.

Our Country Joins Great Britain, France, and Italy in Formally Recognizing the New Nation

THE United States Government took a momentous step on Sept. 2, 1918, when it officially recognized the Czechoslovaks as a belligerent nation and the Czechoslovak National Council, which has its headquarters at Washington, as "a de facto belligerent Government clothed with proper authority to direct the military and political affairs of the Czechoslovaks." France, Great Britain, and Italy had already recognized the Czechoslovak National Council and the Czechoslovak Army.

The official text of Secretary Lansing's announcement of recognition follows:

The Czechoslovak peoples having taken up arms against the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires, and having placed organized armies in the field, which are waging war against those empires under officers of their own nationality and in accordance with the rules and practices of civilized nations; and

The Czechoslovaks having, in prosecution of their independent purposes in the present war, confided supreme political authority to the Czechoslovak National Council,

The Government of the United States recognizes that a state of belligerency exists between the Czechoslovaks thus organized and the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires.

It also recognizes the Czechoslovak National Council as a de facto belligerent Government, clothed with proper authority to direct the military and political affairs of the Czechoslovaks.

The Government of the United States further declares that it is prepared to enter formally into relations with the de facto Government thus recognized for the purpose of prosecuting the war against the common enemy, the Empires of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Secretary Lansing received Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, President of the Czechoslovak National Council, at noon on Sept. 2 and formally conveyed to him the fact that the American Government had taken this important action. Pro-

fessor Masaryk subsequently issued this statement:

Mr. Lansing handed me the declaration today at 12 o'clock; I read it and thanked him very heartily, as indeed I value the American recognition of our army, the National Council, and nation very highly. Mr. Lansing's explanation confirmed what I have read myself in the wording of his declaration.

The American recognition differs from the French and British in that these recognize the right to our independence directly, whereas Mr. Lansing's wording recognizes in the first place our army and the National Council. But speaking of the Czechoslovaks the declaration denotes our whole nation. The British text recognizes our National Council as the present trustee of the future Government; the United States recognizes our council directly as the de facto Government.

The United States lays stress on the belligerency and they emphasize the organization of our nation shown first in mobilizing armies and second in confiding all political affairs to the leading authority of the National Council. In accordance with the humanitarian principles of the American Constitution the military practice of our armies (this applies especially to our army in Russia) is acknowledged.

I once more would express my satisfaction and thanks to the United States Government and the President for their recognition of our national cause. I, of course, know that we also owe a good deal to American public opinion and its representatives.

NEW NATION'S LEADERS

The headquarters of the Czechoslovak National Council formerly were in Paris. The body consists of representatives of the scattered Czechoslovak colonies, but all real authority has been in the hands of the three principal officers of the council. These are, besides Professor Masaryk, General Milan R. Stefanik, its Vice President of the council, and Dr. Edouard Benes, General Secretary. General Stefanik arrived in New York Sept. 3 from Paris. He was accompanied by

his Adjutant, Captain Paul Sowneir of the French Army, Captain Ferdinand Pisecky of the Czechoslovak Army, and Lieutenant Levi of the French Army.

Professor Masaryk was a teacher in the University of Prague, as well as Deputy to the Vienna Parliament for a great many years. He left Bohemia a few months after the outbreak of the war with full authority from representatives of the Czech political parties to speak in foreign lands in the name of his people. He is 69 years old, and even before the war he was looked upon by every member of the Czechoslovak race as the "grand old man" of Bohemia. Both his official position and the reverence in which he is held by his people make his authority supreme and unquestioned.

General Stefanik was, before the war, a noted astronomer in Paris. Upon the outbreak of the war he entered the French Army as a private and soon became an officer and a daring aviator. He has been wounded several times and promoted for gallantry. He holds at present the rank of Brigadier General in the French Army. He represents the Slovak branch of the Czechoslovak Nation on the National Council.

Dr. Edouard Benes was an instructor at the University of Prague, fled from Bohemia at the first opportunity, and was placed in charge of the Paris office. He is a diplomat and an author of ability.

The Commander in Chief of the three Czechoslovak armies in Russia, France, and Italy is Professor Masaryk. The General in command of the forces in Russia is General Diedrichs. The commander of the forces on the French front is Major Gen. M. Janin. The Czechoslovaks in Italy are commanded by General Graziani.

There are 410,000 Czechoslovaks in the United States, a large proportion of them naturalized and most of those of military age have already been incorporated into the United States military forces.

The recognition of the Czechoslovaks is held to mean that America is irrevocably committed to the principle of dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a feature of the scheme of re-

construction of Europe along the lines of nationality.

THE BRITISH DECLARATION

The following is the text of the British declaration, issued Aug. 13 and already published in **CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE**:

Since the beginning of the war the Czechoslovak nation has resisted the common enemy by every means in its power. The Czechoslovaks have constituted a considerable army, fighting on three different battlefields, and attempting in Russia and Siberia to arrest the Germanic invasion. In consideration of its efforts to achieve independence, Great Britain regards the Czechoslovaks as an allied nation and recognizes the unity of the three Czechoslovak armies as an allied and belligerent army waging regular warfare against Austria-Hungary and Germany. Great Britain also recognizes the right of the Czechoslovak National Council as the supreme organ of Czechoslovak national interests and as the present trustee of the future Czechoslovak Government to exercise supreme authority over this allied and belligerent army.

CZECHS AND ALSACE-LORRAINE

When President Poincaré of France presented the Czechoslovak flag to the men of that nation on the French front June 30, he referred in his speech to the fact that the Bohemian Diet had been the only organized assembly of people outside of France to issue a formal protest in 1871 against Germany's seizure of Alsace-Lorraine. The text of that protest was in part as follows:

The Czech Nation cannot but express its most ardent sympathy with noble and glorious France, which today is defending its independence and national soil, which has accomplished so much for the advancement of civilization and the principles of humanity and liberty.

The Czech Nation is convinced that such a humiliation as the tearing of a strip of territory from a nation so illustrious and heroic, so full of just national pride, would become a source of unending wars, and therefore of unending injuries to humanity and civilization.

The Czechs are a small people, but their spirit and their courage are not small. They would be ashamed by their silence to let the world believe that they approve of this injustice, or that they dare not make their protest against it because of its underlying power.

Their name must go down to history untarnished. They must and will re-

main faithful to the spirit of their ancestors, who were the first in Europe to proclaim the principles of freedom of conscience, and who, in the face of an enemy superior in numbers, have fought to the point of exhaustion.

CZECHOSLOVAK ASPIRATIONS

The Czechs inhabit Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia, which under the present Constitution are crown lands of the Austrian Empire, and lie between Austria proper on the south and the German Empire—Bavaria on the west, Saxony on the north, and Prussian Silesia on the east. The Slovaks live in the upper regions of Hungary, adjoining the Czechs to the east and southeast. The two peoples are in effect the same race; their language has only slight dialectical differences; the political division between them was erected only in 1867, when to divide the energies of the people the Slovaks were put under Hungarian rule. Czechs and Slovaks have worked together with absolute harmony for unity and independence.

"The boundaries that we hope to have set for the Czechoslovak Nation," said Dr. Masaryk to an interviewer, "will embrace Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and their historical boundaries. To these will be added Slovakia—that is, the northern part of Hungary, extending as far south as Presburg and to the east as far as Ungvar. This territory is about four times greater than that of Belgium. The population of the new nation will be 12,000,000. Of these, 10,000,000 are Bohemians and Slovaks. The remainder consists of minorities.

"Our Constitution will provide for a President and two legislative chambers, a Senate and a House of Representatives, similar to yours. There will be a very elaborate system of local self-government, as a means of insuring a democracy that is not one in form alone. We shall endeavor to work out the problem of local self-government so as to render the justice of leaving the affairs of minorities in their own hands as far as possible. In reaffirming the historical boundary lines of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia there will of necessity be included some Germans among the population, notably in the west and north, but we

shall confer on communities of this kind the same local self-government that obtains in other parts of the country. There will be universal suffrage. We have confidence in this and a high degree of local self-government because all our people are educated."

The Czechs are one of the most highly civilized peoples in the world, and economically the most prosperous in the Austrian Empire. Their country includes most of the coal and iron deposits of the empire, the principal manufactures, and the most prosperous agricultural districts. The Slovaks have been held back by Magyar repression, but elsewhere, as in the United States, have shown that their natural capacity is as great as that of the Czechs.

The area of the Czech countries is approximately 30,000 square miles, and of the Slovak regions about 18,000. According to the census of 1910, there were about 6,500,000 Czechs and 2,000,000 Slovaks, but these figures were underestimated for political purposes, and nationalist leaders say that there are about 8,000,000 Czechs and 3,000,000 Slovaks. Among them live some 3,000,000 Germans and several hundred thousand Magyars, and the program of the independence movement provides for complete cultural autonomy for these national minorities.

STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY

In 1848 the Czechs came into conflict with the Pan Germans of that day, and the Hungarian revolution under Kossuth attempted to suppress the liberties of the Slovaks, with the result that all the revolutionary movements collapsed and left the Hapsburgs supreme. In 1867 defeat convinced Francis Joseph of the necessity of taking the Magyars into partnership, so the Czechoslovaks were divided between the two parts of the empire. Theoretically Bohemia was and is still an independent kingdom, and Francis Joseph even promised to be crowned King at Prague, but Bismarck's influence prevented this. Since then the Czechs have maintained a constant struggle against the Hapsburgs and the ruling races in Austria, as well as against the influence of the German Empire,



THE CZECHOSLOVAK NATION, OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED BY THE UNITED STATES, COMPRISES BOHEMIA, MORAVIA, SILESIA, AND SLOVAKIA, WHOSE PEOPLE DESIRE ENTIRE INDEPENDENCE FROM AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

which regarded them as a great obstacle to its plans.

The bulk of the nation long fought for autonomy within a federalized Austrian Empire and under the Hapsburg crown, but the reign of terror with which the people's reluctance to take part in the present war was met strengthened those who demanded complete independence. Thousands of military executions, great numbers of confiscations, and arbitrary imprisonments angered the people, whose soldiers were already going over to the Russians and Serbs in great masses. Finally, in November, 1915, a committee of exiles in Paris demanded complete independence and unity of the race, and this policy at once received overwhelming support in the Czechoslovak countries.

The Czechoslovak National Committee was thereupon organized in Paris. Branches of the organization were established in the various European capitals, and another branch in the United States, where the Czechoslovak population strongly supported the national movement. France recognized the independence of the Czechoslovaks and the authority of the National Committee as a Provisional Government on July 1. The

example was followed by Italy and by Great Britain. The end of the war should see the Czechoslovak people free for the first time since 1620.

THIRD SLAVIC CONGRESS

Three important Congresses have aided the Pan Slavic movement. The declarations of the first, held at Prague on Jan. 6, and of the second, held at Agram on March 2, 1918, were recorded in the July issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. The third, held in Laibach in July, has been referred to by Professor Kosch of the Czernovitz University as the third great milestone in the way to a realization of the Central European Slavdom. He gives some quotations from speeches made at that conference.

"There is no one in Bohemia," said Deputy Ciofarsch, "who believes that we can negotiate with Vienna."

And another speaker, in the name of the Czechs and Poles and Jugoslavs, said: "We have joined hands. No one can part us."

Amid thunderous applause the Polish Count Skarbek shouted the Slav watchword:

"From Danzig to Trieste!"

While the Polish leader, Dr. Tertil, said to the Czechs and Southern Slavs:

"We feel we are at one with you."

The professor admits he is astounded at these signs of Slav unity and concludes:

"The motto, 'Berlin to Bagdad,' is now solemnly opposed by Slavdom's 'Danzig to Trieste' solution. It may be a motto for purposes of agitation, but it would be madness to shut one's ears to it."

The Vienna correspondent of the *Weiser Zeitung* stated that the gathering outwardly appeared to be concerned with the foundation of a Slav National Council, just as the first meeting in Prague was apparently for the purpose of setting up a Czech national theatre, but in reality had for its aim the bringing into existence of a general Czech commonality, which was supported by Czech, Po-

lish, and Serbo-Croatian representatives. He added:

The official reports of the Laibach conference simply said that it had to do with the foundation of the National Council, but, as Deputy Koroschit emphatically declared, that only formed part of the whole Southern Slav organization, with headquarters at Agram; we must therefore reckon with an organization embracing all the Yugoslav lands similar in kind to the Czech National Council led by Kramersch.

The prospects for this organization are very favorable, for it is clear that the Greater Croatian movement is daily being reduced in strength by that of the pro-Entente Yugoslavs. In the south, therefore, we shall soon have similar conditions to those prevailing in the Czech regions.

The Laibach gathering was promoted according to a common plan and something like a general mobilization of Slavdom is contemplated. It is impossible to avoid the belief that the opening of hostilities will not be long delayed. Of precaution by those against whom all this is directed one hears nothing.

The Silent Soldiers of France

Gabriel Hanotaux, the French historian and academician, recently penned this thumbnail sketch of the French soldier for Les Annales:

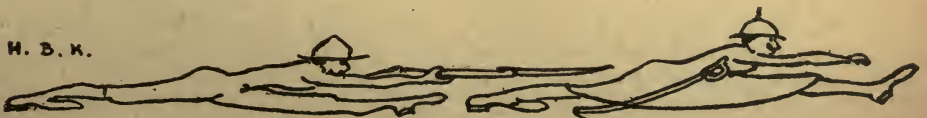
The soldier, the poilu—all honor to him! His name is legion; one sees him everywhere, but he talks very little. It is not easy to divine what is going on in his silent head; his lips often remain closed under his thick mustache. The general impression is that of cold and silent courage, just the opposite of what was expected of the French soldier. These lines from a memorandum book give the keynote:

"The country itself is not gay; an austere city, poor villages, few trees in the country; bare hills, one after the other; on the summit, cannon. Everywhere soldiers, nothing but soldiers. Everything is desolate. There is no longer a place for pity. One does not

laugh, nor does one weep; one fights and kills without mercy. The life of a man does not count."

That is a picture in which there are no flowers. It is the truth. The French Army is grave. It is doing its duty, and, as the notebook says, it is fighting. The dominating idea is that of sacrifice, of willed and resolute sacrifice. As one soldier puts it: "When every shell fired is perhaps for you, the simplest way is not to think of it." Firmness in performance of duty thus becomes the dominant note. These men are the sons of a sound and healthy nation; they will bring back to their mother, France, health and strength, and—something that will do no harm—glory. This army is extending the boundaries of collective psychology; it will be a source of instruction and of wonderment for history.

H. B. K.



German Claims on Baltic Provinces

The Teutonic Element in Russia: Its Attempt to Rule and Its Part in the War

By AN AMERICAN HISTORIAN

THE first germ of the present world conflict was deposited in the waters of the Baltic by Prussia and Austria when these two great powers shamelessly robbed in 1864 little Denmark of her two duchies, Schleswig and Holstein. Sadowa (1866) led straight to Sedan (1870) and, by a circuitous way over various stations, Agadir in particular, to Longwy and Verdun. John Bull had, in 1914, to atone for his fatal blunder of exactly half a century before, when he refused to join Russia in teaching Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, and William I., King of Prussia, a solid naval lesson about the imprescriptible rights of small nations. Very few among us are aware that the famous last interview of unsavory "scrap of paper" memory between the British Ambassador and the German Chancellor, von Bethmann Hollweg, in the first August days of 1914, was, indeed, but an unconscious expiatory continuation of that other final conference which had taken place in 1864 between Prince Gortchakoff, the then Russian Foreign Minister, and Lord Napier, when the latter had to listen silently to the Russian statesman's stinging reproach: "Then, Milord, I doubt whether your country ever will undertake a war for a mere question of honor."

When, in 1914, William and Francis Joseph tried to repeat their game on poor little Belgium, England honorably redeemed her disastrous Baltic diplomacy of 1864.

Amid the din of guns thundering on the plains of Poland, France, and Flanders, and during the noisy housecleaning of the former empire of the Romanoffs, one further seems to neglect one of the primary fundamentals of the present war, i. e., that the decision to deliver the Baltic Sea from German control ultimately drove exasperated Russia to accept Germany's challenge.

Neither must we, finally, lose sight of the immediate and decisive rôle which the opening of the Kiel Canal—a few weeks before the beginning of the world war—played in opening the eyes of the British people as to the last goal of William's naval policy. This cut through Holstein's body was a straight challenge of John Bull's supremacy on the seven seas.

BASIS OF GERMAN CLAIMS

The Hohenzollerns and their academic camarilla unblushingly try to bluff the whole world into the belief that the Baltic Provinces are a genuine German domain which the noble Teutonic Knights of Potsdam, Munich, and Dresden have come to free from the barbaric yoke of the Slav. What are the facts?

When, with the fall of the Roman Empire, the real recorded history of the Baltic begins, we find its coasts held by Danes, Swedes, Finns, Letto-Lithuanians, and Wends—not a trace of Germans. No doubt, about the year 1400 A. D. the control of the Baltic by the famous Hanseatic League, which, at the height of its power, claimed a membership not far short of eighty cities, was practically complete. But this mediaeval German hegemony lasted for one single decade only. In 1410, at the historic battle of Tannenberg—Hindenburg's victory at identically the same spot in 1914 may yet prove to be a boomerang for Prussia—the Poles, under the Lithuanian Kings of the House of Jagellon, crushed the power of the Teutonic Knights, attaining the height of their control over the Baltic Provinces, in 1562, by the securing of Courland.

The capture of Riga in 1621 by Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, marked the beginning of a new era for that much disputed territory. The Swedish supremacy over the latter was challenged by

the Hohenzollern Prince, Frederick William, known as the Great Elector, (1640-1688.) The crucial conflict was fought out in the Northern War (1700-1721) be-

desired link between her hitherto divided Baltic possessions, while Russia acquired, through that infamous tripartite land robbery, Courland and Samogitia.

And now comes William II., trying to sum up the age-long brigandage policy of his ancestors. He makes no secret of his ambition to swallow the whole precious morsel, making of the Baltic in the real sense of the word a "mare Germanicum." Little Denmark trembles in her boots, and even Norway is afraid of the black Prussian eagle hovering over her coasts. Fortunately for them, Foch, Haig, Pétain, and Pershing will soon have brought down that ugly bird of prey.

SMALL GERMAN MINORITY

The aborigines of Courland as well as the Livonians and Esthonians are of pure Finnish origin. The Letts and Lithuanians, two branches of the Indo-European trunk, are racially, and, as to their whole moral makeup, closer to the Slav than to the German. The latter, it must be admitted, were shrewd enough to use the hostility existing between the Letts and the Finnish tribes, playing one against the other. They thus retained the control, not without the help of their reactionary confederates, the Tchins of Moscow and Petrograd.

Their real numerical strength? Here are the official census figures of Jan. 1, 1910:

	Inhabitants.
Livonia	1,455,000
Courland	741,200
Esthonia	467,400

In this total figure of over 2,500,000 the German element is scarcely represented by 200,000. Professor Dr. Heinrich Vogt in his pamphlet, "Vergesst nicht die deutschen Balten!" (1916), says: "It is true, our brethren never numbered more than 8 to 10 per cent. of the total Baltic population. Numbers, however, are dead things; life and history speak quite another language."

There has never been among the German inhabitants of the Baltic Provinces a national conscience analogous to that ruling the minds in the Fatherland or among the "lost brethren" in Austria. The Baltic Germans never have been designated by others nor felt they them-



MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF BALTIC PROVINCES—ESTHONIA, LIVONIA, COURLAND, AND LITHUANIA

tween Peter the Great and Frederick I., King of Prussia, on the one, and Charles XII. of Sweden on the other hand. Charles was defeated; his sister and successor, Ulrike Eleonore, was compelled in 1721 to sign a peace which gave Western Pomerania to Prussia, while Russia secured Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Carelia, and part of Finland. The final partition of Poland gave Prussia the long-

selves to be a separate people or nationality. All over the vast territory they are forming only a very thin layer of the population. There never has been a genuine class of farmers among them. Quite recently one has tried, but without permanent results, to import about 15,000 German colonists from the Russian Government of Volhynia. The one old German farm settlement in the whole Baltic Provinces, the Hirschenhof, which Catherine II. founded with Bavarian farmers, has long since ceased to be; all the descendants of the first settlers have become tradesmen or artisans.

TOOLS OF CZARISM

The truth is that the so-called Baltic-German "Irredenta" is exclusively composed of bureaucrats, traders, and professional men, who are dominated by a handful of reactionary "Junkers." The latter, with abject servility, have licked the boots of all the Czars and Czarinas for the last two centuries. They always have been the most reliable instruments of the cruel autocratic policy of the Romanoffs. The Slavs, and the Russians in particular, are a lovable, freedom-loving race, and the same can be said of the Estonians, Livonians, Letts, and Lithuanians. These natives of the Baltic are hospitable and hard-working people, but, like the Slavs, of a somewhat dreamy nature, loving song and music. Alas! they are too pliable and prone to foreign influence. No wonder, then, that these national fragments, sparsely settled over an enormous stretch of country, proved to be, for centuries, like wax in the skillful, cruel hands of the German dynasty of the Romanoffs—the late Nicholas II. had 64.65 German blood in his veins; all Russian Emperors during the nineteenth century, with the exception of the still living Dowager Empress Maria Fedorovna, were German Princesses—and of their German tools, the hated Baltic Barons, the Plehves, the Stürmers, and so on. These big German land owners looked down upon the Russians and Poles and Ukrainians, and still more upon the Estonians and Livonians, as upon inferior races, which were created by the German god to serve the German superman.

It is these Teutonic Junkers who, as Generals and Admirals, Governors of the provinces, courtiers, and low-grade bureaucrats, dominated the whole Governmental machinery of Russia.

Their professors and attorneys wrote the civil and penal codes of the Russian Empire; it is they who sent, during two centuries, millions of unfortunate proletarians who dared to fight on their own native soil for a crumb of bread, for a breath of freedom, to cold Siberia. They were the direct or indirect authors of the infamous pogroms; many of them were chiefs of the still more unspeakable secret police.

As far back as 1560, when Ivan the Terrible took possession of the country, which had been occupied by the Teutonic Knights, the latter appealed to the German Princes for help. "Scraps of papers" with golden promises were solemnly forwarded, hiding the ugly fact that the empire was at that time too weak, too much rent by inner dissensions, to be in a position to send practical succor to its distant lessee among the Slav and Finnish "barbarians."

Let us skip a span of time of exactly three and a half centuries, landing in the year of grace 1905 on the estates of our Baltic Junkers. The Lettish revolution had broken out, a Lettish Republic had been proclaimed. The Germans, faithful to their reactionary policy, clung to the Government of the Czar. But the Slavic-Lettish worm began at last to turn. A great number of German castles and estates were burned; many owners were put in prison or killed outright. When their confederates, the corrupted functionaries of the Central Government of Petrograd, fled from the country in terror, the situation of the German Barons and the German "intelligenza" became desperate indeed. The large forests, owned by the Junkers, were declared State property of the new republic, and the rest of the German estates began to be parceled out among the poor Lettish farmers.

The hour of expiation had come at last. The haughty German aristocrats who believed that they were absolute lords of the country had to flee for their lives; those who remained offered their

services to the Russian Army, which was sent to suppress the revolution—and suppressed it was, according to the ethical rules of Prussian militarism.

The respite, however, was but of short duration. When the world war broke out the Russian people, whose national conscience was aroused to an unexpected pitch by the Teutonic challenge, insisted upon the uprooting of Germanism throughout the empire, and in the Baltic Provinces in particular. The Letts again joined the anti-German movement. The poor Teutons got a dose of their own medicine; they did not feel safe in their own homes; they were watched and spied upon by their Lettish servants. In that ominous hour they may have caught an echo of the curse the former Polish owners of the estates had uttered against their heartless spoliators who, on their knees, after the cruel suppression of the Polish revolt of 1863, received the bloodstained booty from the Russian Court.

The heavens threatened to fall. The agrarian banks throughout the Baltic Provinces received the order from Petrograd to buy up as many German estates ("Rittergüter") as possible and to distribute them among the 300,000 Russian peasants who were settled, in 1913, in the country along the Russian-Prussian frontier from Memel to Thorn. German schools were closed. The Lutheran-German pastors were persecuted, in many cases condemned to prison sentences. In brief, the "Deutschthum" received its deathblow. There was no spark of hope left in the breasts of the dejected sons of Germania of ever being redeemed by the Fatherland. "What do they care there about us?" was the cry of despair of the Baltische Deutsche. When, indeed, encouraged by the great victories of Hindenburg in Poland, Baltic-German delegations were sent to Germany asking whether their constituents could expect to be "delivered" some day, they were given the cold shoulder! The hottest among the jingoes emigrated to Germany.

Worse, however, was yet to come: A ukase threatened to send the proud Junkers and their henchmen to Siberia

and on Feb. 2, 1915, the late ex-Czar Nicholas II. signed another decree whereby all German landowners were deprived of their property!

After the Germans had taken Libau, and German cavalry patrols had penetrated deep into the surrounding country, the miserable German "colonists" had a new ray of hope. But hardly had the German troops withdrawn than the Russian soldiers fell on the Teutons, threw the few large landowners that still remained in the country into prison and burned their estates.

I believe I have said and proved enough, yea, more than enough, to convince even the most obstinate cryptophil-German that a great deal of the patriotic pose of the Hohenzollerns and their royal and princely confederates is nothing but humbug; that their principal aim is the annexation of land "which they have neither sown nor plowed"; that they see in the Baltic Provinces a fertile territory which is as large as entire Southern Germany, in brief, a precious supplement to their present estate.

Knowing in their heart of hearts how loathed their rule is by the "small nations," to whom they like to appear in the first critical hours of transition in the shining armor of "liberators," the Germans have made up their mind to use Poland, the Ukraine, the Baltic Provinces, and Finland as a kind of sandbag to keep off the baccilli of Bolshevism of which they are more afraid than of the bullets of the former army of the Czar. "No immigration to Germany" has become one of their favorite slogans in their great eastern "War of Liberation."

Well, there will soon be again a solid eastern front, formed by the Yanks, Japs, Czechoslovaks, British, and French; there will be a forced "emigration" of Germans on an enormous scale on both fronts, and the fleeing troops on the eastern will be begged to take with them the 2,000,000 German farmers who have been "colonized" throughout the Russian Empire from the time of Catherine II., the cousin and imperial agent of Frederick II.

NOTE—A diplomatic dispatch received in Washington on Sept. 10, 1918, stated that the

plans of the Berlin authorities for dividing the Baltic Provinces of Russia into administrative districts had just been executed. Henceforth these regions are to constitute a single "military administration of the Baltic Provinces," with its seat at Riga. They are placed under the authority of the commanding officer of the town and of von Goesler, the Administration Chief, who, up to the present, has been head of the administration in Courland. The administration of the provinces includes a provincial administration for Courland, with its seat at Mittau; an administration for Livonia, with its seat

at Riga, and another for Esthonia, with its seat at Reval. The head of each provincial administration is called the "Captain of the Province."

The town of Riga constitutes in itself a special administration district, placed under the authority of the Captain of the town. Lithuania constitutes the military administration of Lithuania, the seat of which is Vilna. The territory under the command of Lieut. Col. von Harbou, with whom is associated the Privy Councillor, Tisler, as head of administration, is divided into five districts.

The Shearing of Rumania

Further Details of the Bucharest Treaty and Subsidiary Treaties Imposed by Germany

The following summary of the concessions exacted from Rumania by the Central Powers is based on sources vouched for by the Paris Temps, which published it July 30, 1918, and from which it is here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

WHEN the invaders entered Rumania they found in the occupied territory more than 3,500,000 tons of cereals or oleaginous grains, the whole vineyard crop of 1916, a large number of fowls, and a stock of domestic animals amply sufficient for the food and farming needs of the country. They left only enough to preserve the life of the inhabitants, without whom there would be no laborers to cultivate the fields. The rest was divided into two parts; about one-half was confiscated, the other half requisitioned, the requisition price being fixed at two-thirds of the market price. The losses thus inflicted on the owners are estimated at more than \$400,000,000.

For the year then current the Rumanian people were authorized to consume an average of 500 grams (about 17 ounces) of Indian corn per head each day. In certain regions all the provisions were requisitioned, and the peasants have had to purchase back, at increased prices, enough food to preserve life. The invaders also requisitioned 70 per cent. of the wine and fruit, and the total production of meat, wool, eggs, milk, butter, and cheese. The German military authorities have fixed the number of eggs that each hen is expected to lay and the quantity of milk that

each cow must furnish under penalty of a fine to be paid by the owner or the community.

The Germans have realized great profits—1,000 per cent. and more—by reselling to the Rumanian people a portion of the products seized, and this system continues to be applied on a large scale. Thus Rumania has to give up to the Central Powers 125,000 tons of wheat at the requisition price, and has to buy an equivalent amount in Bessarabia at the market price; this operation alone entails a loss of \$14,000,000. As the treaties of Bucharest stipulate that all the products of Rumanian farms and vineyards shall be sold to the Central Powers for nine years at prices fixed by the conquerors, it may be seen that the ruinous experiences of the recent past are merely a foretaste of what the future has in store.

All the requisitions levied in Rumania by the invaders have to be paid for by the Rumanian Government under the peace treaty. The Government must also become responsible for the notes issued by the invaders through a German bank at Bucharest, authorized by them to issue paper money. The Rumanian State likewise must advance the sums necessary to pay for the future purchases of the Central Powers, for the



American troops in Paris on July 4, 1918, parading along the Avenue du Président Wilson (formerly the Avenue du Trocadéro)

GLIMPSES OF UNDERGROUND WARFARE



French soldiers repairing a subterranean trench which was demolished by the enemy's shells



A tunnel in the Verdun region constructed by the Germans and captured by the French

latter are not in a position to square their accounts with industrial products delivered to Rumanian consumers. The monetary situation is so disturbed by these extortions that the price paid to Rumanian farmers for their wheat represents less than \$1.40 per quintal, (220 pounds.) Besides, the Rumanian State finds itself a "debtor" to the Central Powers for the board and keep of their troops of occupation and prisoners of war; this is the object of the loan, estimated at \$500,000,000, which Rumania is about to negotiate at Berlin and Vienna.

After the invasion the lands were divided into three categories. In four departments of Wallachia, in the Dobrudja, regions considered to be in the army zone, the German military authorities are exploiting the resources without rendering an account to anybody, even to the sequestration administrators named by the German economic organization. It is forbidden to go and inspect any place, even since the signing of peace. Back of the army zone a part of the land has been turned over to German and Austrian organizations. The estates are exploited in behalf of the absent owners. The accounts, under control of a German bank in Bucharest, are kept in such a way that the proprietors pay for the support of numerous German and Austrian agents, and become the debtors, as far as possible, of those who occupy their property. When the land is used for cereals or livestock it is easy to make the accounts show a deficit, either through fraud or through the ridiculous prices fixed for requisitions. But the forests themselves are not immune from these methods; a case is cited of a Rumanian company in Bucharest that has been invited to hand over \$76,000 to the German Kommandantur for the trouble which the Germans have taken to cut a great quantity of wood.

Finally, some lands have been claimed by the German and Austrian authorities—by reason of work done on them—for periods extending beyond the declaration of peace. When a farm is given to an individual whose services the invader

wishes to recompense, it is generally at a very moderate rental, and certain proprietors have thus seen their revenues reduced by one-half. It should be added, however, that the proprietors have often succeeded in bettering or canceling disadvantageous contracts by handing an appropriate bribe to the occupying authorities.

The invaders have dismounted and carried away the motors and machinery belonging to Rumanians or to other allies. Most of this machinery has been sent to Bulgaria, where an industry is being built up with Austro-German capital. Besides, courts set up by the occupying authorities have adjudged retrospective suits which German firms brought against Rumanians. These suits, sometimes based on very old claims that were long ago liquidated, have been the more advantageous for the Germans in that the Rumanians in many cases were not aware of the claims filed against them.

In the cities the homes of officials, officers, and other residents who have fled into Moldavia have been pillaged openly. A great number of other houses have been plundered under various pretexts: requisitions, perquisitions, &c. Germans of every rank have participated in the thefts. It was noticed especially that a Prince of Schaumburg, belonging to the German Legation at Bucharest, personally directed the pillage of houses in which he had been received before the war, and whose precious objects he knew about. In the houses inhabited by enemy officers the devastations and orgies were worst of all. The only residences spared are those occupied by Turkish officers.

The cities thus despoiled have none the less been hit with forced contributions for the maintenance of German troops. Municipalities have even been obliged to provide furniture to install Germans in houses which other Germans had emptied. These various exactions are added to the general contributions which the German command has levied upon Rumania, one amounting to \$50,000,000, and the other, announced during the peace negotiations, reaching \$80,000,000. The whole is an instructive sample of a German peace.

Movement for Polish Independence

Declaration at Versailles Supported by a National Polish Movement

THE declaration of the representatives of the Entente Powers at Versailles, June 3, 1918, favoring "a free and independent Poland with access to the sea," produced a profound impression throughout Poland. In the Warsaw State Council M. Swiezynski on June 26 spoke upon this declaration on behalf of the Inter-Party Club. It must be remembered that this club, which consists of fifty members, (the total of the State Council being 107 members,) represents three-quarters of the elected members of the council. M. Swiezynski spoke as follows:

At the same time, when the entire world has recognized the Polish question as an international problem and the Polish national and political aims as just, and their realization as a condition of the new order of the world, an order based on right and liberty; at the time when the solemn declaration, (the declaration of Versailles,) by responsible statesmen has given these aims positive and collective expression—at this moment nothing has taken place on Polish territory to show that the powers which have today the practical possibility of confirming their promises by deeds are guided by a real intention of restoring the Polish State.

The Inter-Party Club at Warsaw published the following declaration:

Taking into consideration the declaration made after the meeting of the Prime Ministers of France, England, and Italy, in which it was stated that the "creation of an independent and united Polish State, with access to the sea, is one of the conditions of a just and lasting peace and of the rule of right in Europe," the undersigned parties belonging to the Inter-Party Club declare that the above statement will meet with a sincere response in the soul of the Polish Nation, the nation which during more than a century of slavery has always longed for the restoration of Poland, (here is a space left by the censor,) independent and united, (here again a blank space.)

The Inter-Party Union of Galicia, which consists of three democratic parties, (the National Democrats, the People's Party, and the National Union,) has made the following statement:

The Warsaw Cabinet, which was appointed by the Regency Council under the leadership of M. Steczkowski, but which remains in complete dependence upon the foreign authorities, has issued a statement directed against the declaration of the meeting at Versailles, the declaration which recognized that the creation of a united and independent Poland with free access to the sea was one of the conditions and guarantees of a lasting peace.

Such a step on the part of the so-called Polish Government of Warsaw, the result of following foreign interests and demands, is not only in contradiction of the promises made by M. Steczkowski when he accepted the Premiership, but also it is in contradiction of the national interests, for it is degrading to the national dignity, it ignores the natural and historic rights of the nation, and is in conflict with the deepest desires and rightful claims of the great mass of the Polish Nation. The real sentiments and real will of the Polish people found their expression in motions, passed with the greatest enthusiasm as the essence of Polish national policy on the 28th of May, by the joint meeting of the Polish Deputies to the Diet and to the Vienna Parliament. The Polish Nation has accepted the Declaration of Versailles, the declaration which is identical with the motions of May, 1917, and which is in accordance with the manifesto of President Wilson, as a step toward a just solution of the Polish problem, which insists on the international significance of this problem. (Ten lines are deleted by the censor.)

The elected members of the Warsaw State Council, three-quarters of whom belong to the Inter-Party Club, the Inter-Party Circle of the Kingdom of Poland, and the Inter-Party Union in Galicia, represent the overwhelming majority of Poles.

Montenegro's Situation

Why the People Wish to Give Up Their Dynasty for a Greater Yugoslav State

By V. R. SAVITCH

[OF THE SERBIAN CONSUL GENERAL'S STAFF IN THE UNITED STATES]

THE position of Montenegro in the present world struggle is a paradox. While a most conspicuous feature of the war is the fight for independence of the smaller nations, Montenegro is fighting for a quite opposite end. Montenegro wants to lose her independence, to be relieved of an honorable position as a separate nation, and to find peace and prosperity by merging her existence with that of Serbia in the larger racial union of a free Jugoslavia. As there is reason in every paradox, so the Montenegrin paradox is based on an irrefutable logic which to be perfectly understood requires from the reader only a little patience and attention.

First of all, Montenegro is not really a distinct nation, large or small, but a part of the Serbian Nation, possessing a distinctly Serbian national consciousness. A Montenegrin is rather proud of his local name and history, but he likes you to understand that his very pride is imbedded in his larger Serbian national sentiment. He prides himself on the fact that, among all other Serbs, he has never failed in his national duty and has sacrificed more than any other part of the nation for the common Serbian ideals. Foreigners visiting the Balkans have been surprised to find all Yugoslavs with a very highly developed national consciousness, but the Montenegrins occupy the first rank in that regard. Every Montenegrin is a warrior, and there is scarcely any Montenegrin family without its own historian. The historian in this case is a bard who delights his audience (usually his own household) with the stories of the warlike achievements of his forefathers, of his clan and his nation, in which a record of his own deeds and of his living relatives is very often interwoven. This gives rise to the ever-growing ballads recited with the accom-

paniment of the gooslé, (the national instrument,) and the great ruler of Montenegro, Bishop Radé, said: "There is no house with men in it where the gooslé is not heard."

The Black Mountain produces few of the commodities of life. A generation ago commerce was a rather shameful occupation for a son of Montenegro. His life consisted of making history, i. e., of fighting, and, in his leisure time, in listening to that record of which he was an active and conscious part. For a Montenegrin, being void of any other worldly interest, past and present, merged in his vision, and for the acts of his daily life he always took example from his beloved heroes of the ballads, Marko Kravevitch or Milosh Oblilitch. To say to a Montenegrin that he is equal to Oblilitch is the greatest compliment he can conceive. And Milosh Oblilitch was that Serbian Knight who in the battle of Kossovo in 1389 slew the Turkish Sultan, Murad I.

In the battle of Kossovo the Serbian Empire was defeated, but the Serbian Nation was not subdued. After that battle many a Serbian squire, leaving the fertile plains to the Turk, fled to the Black Mountain, where for five long centuries he never ceased to fight for Serbian freedom. That fight was to him a religious duty, bequeathed by the martyrs of Kossovo, sung by the bards, preached by the Church, and strengthened by examples in every-day life. Therefore, among Serbs he wishes to be a Montenegrin, yet he would be offended if a foreigner should take him solely for a Montenegrin; he does not recognize any value in the existence of Montenegro apart from a larger Serbian life and ideals. Montenegro has been a stronghold of Serbian tradition and liberty for five centuries. Like a rock, it

withstood all the onslaughts of the infidels. And now, when the Turkish tide has definitely receded, Montenegro desires to be relieved of her duty, as there is no reason to continue to be a sentinel on the mount, and demands to be merged into the national unity of Yugoslavia with all the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes; such must be the outcome if Europe is to find peace.

BEGINNING OF THE NATION

Historically, Montenegro is a continuation of the life of mediaeval Zeta, which for centuries was an integral part of the Serbian Kingdom, or, rather, that very kingdom. In reality the Serbian State life started in Zeta around the Lake of Scutari. Serbian independence was first asserted in the Black Mountain after a defeat of the Byzantine army by the first Serbian ruler, Voislav. In the tenth century his son received from Rome the title of King and made Scutari the first Serbian capital. The founder of the greatest Serbian dynasty, Stephan Nemanja, was born in Zeta, which remained always a part of the kingdom of that dynasty. The Serbian Emperor, Dushan, who ruled in Zeta as heir apparent to the throne, in the fourteenth century decentralized his empire in mighty feudal provinces. After his death Zeta, in the second half of the fourteenth century, emerged as an independent State ruled by two Princes, Balsha I. and Balsha II. Balsha II. bequeathed the throne to Ivan Cruojeovitch. He was succeeded by his son George, who vainly resisted the Turks, but who was obliged to abandon to their invasion a greater part of his dominion, and in 1496 crossed the Adriatic in search of help and refuge in Italy, where he died without an heir. The remaining part of Zeta, consisting of the unconquerable Black Mountain, continued its resistance to the Turks and received the present name of Montenegro later on in the seventeenth century.

During many centuries, until 1851, the Government of Montenegro was represented by a confederation of clans, each independently governed by a chieftain elected by a popular assembly of all male members of the clan. The unity of those clans was expressed by a Bishop, whom

all the clans recognized as their spiritual head. But in order to avoid jealousy the Bishop came from different clans in turn, or indifferently from other Serbian provinces under the Turk.

THE SERBIAN CHURCH

Although by that time Serbian State life had been completely annihilated by the Turks, yet there remained an institution representing national unity and keeping alive the memory of the Serbian Empire. This was the Serbian Church, with its patriarch at Ipek. The Montenegrin Bishops journeyed to Ipek to be consecrated by the patriarchs, thus deriving their authority from the highest Serbian spiritual authority. When the Patriarchate of Ipek was abolished the Montenegrin Bishops found their way to Russia to be consecrated by the Russian Church. These Bishops exercised no authority in civil or military matters. Their sole functions were to appoint the priests for every clan. Taxes were never collected; when the last Bishop Radé attempted to collect a tax of 20 cents from every household, in 1847, he himself and his agents were expelled from the domains of many clans.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century the line of Bishops became fixed in the family of Njegosh-Petrovitch owing to the greater authority which the first Bishops of that family acquired by their virtues and wisdom. Bishop Peter I., after his death, was proclaimed a saint, and until recently his name carried religious and spiritual authority among the Montenegrins. The jealousy of the other clans was not awakened, because the clan of Njegosh was one of the smallest. Besides Peter I., venerated as a saint, this line of Bishops gave to the Serbian Nation Radé Petrovitch-Njegosh, greatest of all Serbian poets, with whom ended the line of the Montenegrin Bishops in 1851.

Greek Orthodoxy being the religion of Montenegro, the Bishops were celibates and chose for successors the most talented youths of their family, not being bound by rules or rights of succession.

This period of the Montenegrin history, for simplicity of life, stern virtues, and heroic struggles with the enemy,

may be fairly compared with the period when the Judges ruled in Israel. It was a time of which their poets said:

Oh, for other nations of the world to see
Glorious this Cross still never vanquished!
They with folded arms would not lazily
stand

Whilst for Cross you suffer untold agony;
Neither should they as barbarians you
brand,

For, whilst they slept, you bravely perished.

The last Bishop Radé, who led a more worldly life than his predecessors, appointed as his successor his nephew, Danilo; he refused to enter the Church and assumed the title of Prince in 1851. He left no son and was succeeded in 1860 by his nephew Nicholas, the present ruler of Montenegro.

UNDER PRINCE NICHOLAS

During this reign Montenegro has greatly changed. The simple organization of patriarchal clans was replaced by a modern State administration, and the warlike tribesmen, among whom the family feuds threatened the unity and welfare of the people, were welded into a single community. Montenegro doubled and tripled her territory, her independence was recognized by all the European States, and from a principality she has been elevated to the rank of kingdom. Owing to improved communications, Montenegro came in contact with the outer world, and all the spiritual currents of the life of modern nations found their way there.

In 1861 Prince Nicholas married a beautiful girl of a notable Montenegrin family, and she gave him a numerous progeny—three sons and seven daughters; the latter indeed brought fortune to the Petrovitch dynasty. His eldest daughter, Zorka, in 1883 was wedded to Peter Karageorgevitch, the present King of Serbia. Two others, Militza and Stana, married Grand Dukes of Russia. Ana married a German, Prince Battenburg, and Helen, the most beautiful and most popular of all, became the Queen of Italy. The youngest, Xeniya, and Vera are unmarried.

Prince Nicholas began his reign in the simple traditional way of his predecessors. During the first decade he dreamed

and sang only of the union of Montenegro and Serbia. Thus, in 1866, he began negotiations with the Serbian Prince, Michael, with that end in view. In a letter to Prince Michael he thus poetically expressed himself in regard to the time when unity should be achieved: "I shall take a gun in my hand and be a sentinel at thy palace gate." But later this romantic attitude gave way to different feelings and ambitions. In the war against Turkey, in 1876-78, Montenegro doubled her territory. Prince Nicholas was then very highly esteemed by all Serbians; although he could not be compared as a poet to his granduncle, Bishop Radé, yet he was recognized as a bard of no mean merit, and one of his patriotic songs was accepted as a national hymn by all Serbians. As a leader of his mountaineers he was lauded as a prince and patriot. In view of the developing struggle in Serbia against that unpopular and autocratic rule of the Obrenovitch dynasty, he might have aspired to secure the Serbian throne for his heirs. He attained the zenith of his fortune when Emperor Alexander III. of Russia, on the occasion of a visit of Prince Nicholas in 1888, honored him in an official toast as "his sole friend."

NATION'S CHANGED ATTITUDE

But the last generation has witnessed a great change in this respect. Prince Nicholas ruled in the old autocratic way. During fifty years of his reign he made no concessions to the new democracy which was filtering into Montenegro from Europe. He neglected national education, and the scanty resources of the country were rather monopolized by himself, his family, and some few courtiers. There was no line of demarkation between his private purse and the budget of the State, and he was many times accused of having appropriated funds sent by Russia for the relief of poverty-stricken Montenegrins. Emigration of Montenegrins increased from year to year, but the private wealth of King Nicholas was enormously augmented.

Soon the lustre of his aureole faded, and King Nicholas today is regarded by his people as a petty, Oriental tyrant, vainglorious and cruel, caring only for

the interests of his own family. This judgment prevails among the younger Montenegrin generation, who regard him, moreover, as an insincere Serb and a shrewd politician, always exploiting national sentiment for the promotion of his family ambition. They assert that all his professions of fidelity to national ideals are imposed upon him by the national consciousness of the Montenegrins, but he always has foiled the realization of any practical scheme for unity through delays and subterfuges. They condemn his national as well as his internal policy. Some believe his character was the same from the very beginning of his career, while others incline to the belief that he became greedy and ambitious in his old age, when his judgment grew impaired under the pressure of ever-increasing vanity and the inordinate ambition of his numerous family. His sons obtained no proper education and enjoyed no popularity in Montenegro, and his unmarried daughter, Xeniya, is credited with being a domestic tyrant and his real ruler.

In 1905 King Nicholas granted a Constitution to Montenegro, and since that date he has come into direct conflict with a younger generation imbued with democratic ideals. He tried persecutions and brought the country to the verge of revolution, from which Montenegro was spared owing only to the external events which absorbed the entire attention and demanded all the energy of the Montenegrins.

In the crisis created by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, as well as in the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913, Montenegro fought on the side of Serbia. As a result of the last wars, the Montenegrin territory was increased again, and the barrier which separated Montenegro from Serbia was at last annihilated. This proved a new source of trouble to King Nicholas. The national sentiment of the Montenegrins was aroused against any boundary being set between the two sister countries. They protested and demanded absolute union with Serbia, and in 1913 the Montenegrin Parliament urged this solution of the internal national problem. The negotiations with Serbia were conducted in 1914

with that object in view. Meanwhile the world war broke out.

MONTENEGRO BETRAYED

There was no treaty of alliance signed between Serbia and Montenegro, but national sentiment prompted the Montenegrin Government to declare war on Austria-Hungary and Germany as soon as Serbia was attacked. Fighting at the side of Serbia, Montenegro endured the same hardships and sustained equal sacrifices with Serbia. But the end of the Montenegrin campaign was wholly different. Serbia saved intact her honor and as much as possible of her army, never suing for peace. But when the trail of the Serbian Army was still on Montenegrin soil the Montenegrin Government tried to obtain peace from the enemy. Confusion followed, and, as a consequence, although peace was not obtained, the Montenegrin Army and Government remained in the country, with the exception of King Nicholas, who hastily fled to Italy with the Prime Minister and some few of his personal entourage. The Allies, especially Great Britain, were estranged from King Nicholas by his action regarding peace, and particularly because of the demobilization of his army.

The Montenegrins who were able to escape to friendly countries are deeply indignant over what they call the betrayal of Montenegro and of their national honor. By this surrender to the enemy the Montenegrins feel that their history was sullied, and in consequence King Nicholas and his family lost the last vestige of prestige that yet adhered to them. In this situation he tried to place the responsibility for his acts on his Prime Minister, Lazar Mijuskovitch, but the latter vigorously rebuked him in an open letter published in France and Italy May 20, 1916, and, communicating with all the allied Governments, he accused King Nicholas of treason and double dealing. He concluded as follows:

I believe that all the sins of your Majesty, of your family, and your entourage, and of myself as well, cannot be attributed to the Serbian people of Montenegro, who have always fulfilled their Serbian duty in resisting their enemies and in sacrificing everything for the real-

ization of the Serbian ideals. Therefore, I believe that there will come out from their midst men who will not allow that people should be made responsible before the world for sins not their own, and that the Montenegrins shall enter unsullied the Commonwealth of Serbia, as they have deserved it by their century-long struggle for freedom and unity of the whole Serbian Nation.

A FORMAL PROPOSAL

After the resignation of Lazar Mijuskovitch in May, 1916, King Nicholas intrusted the Premiership to Andrey Radovitch. The latter, well aware of the feeling of the people and the disposition of the Allies, considered that King Nicholas and his dynasty could be saved only through a union of Serbia and Montenegro, and by the fusion of both dynasties, Karageorgevitch and Petrovitch. Therefore, on Aug. 6, 1916, he submitted to King Nicholas a formal proposal for his approval. In it Mr. Radovitch said:

The union of Montenegro and Serbia with the rest of the Yugoslav lands will entail the fusion of the two dynasties which have unquestionably in the past rendered great services to the Serb and Slav cause; the circumstance that the grandson of your Majesty is today Prince Regent of Serbia facilitates the execution of this project.

Your Majesty, after a reign of almost sixty years, and his Majesty the illustrious King Peter, because of his advanced age and frail state of health, both deserve to rest, so that you may watch with a glad and quiet mind, like true fathers of the country, the development of the young Yugoslav State under the guidance of the grandson of your Majesty, the son of his Majesty King Peter. The young Yugoslav sovereign would be surrounded by the Princes Petrovitch-Njegosh and Karageorgevitch. Her Majesty Queen Milena [King Nicholas's wife] would occupy the highest place of honor in the State, that of Queen Mother.

The succession to the throne could be most equitably arranged, viz., as follows: First, Prince Danilo, (heir to the Montenegrin throne,) then the descendants of the present Prince Alexander, and then, alternately, the other Princes of the two dynasties.

The King delayed from day to day any reply to this project, and a second memorandum was submitted to him on Jan. 11, 1917, expressing the positive request for an immediate decision, failing

which the resignation of the Cabinet would follow. This document, which was followed by the resignation of the Cabinet, concluded in the following terms:

In the memorandum of Aug. 6 I have drawn attention to the other reasons which make it our duty to labor for the unification of the Serbian people and eventually of all the Yugoslavs; in this way Serbia, as well as Montenegro, would bring her historic mission to an end and enter, on a footing of equality with the other Serbian lands, and, in the given case, with the Yugoslav lands also, into one great State.

As I am convinced that this line of action is the only salutary one, both for the Montenegrins, who are profoundly convinced that, of all the Serbs, they stand to be the greatest gainers by the union, and for the dynasty as well as for the respect and esteem which your Majesty enjoys among the Serbs, the Slavs, and the Allies, I pray your Majesty to take into consideration that I cannot work in a different direction, and that if your Majesty does not approve of this action I shall be compelled to beg your Majesty graciously to accept my resignation.

With the most profound devotion, I am your Majesty's obedient servant,

A. RADOVITCH.

REPLY OF NICHOLAS

Mr. Radovitch resigned, but immediately organized among the Montenegrins a movement for national unity without paying any regard longer to the views and interests of King Nicholas. This activity met with the greatest success, but King Nicholas sought to oppose the movement. On May 15, 1917, he submitted to his Cabinet a note which reads:

Sometime ago a very little group of unsatisfied men, gathered in a committee under A. Radovitch's Presidency, adopted the right to speak in the name of the Montenegrin people. This committee took the liberty not long ago to apply to the Government of Russia and of the United States. The royal Montenegrin Government is hereby compelled to disown this committee, which hasn't any right to appear as the interpreter of the Montenegrins. The Montenegrins also consider the Royal Government of Montenegro, which is still acknowledged by the Allies, as the only representative of their interests, of their national aspirations and faithful guardian of their political individuality.

But the Nicholas Cabinet, formed after the resignation of Mr. Radovitch, under the Presidency of General Matanovitch,

itself refused to indorse the note of its sovereign. In a memorandum of May 15, 1917, the Ministers, in setting forth the reasons for their action, vigorously protested against King Nicholas's suggestion that Montenegro wished to continue her life as a separate nation. They said:

The status quo ante is not possible in the Balkans. The national consciousness for unity in all the classes of our people is awake and expansive. The idea of unity has become a creed—a religion of the masses. This faith has been created by the thousands of national martyrs throughout the centuries and by the blood shed in rivers on all our battlefields.

It is clear that all self-exclusion, then, is in opposition and is opposing every serious and sincere mutual understanding with Serbia, the necessity of which in several instances we have apprised your Majesty. Also we approached you with the proposal explaining the fact that it is high time negotiations should be commenced with Serbia. The same proposal we again at this moment bring before your Majesty, firmly believing that your Majesty shall accept and give your authorization for it.

Bearing in mind the above-mentioned factors, which are clear as the living truth, and which picture the future of the whole of our people, the Royal Government find that the safety of our smaller country and her national dynasty is coupled with the work which is in harmony with the ideal of the people, and therefore it is not able to accept the form of the note mentioned, not wishing to create the impression that Montenegro wants division and separation from her brothers in blood and language.

RESIGNATION OF CABINET

As a consequence of King Nicholas refusing to give to the Matanovitch Cabinet a mandate to start negotiations for union with Serbia, the Cabinet sent in its resignation, which reads in part:

Since the very day on which were pulled down the centuries-old barriers between Montenegro and her brothers by blood and language, and especially between her and Serbia, the problem of State reconstruction was imposed upon her. The new situation demanded a new form of the State. The present separation, being obsolete and impracticable, has become impossible in the future. My Cabinet, sharing with me this point of view, prepared a program with which your Majesty expressed his complete agreement.

Your Majesty, it follows from every-

thing set above that the main task of the Government was the reconstruction of our relation with Serbia in preparing a concrete proposal for reunion, which, after it should be accepted by both parties here, should be approved by competent institutions of our countries after our return into the fatherland. The preparation of this proposal could not be delayed, as our relations to our allies depend on it, who wish to create a strong Yugoslav State as a bulwark against the German onrush. The road for improvement of our relations with the Allies leads directly over this internal Serbian question, by which your royal Majesty's Government has to give a measure of its sincerity and loyalty. Many times my administration has put orally before your Majesty these weighty reasons, requesting you to give it the necessary mandate for the preparation of such a project in concert with the representatives of our sister, Serbia. In requesting it the royal Government was inspired by a broad view of our national policy, as the only way to a good end, otherwise it is fatally condemned to take a road of anti-national aims and of a policy of separation which must bring catastrophe to the country and the dynasty. Inspired by such motives, the royal Government on May 15 of this year put before your Majesty a written memorandum asking that your Majesty should please to give it the much-desired mandate. Its hope, to our regret, has been frustrated. The bad consequences following it have undermined the last vestiges of prestige enjoyed by it, since your refusal could not be interpreted otherwise than as a wavering between the two belligerent camps in regard to international politics.

Besides this, your Majesty has judged opportune to touch upon some big and delicate questions a solution of which would be contrary not only to the spirit of this Government's program, but also to the Constitution.

The telegram your Majesty has sent to his Majesty the Italian King is a negation of our Yugoslav ideal, which demands one and inseparable Yugoslavia. The Royal Government must not pass in silence this act of your Majesty.

Your Majesty, with deep regrets and soul pain I see that the execution of a national policy is impossible where the dynastic reasons prevail.

In drawing consequences from the above facts it remains to me to tender my resignation to the Presidency of your royal Government, sincerely thanking you for the confidence granted to me.

Your Majesty's devoted
BRIGADIER MILE MATANOVITCH,
President of the Montenegrin Government.
Neully, June 5, 1917.

THE KING DISOWNED

Since that time the policy of King Nicholas has been denounced by all Montenegrins regardless of party differences, and all divisions of parties have united with the organization started by Radovitch. King Nicholas was unable to find any Montenegrin of standing to accept the portfolio of Prime Minister. At last he chose Eugene Popovitch, born in Spalato, Dalmatia, who had never become a Montenegrin citizen, had never lived there, and had visited Montenegro only once, in 1910, on the occasion when Prince Nicholas assumed the title of King. Likewise his colleagues and diplomatic representatives appointed to the allied countries are men who never played any part in the political or social life of the country, and who were without followers, friends, or interest in Montenegro.

The Montenegrins have resolutely reached a decision. For them the union of Serbia and Montenegro is already achieved in the present adversity, and they have resolved to defend its future with all means at their disposal, whether King Nicholas desires it or not. As to him, the best course seems to be not to push matters to extremes, and to revert to Radovitch's project, provided he does not wish to die an exile from the country over whose destiny he has presided so long.

The meaning and importance of Montenegro in the Serbian national life can be briefly put thus: Montenegro represents a last reserve which the Serbian Nation is drawing upon whenever its life is at its lowest ebb. When Byzantium and Bulgaria were in the height of their power, Serbian independence could assert itself only in the fastness of the Black Mountain. When the

Serbian might was at its full power, Montenegro, owing to her scanty economic resources, could play no rôle and was relegated to a secondary position. But, again, when a new crisis broke out and Serbian life reached the nadir of its misery under the prolonged Turkish yoke, Montenegro reassumed her full importance and brilliantly discharged her function of being the guardian of Serbian liberty and tradition.

They rose to where their sovereign eagle sails.

They kept their faith, their freedom on the height.

Chaste, frugal, savage, armed by day and night.

* * * Rough rockthorne

Of Freedom! warriors beating back the swarm

Of Turkish Islam for five hundred years.

Great Tsernagora, never since thine own
Black ridges drew the cloud and brake the storm

Has breathed a race of mightier mountaineers.

—Alfred Lord Tennyson.

The Montenegrins argue that they have no historical and economic basis for an independent State life, in the new conditions that will be after this war. They demand unity because they have nobly played their part and ended their task. But the present writer believes that their part is far from being ended, and that they will have in the Serbian Commonwealth a still, if possible, nobler task. Yugoslavia can be nothing but a democracy. But there are different democracies, with lower and higher ideals. The Montenegrins have still preserved in their social and family life stern virtues of chastity, frugality, bravery, and loyalty to higher moral ideals. Their presence in the Serbian or Yugoslav Commonwealth will be a sure guarantee that their democracy will not sink to base commercialism or anarchistical monstrosities.



Sinkings of American Merchantmen

Methods and Deeds of Our Naval Crews on Armed Steamships in Fighting German Submarines

By ALLAN WESTCOTT

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COMMERCE warfare is essentially the weapon of the weaker naval belligerent, and from the outset of the war Germany has made this her primary means of attack upon her enemy supreme on the sea. At first she employed the traditional method of commerce raiders and cruisers in distant waters; it was only when these were driven to cover or destroyed that she resorted to the submarine.

But the possibilities of this new weapon, as she soon discovered, were greatly limited, if it were employed with due regard for the rights of neutrals and the traditional requirements of international law. Guarantees of visit and search, safety to passengers and crew, effective blockade within clearly defined and reasonable limits—all these cobwebs of legalism Germany accordingly brushed aside, at first with some stealth, but openly and defiantly in her "unrestricted warfare" proclamation of Feb. 1, 1917. This declared her adoption of the only method, in fact, by which submarine commerce warfare can be made to yield profitable results—that of sinking on sight in practically unlimited areas. She declared her purpose to shut off commerce with Europe by an immense barred zone, covering nearly the entire Mediterranean and the waters east of a line from Iceland to Cape Finisterre. "The new policy," as President Wilson said in words it is now well to recall, "swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, were to be ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning."

The first reply of the United States to this challenge was to arm her ships, the vessels to retain their character as merchantmen, and to defend themselves only

if attacked. But this was obviously a half measure, and as the President said in his war message, "ineffectual" against an enemy that not only sunk on sight, but threatened, with what might almost be regarded as a touch of sardonic humor, to treat the gun crews of these ships as pirates and beyond the pale of law. For this compelling motive, among a multitude of other and deeper grievances, we declared war.

The armed guards, thus placed aboard our merchant vessels in a somewhat anomalous relation to the ship's personnel, have, however, remained, and have constituted an important factor in the campaign against the submarine. When the British began to arm their ships, they were able to provide only small crews, sometimes not more than one or two trained gunners, and in the diplomatic situation then existing it was desirable to make these strictly subordinate at all times to the master of the ship, who was ordinarily a member of the Naval Reserve. The United States adopted the more difficult, but more effective, policy of putting aboard enough men to maintain lookouts and man the guns completely both night and day, and gave to the naval officer authority as to when to engage, and control of the fire when in contact with the enemy.

OUR FIRST ARMED STEAMER

The first vessel to be supplied with an armed guard was the *Manchuria* of the American Line, which sailed from New York March 16, 1917. The *St. Louis*, *St. Paul*, and other transatlantic passenger steamers were also soon provided with crews from the navy, under officers of Lieutenant's or Lieutenant Commander's rank.

But with the declaration of war came

the stiffer problem of immediately extending this protection to as many as possible of the merchantmen in the European service, and supplying crews for the 200 or more ships that the Ordnance Bureau of the Navy soon succeeded in arming with good 3-inch to 6-inch guns. Navy gunners—spotters, trainers, pointers, &c.—are not made in a day, nor was it desirable to cull from the fleet in wartime a great number of its best trained men. A compromise was decided upon by which the chief petty officers in command—for the most part Chief Gunner's Mates, Chief Boatswain's Mates, and Chief Masters at Arms—and a nucleus of experienced seamen were taken from the fleet, the crews being then filled out from the training stations ashore. At these stations the recruits had such gunnery and other drill as time permitted, but it was inevitable that some of the youths who fought our guns in the war zone were afloat on their first voyage. It was such lads as these, too, who in more than one instance had to take to small boats in bitter Winter weather a hundred or more miles from land, as in the case of the *Actaeon*, sunk by torpedo off Cape Finisterre, Nov. 24, 1917. The armed guard boat, with twenty gunners and four of the ship's crew, without a compass and without the armed guard commander, who had fallen overboard and been picked up by another boat, sailed and drifted off the coast for eleven days until at last they came ashore at a little hamlet in Spain with three men dead from exposure and exhaustion and another who afterward died.

Yet the crews were made of the right stuff, and were quickly imbued with the fine standards of the service whose uniform they wore. It is sufficient evidence of their quality that, while many an armed ship has been torpedoed by surprise, and while many a submarine has been driven off or disconcerted in its attack by quick, accurate fire from a ship's guns, there are at present only two instances of an American ship with gun crew aboard which has been overcome in a stand-up, give-and-take fight by the gunfire of a submarine.

TWO MEMORABLE ENCOUNTERS

Each of these instances carries with it a stirring tale. The tanker *Campana*, attacked on Aug. 6 of last year, surrendered only when her ammunition was exhausted after four hours and ten minutes of fighting. She was hit four times and set on fire. At the end of three hours, seeing the ship was out-ranged, the Captain wished to surrender, but the gun crew held on as long as they had shells. The submarine afterward took the Captain, Chief Gunner Delaney, and four of the naval crew aboard and carried them to Germany, where at last reports they are still prisoners of war.

The other ship, the tanker *Moreni*, was bound for Genoa with a cargo of gasoline when she was attacked in the U-boats' favorite hunting ground off Gibraltar. In command of the armed guard was Chief Petty Officer Copassaki, a Cretan by birth, an American by allegiance, and a navy fighter by virtue of inherent character and twenty-two years' service. It adds nothing to the pleasure of such an affair to engage from the topside of a cargo of high combustibles; yet this commander and crew fought till their steering gear was shot away and their ship swinging in wild and lurid circles, leaving behind a path of flames. "Come on," cried Copassaki, when they at last decided to abandon ship, "here's a chance to make a name for yourselves," and he brought up a machine gun to mount in the boat's bow. The vessel was still under headway and the boat capsized when it struck the water, spilling gun and gunners overboard and spoiling what promised to be an extraordinary encounter between a machine gun and a submarine.

"We swam around," writes Copassaki in his report, (from which the machine gun episode is omitted as insignificant,) "until we could get to the capsized boat and turn it over. The submarine called the boats alongside and the commander congratulated us, shaking hands with the Captain, and telling us it was the best fight they had ever seen put up by a merchant vessel."

For the men from training stations, and also for the sailors from the clean,



GRAPHIC CHART SHOWING AMERICAN MERCHANT TONNAGE SUNK BY U-BOATS FROM THE BEGINNING OF 1915 TO THE END OF AUGUST, 1918

well-found, well-regulated ships of our navy, this shift into the merchant service was suffering a sea change, indeed. They went into vessels of every description, from fast liners to wind-jammers and eight-knot tramps, and they sailed to every port of friendly Europe, from Saloniki to the Murmansk coast. They came in for all kinds of experiences, from fighting U-boats to quelling mutinies and unloading cargo when strikes held them up in port. Illustrative of such experiences is that of a boatswain's mate who discovered a gang of Bolshevik stevedores in Archangel plundering a cargo of Red Cross supplies. He presented his case before the local Soviet that evening with vigor and favorable results.

They were thrown in also with the polyglot crews of our rapidly expanding merchant marine—bold fellows enough, or they would not be where they were, and many of them loyal Americans by birth or adoption, but with an element among them sullen and suspiciously neutral. In one ship the frequency of engine troubles, which kept putting the vessel behind the convoy, led to the placing of a guard in the engine room night and day, after which no more ground glass was found in the oil.

According to a clause in the agreement signed by owners of vessels when naval crews were put on board, the owners pledged themselves "to quarter and subsist the armed guard both at sea

and in port in a manner satisfactory to the commander of the armed guard without expense to the Government or to the members of the armed guard." This the owners have tried to live up to, but unreliable stewards have sometimes given rise to complaints. Grumbling over grub is a sailor's license, but ordinarily not matter for official report. One grievance, however, was too serious to pass over. "The climax of the food question," so it is stated, "came when we found a wad of hair in the peach stew." To make matters worse, the Captain accused the gunners of inserting the hair.

With crews and officers of the two services thus brought together, it is surprising that more friction has not developed; but it is clearly a case where diplomacy is essential, and it is well for both navy and merchant service to realize that the two are mutually dependent and must get on together. There is a case, indeed, where a nervous Captain objected to target practice lest it shake loose the rivets of his decrepit ship. And there is another case, in which, however, both master and naval officer co-operated, where in the presence of the enemy an excited fireroom party had to be driven below at the point of the pistol. But, in general, the armed guard report usually contains a passage somewhat as follows: "Most cordial relations existed throughout the voyage. The attitude of the ship's of-

ficers and crew was all that could be wished." When a vessel is taken over by the navy, the ship's company comes under naval discipline, which in wartime is the only rational state of affairs. With the immense development of our naval auxiliary training stations, it will be possible to supply naval crews for many ships of our new merchant fleet.

NARRATIVE OF GUN DUELS

The actual work done by the armed guard is well revealed in the reports of their engagements. These of late have become fewer, and the voyages less exciting, partly because there are fewer of the enemy and the ships commonly sail in protected convoy, but partly also because the submarine has learned to avoid surface action with an armed ship. If the vessel is unarmed and out of convoy, she is, of course, thrown upon the U-boat Captain's tender mercy, as illustrated in recent encounters off our coast. Unless she have speed to escape, which may require well above twelve knots, the enemy may bombard her as effectively as his wretchedly bad shooting permits, loot her, and sink her with bombs.

The best narratives are those of the gun duels, of which, including the Campana and Moreni affairs, there are perhaps a dozen in which American vessels have taken part. On June 14, 1917, in the period when it was still deemed expedient to arm sailing vessels and send them into the war zone, the schooner Glynn was sailing quietly through the Mediterranean, protected by two six-pounders and a naval crew of a warrant officer and six men. About twilight a submarine spotted her as an easy victim, opened on her at 4,500 yards, and came in at full speed. Shots splashed close to the Glynn and tore through her sails. The gun crew held their fire until the two craft were on parallel courses at 3,000 yards, and then threw in several rounds in rapid succession, which, in the words of the officer in command, "hit all around her." The submarine went down, and though the vessel was beating through the vicinity all that night, she was not further troubled.

The steamer Navajo on July 4, 1917, was working slowly through a morning

mist in the English Channel when two shots, not in celebration of our national anniversary, broke the quiet. A submarine had seen the Navajo's superstructure, and as the mist broke away at the moment she was herself sighted about a mile distant. Then ensued a running chase in which the submarine fired forty rounds and the steamer twenty-seven. Only one of the submarine's shots took effect, striking under the port counter and causing a leak. The twenty-seventh shot from the Navajo hit and burst just forward of the enemy's conning tower, near the ammunition hoist, and caused a second explosion plainly heard on the ship. "The men who were on deck at the guns and had not jumped overboard," so reads the report, "ran aft, the submarine canted forward at an angle of almost 40 degrees, and the propeller could be plainly seen lashing the air." Then she plunged under. On the results of this action skeptical shore authorities would probably pass a doubtful verdict. "There was a submarine in the vicinity," they would say, "and she may have been injured." At all events, from then on the Navajo had a peaceful Fourth of July.

U-BOATS THAT "HAD ENOUGH"

At nearly midnight on Oct. 30, in the Bay of Biscay, the steamer Borinquen nearly ran over a submarine lying quietly on the surface not a hundred yards off. It seems to have been a mutual surprise. The men at the forward gun were a bit nervous in the ten seconds or more that their gun bore, and did not get in a shot, but the after gun fired as it came in range. The first shot was a miss at 100 yards; the second, at 200 yards, struck the conning tower, and the third hit and exploded. After the fourth shot fired at the U-boat as she lay apparently helpless in the trough of the seas, she went down "stern first in an almost upright position." The Borinquen did not stop to gather more convincing souvenirs. And so it is still said that there is no positive proof that a merchantman's guns have ever sunk a submarine.

As a last instance may be taken the story of the Nyanza, attacked on a Sunday morning at 9:30 on Jan. 13, 1918. A periscope, silver painted, appeared

1,000 yards on the port beam; and a moment later a torpedo was sighted, which cleared the ship by a scant ten feet. The submarine fell rapidly astern, then came to the surface, started her oil engines, and gave chase, opening fire with shrapnel at 7,000 yards, or about four miles. She had guns forward and aft of the conning tower, and yawed as she came on in order to use them both. Altogether she scored five hits out of about 200 shots, fighting cautiously at long range. "She had the range good again at 11:15," says the gun commander, but at that moment the ship's stern gun was also on the target and fired several shots, which caused the submarine to "come broadside on and keel over." Then she disappeared. Whether injured or not, she had had enough.

ARMING OF SHIPS JUSTIFIED

But the typical encounter is not such as these cited. Ordinarily the only target offered to the ship is the fanlike wake of a periscope sighted for a few seconds as the submarine aims her torpedo, and perhaps seen again as she rises astern to view results. Or the only warning may be the torpedo itself, seen a hundred yards or so from the ship. It is a maxim of the armed guards that there is no such thing as a foolish alarm. The object dimly discerned with the glass may be a bit of wreckage, a rock, a porpoise, a tide rifle, or even a friendly patrol boat. In any case it is safer—and affords good target practice—to take a shot.

It would be almost impossible to estimate the full number of actual engagements, to distinguish the real from the imaginary, or to determine the number of instances in which a submarine has

been driven off, injured or destroyed. Roughly speaking, about 100 American vessels were sunk by submarines up to Aug. 1, 1918. Of these the great majority were unarmed. Considering that by far the greater number of our steamships in submarine-infested waters have been provided with armed guards, it is evident that the ratio of losses to total number in the case of unarmed ships has been far greater than in the case of those carrying guns.

It may be admitted that the arming of merchant vessels is a means of defense of less decisive importance than offensive measures directed toward cutting off the enemy at their bases, and well-developed systems of escort and patrol. Still the guns justify their employment if they serve to keep the submarine beneath the surface, force her to use her torpedoes, and hinder her from securing good position and aim for torpedo attack. To accomplish these objects the guns must at least equal those employed in the more recent types of under-water craft. The Navy Department has, in fact, announced that it is putting guns aboard as heavy as the ship's structure and mounts will stand.

In the recent operations off our coast the enemy has confined his encounters almost entirely to unarmed vessels. This, together with favorable Summer weather, has made it possible to avoid some of the illegalities of submarine warfare, though, as shown by the loss of life in the Carolina sinking, the safety of passengers and crew is by no means duly regarded. The arming of our coastwise vessels may perhaps, therefore, be adopted against methods of Schrecklichkeit which are likely to recur at any time.



List of American Merchant Ships Sunk by the Enemy

THE following list of 131 American merchant ships sunk by German submarines, raiders, and mines was compiled by CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from news reports covering the whole period from Jan. 28, 1915, when the William P. Frye, the first American vessel, was torpedoed, to Sept. 3, 1918, when the German submarines ceased their operations in American waters. The American gross tonnage loss foots up in round numbers to 344,000, not counting twenty smaller schooners and fishing vessels whose tonnage could not be ascertained, and whose tonnage figures remain blank in the table. Estimating these at 14,000 tons, the total loss is 358,000 tons. The total number of lives lost—counting the missing as lost—is 447.

KEY TO MARKS.—(*) Sunk by torpedo; (†) Sunk by mine; (‡) Sunk by a raider; (§) Missing.

Name.	Date.	Gross Tonnage.	Lives Lost.	Locality.
Wm. P. Frye,† sailing ship.....	Jan. 28, 1915	3,274	0	South Atlantic.
Evelyn,† steamship.....	Feb. 19, 1915	1,963	1	Borkum Island.
Carib,† steamship.....	Feb. 23, 1915	2,087	3	North Sea.
Greenbrier.....	Mar. 4, 1915	3,331	0	North Sea.
Gulflight,* oil steamer.....	May 1, 1915	3,262	4	Scilly Islands.
Seaconnet,† or *, schooner.....	June 18, 1915	2,294	0	Yarmouth.
Leelanaw,* freighter.....	July 26, 1915	1,924	0	Orkney Islands.
Vincent,† sailing ship.....	Sep. 27, 1915	1,604	0	Cape Orloff.
Lanao,* steamship.....	Oct. 28, 1916	692	0	Portuguese coast.
Columbian,* steamship.....	Nov. 8, 1916	8,579	0	Cape Ortegal.
Chemung,* steamship.....	Nov. 28, 1916	3,032	0	Cape de Gata.
Housatonic,* steamship.....	Feb. 3, 1917	2,643	0	Scilly Islands.
Lyman M. Law,* sailing ship.....	Feb. 12, 1917	1,300	0	Off Sardinia.
Algonquin,* steamship.....	Mar. 12, 1917	1,806	0	West of Bishops Rock.
Vigilancia,* freighter.....	Mar. 16, 1917	4,115	15	Irish coast.
City of Memphis,* freighter.....	Mar. 17, 1917	5,252	0	South of Fastnet.
Illinois,* tanker.....	Mar. 18, 1917	5,220	0	Irish coast.
Phineas W. Sprague, sailing ship.....	Mar. 21, 1917	800	0	.....
Healdton,* tanker.....	Mar. 21, 1917	4,448	21	North Sea.
Aztec,* freighter.....	Apr. 1, 1917	3,725	28	Off Brest.
Marguerite, schooner.....	Apr. 4, 1917	1,553	0	35 miles S. W. Sardinia.
Missourian,* steamship.....	Apr. 5, 1917	6,984	0	Near Porto Mauridio.
Seward,* freighter.....	Apr. 7, 1917	3,271	0	20 miles off Banyuls.
Abraham Woodward,* schooner.....	Apr. 22, 1917	744	0	.....
Margaret B. Rouss,* schooner.....	Apr. 27, 1917	782	2	40 miles off Monaco.
Vacuum,* steamship.....	Apr. 28, 1917	2,551	21	North coast of Ireland.
Rockingham, steamship.....	May 1, 1917	4,365	2	Off Gibraltar.
Hilonian,* freighter.....	May 18, 1917	2,921	4	Off Genoa.
Francis M.,* sailing ship.....	May 18, 1917	1,229	0	Off Gibraltar.
Barbara,* sailing ship.....	May 24, 1917	838	0	Off Gibraltar.
Dirigo,* sailing ship.....	May 31, 1917	3,005	0	English Channel.
Petrolite,* tanker.....	June 10, 1917	3,710	0	Off Gibraltar.
Moreni,* tanker.....	June 12, 1917	4,045	2	Off Gibraltar.
Galena,* sailing ship.....	June 25, 1917	1,048	0	Ushant Island.
Orleans,* steamship.....	July 4, 1917	2,808	4	Off French coast.
Massapequa,* steamship.....	July 7, 1917	3,193	0	Off French coast.
Mary V. Bowen,* schooner.....	July 8, 1917	2,153	0	Mediterranean.
Kansan,* steamship.....	July 9, 1917	7,913	4	Off French coast.
Hildegard,* schooner.....	July 10, 1917	595	0	English Channel.
Grace,* steamship, reported.....	July 17, 1917	4,858	3	Mediterranean.
Archbold,* tanker.....	July 20, 1917	8,264	5	Mediterranean.
Carmela,* bark.....	July 27, 1917	1,379	0	English Channel.
John Hays Hammond,* schooner.....	July 27, 1917	130	0	.....
John Twohy,* schooner.....	July 27, 1917	1,020	0	Off Azores Islands.
Motano,* tanker.....	July 31, 1917	2,730	24	English Channel.
Campana,* tanker.....	Aug. 6, 1917	3,580	0	143 miles w. of Ile de Re.
Christiane,* bark.....	Aug. 7, 1917	363	0	Near Azores.

Name.	Date.	Gross Tonnage.	Lives Lost.	Locality.
Carl F. Cressy,* schooner.....	Aug. 23, 1917	898	0	Coast of Spain.
Laura C. Anderson,* schooner.....	Aug. 30, 1917	960	0	English waters.
Susana,* steamship, reported.....	Sep. 15, 1917	3,613	0	.....
Platuria,* tanker	Sep. 15, 1917	3,445	9	Mediterranean.
Ann J. Trainer,* schooner.....	Sep. 16, 1917	426	0	Off Brest.
Henry Lippitt,* schooner.....	Sep. 23, 1917	895	0	.....
Pauline,* bark	Sep. 25, 1917	1,327	0	.....
Lewis Luckenbach,* steamship.....	Oct. 16, 1917	3,905	11	English Channel.
Jennie E. Richter,* schooner.....	Oct. 16, 1917	647	0	Off Cape Villano, Spain.
Antilles,* transport	Oct. 17, 1917	6,878	70	French coast.
D. N. Luckenbach,* steamship.....	Oct. 27, 1917	2,929	5	Off French coast.
Rochester,* steamship	Nov. 2, 1917	2,551	4	Off Ireland.
Schuylikill,* steamship	Nov. 25, 1917	2,206	0	Mediterranean.
Acteon,* steamship	Nov. 25, 1917	5,000	2	Off Spain.
Harry Luckenbach,* steamship.....	Jan. 6, 1918	2,798	8	.....
Julia Frances,* schooner.....	Jan. 27, 1918	183	0	Portuguese coast.
Monitor,* sailing ship, reported....	Jan. 18, 1918	....	0	Canary Islands.
Owasco,* steamship	Jan. 25, 1918	4,580	2	Off Spanish coast.
Alamance,* steamship	Feb. 5, 1918	4,370	6	Few miles from Liverpool
Santa Maria,* tanker, reported....	Feb. 28, 1918	8,300	0	Off Irish coast.
A. E. Whyland,* schooner.....	Mar. 13, 1918	130	0	.....
A. A. Raven,* steamship	Mar. 14, 1918	3,405	7	English Channel.
Atlantic Sun,* tanker.....	Mar. 18, 1918	2,333	2	Scotch coast.
Chattahoochee,* steamship.....	Mar. 26, 1918	5,088	0	English coast.
Lake Moor,* steamship	Apr. 11, 1918	4,500	46	European waters.
City of Pensacola,* steamship.....	Apr. 29, 1918	705	0	.....
Tyler,* steamship	May 2, 1918	3,928	11	Off French coast.
Wm. Rockefeller,* tanker.....	May 18, 1918	7,157	3	European waters.
J. G. McCullough,* or †, freighter..	May 18, 1918	1,985	1	European waters.
Hattie W. Dunn,* schooner.....	May 25, 1918	436	0	Off Delaware Capes.
Hauptauge,* schooner	May 25, 1918	1,500	0	Off Delaware Capes.
President Lincoln,* transport.....	May 31, 1918	18,168	27	En route to France.
Winneconne,* schooner.....	June 2, 1918	1,896	0	Off Delaware Capes.
Isabel B. Wiley,* schooner.....	June 2, 1918	776	0	Off Delaware Capes.
Sam C. Mengel,* schooner.....	June 2, 1918	1,100	0	Off Delaware Capes.
Jacob M. Haskell,* schooner.....	June 2, 1918	1,778	0	Off Delaware Capes.
Edward H. Cole,* schooner.....	June 2, 1918	1,791	0	50 miles S. E. Barnegat.
Texel,* steamship	June 2, 1918	3,220	0	60 miles off N.Y. Harbor.
Carolina,* steamship	June 2, 1918	5,093	13	Off Delaware Capes.
Edward Baird,* schooner	June 4, 1918	279	0	Off Cape Charles.
Argonaut,* steamship	June 5, 1918	4,826	0	Scilly Islands.
Pinar del Rio, steamship.....	June 8, 1918	2,504	0	75 miles off Md. coast.
Mauban,* freighter, reported.....	June 11, 1918	1,253	0	Off Italian coast.
Californian,* steamship	June 22, 1918	5,658	0	.....
Covington,* transport.....	July 1, 1918	16,399	6	Off French coast.
Westover,* supply ship.....	July 11, 1918	5,000	10	European waters.
Lansford,* schooner	July 21, 1918	830	0	Off Cape Cod.
740,* schooner	July 21, 1918	680	0	Off Cape Cod.
766,* barge	July 21, 1918	527	0	Off Cape Cod.
P. R. R. 403,* barge.....	July 21, 1918	422	0	Off Cape Cod.
Perth Amboy,* tug	July 21, 1918	221	0	Off Cape Cod.
Robert and Richard,* schooner.....	July 22, 1918	140	0	Off Cashe Bank.
Tippecanoe,* steamship	July 25, 1918	6,187	1	.....
Lake Portage,* steamship.....	Aug. 3, 1918	1,998	0	Off French coast.
Rob Roy,* schooner.....	Aug. 4, 1918	....	0	Off Seal Island, Yar-
				mouth coast.
Annie M. Perry,* schooner.....	Aug. 4, 1918	....	0	Off Seal Island.
Muriel,* schooner.....	Aug. 4, 1918	....	0	Off Seal Island.
O. B. Jennings,* tanker.....	Aug. 4, 1918	7,800	0	Off Virginia coast.
Luz Blanca,* tanker	Aug. 5, 1918	....	2	40 miles W. of Halifax.
Merak,* steamship	Aug. 6, 1918	3,224	0	Cape Hatteras.
Stanley L. Seaman,* schooner, rep.	Aug. 10, 1918	....	0	110 miles east of Cape
				Hatteras.
Kate Palmer,* schooner.....	Aug. 10, 1918	....	0	60 miles off Nantucket.
Anita May,* schooner.....	Aug. 10, 1918	....	0	60 miles off Nantucket.
Progress,* schooner.....	Aug. 10, 1918	....	0	50 miles off Nantucket.
Star Buck,* schooner	Aug. 10, 1918	....	0	50 miles off Nantucket.

Name.	Date.	Gross Tonnage.	Lives Lost.	Locality.
Reliance,* schooner	Aug. 10, 1918	....	0	50 miles off Nantucket.
Oldtime,* schooner	Aug. 10, 1918	....	0	50 miles off Nantucket.
Cruiser,* schooner	Aug. 10, 1918	....	0	50 miles off Nantucket.
Earl and Nettle,* schooner.....	Aug. 10, 1918	....	0	50 miles off Nantucket.
Lena May,* schooner	Aug. 10, 1918	....	0	50 miles off Nantucket.
Frederick R. Kellogg,* tanker.....	Aug. 13, 1918	4,450	7	10 miles off Barnegat (salvaged.)
Dorothy Barrett,* schooner.....	Aug. 15, 1918	2,008	0	20 miles off Cape May.
Cubore,* steamship	Aug. 15, 1918	7,300	0	European waters.
Madrugada,* schooner	Aug. 16, 1918	1,613	0	Off Winter Quarter Shoal
Montanan,* steamship	Aug. 16, 1918	6,659	5§	Foreign waters.
Joseph Cudahy,* tanker	Aug. 17, 1918	3,302	13§	700 miles off Eng. coast.
A. Platt Andrews,* schooner.....	Aug. 20, 1918	....	0	Canadian coast.
Lake Edon,* cargo transport.....	Aug. 21, 1918	....	6	European waters.
Sylvania,* schooner	Aug. 21, 1918	136	0	Canadian coast.
Francis J. O'Hara,* schooner.....	Aug. 21, 1918	....	0	Canadian coast.
J. J. Flaherty,* schooner.....	Aug. 25, 1918	162	0	Off Miquelon Island.
Rush, schooner	Aug. 26, 1918	....	0	Off Canadian coast.
Onega,* steamship, reported.....	Sep. 3, 1918	....	26§	Off English coast.
Dora,* steamship	Sep. 4, 1918	7,037	0	400 miles off French coast.

The Submarine War

Recent Depredations and the Steady Gain in New Construction

—A German Shipping Intrigue

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1918]

LOSSES of allied and neutral merchant shipping during July were slightly heavier than during June, as the following figures, in terms of gross tonnage, show:

	British.	Allied & Neutral.	Total.
June	161,062	114,567	278,629
July	176,479	136,532	313,011

Compared with the adjusted losses in May, the July shipping casualties showed a decrease in British vessels lost of 55,300 tons and an increase in allied and neutral vessels of 3,829. Compared with the July figures of 1917 the combined British, allied, and neutral losses showed a decrease of 262,938 tons.

The British losses in July exceeded the building figures in United Kingdom yards by 34,531 gross tons, but during the same month a total of 12,220 tons was completed for British account, reducing the deficit to 22,311, as compared with the average monthly deficit in the first six months of 1918 of nearly 90,000 tons.

The production of 340,145 tons of shipping by American yards brought the total amount of new construction in the

United States to over 2,000,000 tons. A statement issued by the Shipping Board showed that the deliveries for the month had set a new record in America and Great Britain. The deliveries comprised forty-four steel vessels, including one from Japan, totaling 260,645 deadweight tons, and twenty-two wood and composite vessels, totaling 78,500 deadweight tons, a grand total of 340,145 deadweight tons. The greatest previous records were 294,036 deadweight tons in June, constructed in the United States, while, the greatest previous record in Great Britain was in May, when 295,911 deadweight tons were produced.

The August output brought the total for the first year of ship construction in the United States up to 333 vessels, with a total tonnage of 2,190,489. The first delivery was on Aug. 30, 1917. The first million tons was delivered in May, 1918, nine months from the first delivery.

Among the more important American vessels sunk by submarines during the month were the following:

U. S. S. Cubore, 7,300 tons, on Aug. 15.

U. S. S. West Bridge, 8,800 tons, on Aug. 16.

U. S. cargo steamship Joseph Cudahy, 3,302 tons, on Aug. 17.

S. S. Lake Edon, an army chartered cargo transport, on Aug. 21.

S. S. Onega, on Aug. 30.

Fifty-eight members of the crews of these ships were lost or listed as missing.

TROOP TRANSPORT ATTACKED

The large troopship *Persic*, with 2,800 American soldiers on board, was torpedoed Sept. 6 about 200 miles off the English coast, but all on board, including the crew, were saved, and the *Persic* was prevented from sinking by its watertight bulkheads and was afterward beached. This attack marked a new and more desperate enemy policy in that the *Persic* was a unit of a large convoy, and the torpedo was fired despite the presence of warships. The sea was smooth, and the rescue of the troops was made by British and American destroyers, which immediately came alongside, so that the men, instead of getting into lifeboats, clambered down ropes to the decks of the warships. There was no sign of panic among the soldiers, most of whom were from Chicago and Cleveland, and the whole operation of rescue was carried out in swift and orderly fashion. Other destroyers instantly went in pursuit of the submarine, and its destruction was unofficially reported. Several soldiers testified to having seen the U-boat lifted out of the water by a depth bomb and then disappear.

The *Persic* was the fourth American transport torpedoed with troops on the way to the war zone. The other three were the *Tuscania*, the *Moldavia*, and the *Oronsa*. The *Tuscania* was sunk in February, 1918, off the north coast of Ireland with 1,912 officers and men of the Michigan and Wisconsin Guardsmen, of whom 204 were lost. There were only 250 on board the *Oronsa*, and all were saved with the exception of three of the crew, who were drowned when she was torpedoed off the coast of Ireland on April 30, 1918. The *Moldavia* was torpedoed while carrying 500 troops to France from this country, and fifty-five were lost.

The American troop transport *Mount*

Vernon, formerly the German merchant steamship *Kronprinzessin Cecilie*, was torpedoed on Sept. 5, off the coast of France while on its return trip, and thirty-five men of the crew were killed by the explosion of the torpedo. The ship, however, was safely navigated back to a French port. Among those on board, unharmed, was United States Senator James Hamilton Lewis of Illinois. Secretary of War Baker, who was on his way to France in the same part of the Atlantic, later cabled to Secretary Daniels:

I have just visited and viewed the *Mount Vernon*. The high spirited morale of its men and the masterful seamanship of its Captain [Douglas E. Dismukes] and officers made such a stirring story of heroism that I wish all the nations might know the splendid way in which the huge transport met and foiled the attempt to destroy it at sea. The traditions of your service are enriched by the conduct of this occasion.

The attacks upon merchant ships off the Atlantic Coast of the United States and Canada continued until Sept. 3, when they suddenly ceased. The principal victims were fishing vessels. The submarine operations on the Newfoundland banks were supplemented by those of a captured trawler, the *Triumph*, 250 gross tons, which was manned by a crew of twenty-one from the U-boat. Nearly a score of small fishing craft were destroyed before the work of both raider and U-boat mysteriously ceased.

DESTRUCTION OF U-BOATS

The sudden pause in the enemy's submarine raid in United States waters was partly explained on Sept. 10, when the Captain of the American tank steamer, Frank H. Buck, reported to the Navy Department that on Sept. 3 his vessel had sunk a large German submarine far out in the Atlantic in a running fight. The navy's summary of the report was as follows:

On Sept. 3, at 8:25 A. M., an enemy submarine was sighted on the starboard beam at 14,000 yards. The submarine opened fire with two 6-inch guns. We answered fire with forward gun. We saw the shot fall about 400 yards short, and immediately swung stern forward to submarine, using after gun. Our shots were very close to the submarine, and the sub-

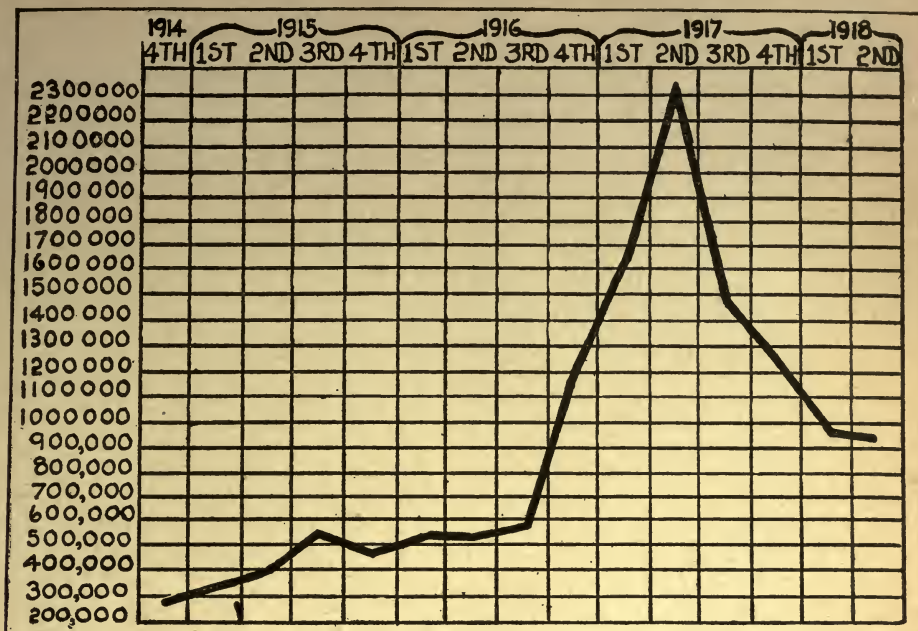


CHART OF SINKINGS OF ALLIED AND NEUTRAL SHIPS UP TO THE MIDDLE OF 1918. SUBMARINE "FRIGHTFULNESS" REACHED ITS CLIMAX IN THE SECOND QUARTER OF 1917 AND HAS STEADILY DECLINED SINCE THEN.

marine's shrapnel was bursting very near to us, some of the pieces falling upon our decks amidships. We changed our course frequently, which seemed to upset the submarine's aim and range. As soon as the submarine saw our range was equal to hers she hauled away from us. Up to that time she had been closing in on us.

Before the submarine could get out of range our twenty-eighth shot from the after gun apparently hit her stern. The twenty-ninth shot hit her just forward of the conning tower, near and under the waterline. The bow immediately shot up into the air very suddenly, then settled and went down out of sight, the stern making a half turn toward us, and then it disappeared.

Upon the shot striking the submarine we saw very closely a terrific explosion and black smoke which enveloped the submarine. I am positive that we destroyed her, as she sank almost instantly after the shot struck her.

The engagement lasted twenty-nine minutes. Some of the fragments of the submarine fell on our deck and were picked up. The submarine was about 300 feet long, of the early type of German submarine, with high bow, and had two 6-inch guns close to the conning tower, fore and aft. She fired in salvos, using about sixty shots all together. She was camouflaged, and flew no flag.

A statement by Premier Lloyd George

in the House of Commons that 150 German U-boat Commanders had been disposed of was substantiated by the publication on Sept. 6 of the names of the officers referred to. Most of them were dead; some were prisoners of war, and a few interned in neutral countries where they took refuge. Among the Commanders named were:

Kapitan Lieutenant Schweiger, who, while in command of the U-20, torpedoed the *Lusitania* in May, 1915. The U-20 was lost on the Danish coast in 1916, but Schweiger survived and was in command of the U-80, which was lost with all hands in September, 1917.

Kapitan Lieutenant Paul Wagenführ, who sank the steamer *Belgian Prince* July 31, 1917, and drowned forty of the crew whom he had ordered to line up on the submarine's deck when the U-boat was about to submerge. His submarine, the U-44, was sunk with all hands about a fortnight later.

Kapitan Lieutenant Rudolph Schneider, who torpedoed the steamer *Arabic* in August, 1915.

The statement added that it was significant that the authors of particularly atrocious crimes had expiated them speedily after their commission. It said

that the names of such men were carefully noted by the British Admiralty, and that special endeavors were made to bring their active careers swiftly to an end.

Several commanders, it was added, had escaped retribution by finding refuge in shore appointments. Prominent among those named as having escaped retribution, but whom the British Navy has on its list, were, according to the statement:

Korvetten Kapitan Max Falentienner, who was responsible for many sinkings of vessels, among them the Norwegian steamer Magda, the Spanish steamer Pena Castillo, the Italian steamer Ancona, and the British steamer Persia.

Kapitan Lieutenant Wilhelm Werner for the sinking of hospital ships.

Korvetten Kapitan Freiherr von Forstner, who, when in command of the U-28, sank the British steamers Falaba and Aguila.

AIRPLANES VERSUS U-BOATS

The use of airplanes to combat submarine warfare is described in a dispatch dated July 23 and sent from Brindisi, Italy, by G. Ward Price, correspondent of The London Times:

About eight times in the last five months the bald statement has appeared in the English press that "British airplanes bombed the Austrian dockyard at Cattaro," and in addition to this there have been half a dozen photographic and reconnaissance flights as well. Few people who have read these stilted official statements realize what they mean.

The air defenses of Cattaro are as formidable as the importance of the base there warrants. There is a tremendous anti-aircraft fire and, besides that, a force of fast Austrian airplanes ready to attack our fliers under conditions of great advantage to themselves. This flight, indeed, which is one of the most important defensive measures against enemy submarines which we possess, is also among the most risky enterprises undertaken anywhere by the Royal Air Force.

Our machines go over the Gulf of Cattaro generally four at a time. They carry about three-quarters of a ton of bombs, and, not content with dropping these, they take some of the best airplane photographs I have ever seen, as illustrations of their work. When you study these pictures, taken in successive raids, you realize the effect which our persistent air attacks have had upon this nest of Austrian sea-serpents. In the first photograph taken, when our machines went over to drop bombs for the first time, you

see about a dozen submarines lying close together in their dockyard on the north side of the gulf, as snug as can be. The Gulf of Cattaro is a long rambling place, divided up into several compartments. They were well inside it, and they felt so safe that they could all lie alongside and be friendly.

When the first bombs began to drop about them, they thought better of this and decided that it would be wiser to separate a little. Accordingly, in the photograph of the next couple of raids you find them divided up, some on one side, some on the other. But even so, they were not safe, and the rule was made that when the British planes came over all the submarines should at once move out into the gulf and submerge. So the next picture shows them all scuttling off like so many water-beetles, with a British bomb in full flight through the air toward them. And in the later photographs it is hard to find any submarines at all. They are all under water, hiding. And even if the submarines themselves are not hit during our raids, as there is good reason to hope they may have been, the workshops and stores are hit.

There were developments of several phases of international questions arising out of the German submarine campaign, the most important being the stand taken by the Spanish Government, (which is described elsewhere.) To compensate Holland for vessels sunk by U-boats Germany turned over to three Dutch shipping companies six ships which were interned in Java ports. The Peruvian Congress on Sept. 5 approved an arrangement reached between the Peruvian and United States Governments for the use of eight German vessels interned at Calao.

The French Government on Aug. 29 issued a decree under which safe conducts issued to neutral vessels by an enemy country would not be recognized by the Allies.

WAGNER'S SHIP INTRIGUE

All the vessels of the American Transatlantic Company and the Foreign Transport and Merchantile Corporation were seized on Sept. 5 by the Alien Property Custodian on the ground that both of these enterprises were entirely German owned. With the seizure of these interests the Government concluded an investigation which began three

years previously, when Richard G. Wagner, President of the newly formed American Transatlantic Company, first endeavored to have eleven so-called Danish steamships transferred to American registry, thereby placing them under the protection of the American flag.

At that time it was charged that the capital with which Wagner purchased the vessels was supplied by Hugo Stinnes, an influential figure in Hamburg shipping circles, and the United States Government for that reason hesitated to register them. Not long afterward, however, Wagner convinced the Government that there was no German money in the enterprise, and the vessels were admitted to American registry. For three years Wagner continued the deception, concealing the real ownership of his corporation from the French, British, and American Governments.

Recently, however, further facts were produced against him, and the renewal of the investigation by the Alien Property Custodian resulted in a complete confession by Wagner, in which he admitted that he had sworn falsely and that the money with which these companies were organized and with which the ships were purchased had been supplied by persons of German affiliations, and that practically no money belonging to American citizens had ever been invested in the companies.

This disclosure was significant in view of the fact that the seizure of four ves-

sels of the Transatlantic Company in 1915,, the Saginaw by the French, the Hocking, the Kankakee, and the Genessee by the British, led to an effort on the part of Ambassador von Bernstorff's staff of propagandists to agitate dissension and a break between this Government and England, on the ground that the vessels were American owned. Under the direction of von Bernstorff this agitation actually assumed nationwide proportions, the general conclusion at that time being that these ships were really American owned.

The value of the ships of the American Transatlantic Company and the Foreign Transport and Mercantile Corporation was indicated, according to the Alien Property Custodian, by the fact that the Hudson Bay Company had offered to pay \$7,500,000 for them, and that Wagner had refused to sell for less than \$8,000,000. When the London Board of Trade objected to the payment of more than \$7,500,000 Wagner refused the offer altogether, although it meant a profit of approximately \$5,000,000, the original investment in the ships having been about \$2,600,000. Again in February, 1917, the Compagnie Generale Transatlantique had a thirty days' option to purchase the ships for \$9,300,000.

Richard G. Wagner, President of the companies, was born in Milwaukee fifty-six years ago. His father was a German, who changed his name from Wagnenknecht to Wagner.

Spain Seizes Ninety German Ships

Spain, where pro-German influences had been particularly strong ever since the outbreak of the war, was at last roused in August, 1918, to vigorous measures as a result of the destruction of Spanish ships by German submarines. Following a meeting of the Cabinet at San Sebastian, the following official statement was issued on Aug. 21:

As a consequence of the submarine campaign more than 20 per cent. of our merchant marine has been sunk, more than 100 Spanish sailors have perished, a considerable number of sailors have been wounded, and numbers have been shipwrecked and abandoned. Ships needed

exclusively for Spanish use have been torpedoed without the slightest pretext, serious difficulties resulting to navigation.

The Government has believed that it is unable, without failing in its essential obligations and without setting aside neutrality, to defer the adoption of measures necessary to guarantee Spanish maritime traffic and to protect Spanish crews and passengers.

Consequently the Government has decided to address the Imperial German Government and declare that, owing to the reduction of tonnage to its extreme limit, it will be obliged in the case of new sinkings to substitute therefor German vessels interned in Spanish ports.

This measure does not imply the confiscation of the ships under definite title. It would be only a temporary solution until the establishment of peace, when Spanish claims also will be liquidated.

Our Ambassador at Berlin has received instructions to bring this decision to the notice of the German Government. The Spanish Government does not doubt that the German Government will appreciate the circumstances determining this resolution and will recognize that Spain, in holding to the neutrality she has practiced since the beginning of the war, has sacrificed many of her rights and legitimate conveniences when it has been possible without affecting the dignity of Spain and her national life.

The decision of the Government to assure for itself sufficient tonnage, which

is indispensable to its existence, does not affect its firm resolve to maintain strict neutrality.

Germany's reply was an energetic protest against the taking over of interned ships. The Spanish Government was informed that Germany could not discriminate in favor of Spain, that the submarine campaign could not be given up, and that it was hoped Spain would remain really neutral.

After a Cabinet meeting on Aug. 31 the Spanish Government decided to take over all the German steamships, numbering about ninety, which were lying in Spanish ports.

The Murder of Captain Fryatt

Official Report by His First Officer

William Hartwell, who was the First Officer of the British steamer Brussels at the time of its capture in 1916, and who is interned in Holland, wrote the following account of the arrest and execution of Captain Fryatt on the second anniversary of his death. Captain Fryatt was killed by the Germans for having tried to ram a submarine that was attacking his ship. Mr. Hartwell's report was sent to C. Busk of the Great Eastern Railway.

SIR: This being the first opportunity since the capture of the Brussels in 1916, I will endeavor to give you details of the capture and happenings up to July 27, this being the date of Captain Fryatt's death. I beg to report that on June 22 the steamship Brussels left Rotterdam with cargo and passengers for Tilbury, stopping at the Hook of Holland. She left the Hook Quay at 11 P. M. on that day, the weather being very fine and clear. All saloon and cabin lights were extinguished before passing the North Pier Light. Directly after passing it, a very bright light was shown from the beach, about four miles north of the Hook, followed by a bright star, such as a rocket would throw. After a lapse of ten minutes this was repeated. On both occasions Captain Fryatt and myself remarked upon it, as we had never seen similar lights on any previous occasions. After passing the Maas Light Vessel, all Board of Trade Regulation Lights were darkened. Five miles west of the light vessel a

very small craft, probably a submarine not submerged, commenced Morseing the letter "S" at intervals. No other lights were visible.

After running for one hour and thirty minutes, an extra sharp lookout was kept for a steamer that was going in the same direction and without lights, the port and starboard lights of the Brussels being put on for the time being. At 12:46 craft without lights were seen at a point on the starboard bow, traveling at a great speed in the opposite direction. These proved to be German destroyers of the latest type, five in all. Two came alongside on the starboard side, and one on the port side, the other two following close behind. During the time the destroyers were approaching their commanders were shouting orders to stop, asking the name of the ship, and threatening to fire on us. No firing occurred, however. As soon as Captain Fryatt was assured that the destroyers were German, he gave orders for all passengers to be ready to take to the boats

if necessary, and quietly instructed me to destroy all dispatches and official papers. His instructions were carried out, and as the last bag was destroyed German seamen, armed with pistols and bombs, appeared on the starboard alleyway. I passed through the saloon to the deck and met more German seamen, who were driving all the crew they could find over the rail on to the destroyers. I was ordered over the rail, but refused to go, and then met the officer who came on board to take charge. He requested me to show him to the bridge, which I did. He greeted Captain Fryatt, and congratulated himself over the great prize.

ANGRY GERMAN OFFICER

Satisfied that all was well, the destroyers left and made for Zeebrugge. The course was given for the Schouwenbank light vessel, and the order was given for full speed ahead, but no reply came from the engine room, as the engineers had been driven over the side with the majority of the crew. This greatly excited the German officer, who drew his revolver and threatened to shoot Captain Fryatt and myself if we failed to assist him, and to blow up the ship if the orders to the engine room were not complied with at once. It was some minutes before the German officer could be convinced that the engineers and most of the crew were on the destroyers. He then ordered his own men to the engine room, and instead of going full speed ahead, the engines were put on full speed astern. This also angered the officer, and matters became very unpleasant on the bridge. I was ordered to go to the engine room to inform the Germans of their mistake. By this time the steam was greatly falling back, owing to the stokers being away, and the order was given that all on board, except Captain Fryatt and myself, should maintain steam till the ship arrived at Zeebrugge. On reaching the Schouwenbank light vessel the German flag was hoisted, and directly after the Flushing mail boat for Tilbury passed quite close.

Captain Fryatt was assured that soon after her arrival at Tilbury the capture of the Brussels would be reported. The Brussels was met and escorted by sev-

eral airplanes to Zeebrugge, where the destroyers were already moored. On arrival at Zeebrugge the Brussels was moored alongside the Mole. The engineers and crew all returned. The crew were sent to their quarters and kept under armed guard. The officers and engineers were placed under a guard in the smokeroom, and Captain the same in his room. The Belgian refugees were closely searched, and landed at Zeebrugge. After a stay of about five hours the Brussels left and proceeded to Bruges under her own steam.

For some reason Captain Fryatt was kept in his cabin, and I was sent to the bridge, not to assist or officiate in any way, but simply to stand under guard and to be questioned at intervals by the Germans if they could get the right answers. During the passage from Zeebrugge to Bruges both sides of the canal were thronged in places, and both the soldiers and the marine Landsturm were greatly excited. On reaching Bruges the crew were taken off and sent to a waiting shed. Only Captain Fryatt and myself, with many German officers, remained on board. After we had been questioned at lunch Captain Fryatt and I were photographed, and we then joined the crew in the shed, being afterward taken to a building in the town. All of us, including stewardesses and twenty-five Russians, were packed in, and there was scarcely standing room.

PACKED IN CATTLE TRUCKS

After some hours, following a request to the prison commandant, the stewardesses were allowed separate quarters in the top of the building. Otherwise they were treated in the same way as male prisoners until they were separated to go to a different camp. At 3 A. M., on June 25, orders came for all to be ready for the train to Germany, the stewardesses joining us at the station. At 5 A. M. we all left, closely packed, in cattle trucks, and on arrival at Ghent we were escorted to very dirty and unhealthy quarters underground. At 5 A. M. on the following day we left Ghent for Germany, via Cologne, where the stewardesses and Russians were separated to go to other camps. After being ex-

hibited at Berlin, as at Hanover and other stations, the rest went to Ruhleben, where they arrived at 5 P. M., June 28. Two days later Captain Fryatt and I received orders to the effect that we were to be prepared to leave the camp at 8 P. M. for Bruges on ship's business.

We arrived at Bruges at 7 A. M., on July 2, after visiting Ostend by mistake on the part of the escort. We reported to the port commandant at 9 A. M., and were taken from him to the town prison and put in cells. From then onward we were treated as criminals. We were occasionally visited by German officials and questioned as to the submarine and other subjects, on which Captain Fryatt made a clear and open statement to the Germans, with nothing condemning to himself. From the time of being placed in the prison at Bruges to July 15 I saw Captain Fryatt and spoke to him on several occasions, after which I never spoke to him until one hour before he was shot.

I will endeavor to make you understand the so-called tribunal or trial. On July 24 Captain Fryatt and myself were questioned and cross-questioned in the prison, and, so far as I could learn, Captain Fryatt never added to or departed from his opening statement. It was then that we were first informed of the tribunal that was to follow. On July 26 we were told to be ready for the tribunal, which was to take place at Bruges Town Hall on the 27th at 11 A. M. On July 27 at 9 A. M. the door of the cell was opened, and an escort was waiting. To my surprise, four of the crew were in the waiting cell. Each man was escorted to the Town Hall, Captain Fryatt and I being the last to go, and placed under a strong guard until the trial began.

At 12 noon Captain Fryatt was called into his place before the so-called bench, and repeated his previous statement. I followed and answered questions that appeared to be ridiculous, not appearing either to defend or condemn Captain Fryatt. At the same time an officer in uniform appeared, and, approaching

Captain Fryatt and myself, informed us in broken English that he was for the defense. The Naval Commandant of the port conducted the trial, and also acted as interpreter. At 4 P. M. the Naval Commandant informed us that all was over so far, and that the decision rested with the naval officers, who had retired to another room, and the verdict would be made known after we had returned to our cells. The officer for the defense then spoke again, and said he would do his utmost to save Captain Fryatt.

CONDEMNED TO BE SHOT

After being again placed in the cells, the chief warder of the prison came to me at 5:30 P. M. and told me I was to go and stop with Captain Fryatt, as that was his last night. I then met Captain Fryatt, who was very much distressed, not so much because of the verdict, but of the unfair and cowardly manner in which everything was done. He told me himself that he was to be shot on the next morning, and after having a talk for about an hour—it was then 6:30 P. M.—the prison official took his watch from his pocket and said that in a short time the escort would be there, and Captain Fryatt would be shot at 7 P. M. The last twenty-five minutes I spent with him were appalling. At 6:55 P. M. I wished him "good-bye," and promised I would deliver his last messages, which were many, and returned to my cell.

Punctually at 7 P. M., a very short distance from the prison walls, a band commenced to play, and poor Fryatt was no more. Late the same evening an official came to my cell and described to me, in the best way he could, how Fryatt died. He was shot by sixteen rifles, the bullets of which penetrated through his heart, carrying with them the clothes he was wearing through the body and out at the back.

Sir, I was and am still proud of Captain Fryatt's manly conduct right up to the last, and I may add that there was not a German present at the trial who could face him.

War Surgery

What Medical Science and the United States Army Hospitals Are Doing for Wounded Soldiers

BRIG. GEN. R. E. NOBLE, Chief of the Overseas Service of the Medical Department of the United States Army, who has 22,000 medical officers under him, estimates that, with 4,000,000 men in France, we shall need in this country 200,000 hospital beds. This includes all necessary service, not only debarkation and general hospitals, which will take care of those returned from abroad, but embarkation and base hospitals, where those who become ill while in training or before sailing are given medical attention. There are forty-two base hospitals in operation at the camps, besides the large one established in New York City by Columbia University, a pioneer in its field, which has trained many attendants and handled some of the early cases of wounded brought from France.

But as a rule it is not considered advisable to send returning sick and wounded to base hospitals. The effect on newly drafted or enlisted men would be deleterious. The most economical plan would be to have one big general hospital with accommodations for, say, 160,000, but the objection to such a plan outweighs its advantages. The depressing psychological effect of such an enormous group of disabled men would retard individual recovery. Besides, the distribution of general hospitals throughout the country provides opportunity for the soldier to be returned close to his home, so that he may receive the cheerful stimulation of visits from his friends and relatives.

When plans already formulated have been carried out, our hospital facilities will be ample, and each general hospital will be fitted for the extended treatment of every known kind of disability.

Americans wounded in battle are first cared for at the base hospitals in France. Only those who will not be sufficiently recovered within six months to return to the front are sent back to the United

States. These are estimated at 15 per cent. of the total wounded. The men to be returned are classified in France according to wounds, sickness, and disability. They are tagged with this classification, so as to expedite upon their arrival their distribution to the different general hospitals.

Two debarkation hospitals are in readiness in New York, one on Ellis Island and the other on Staten Island, and the Greenhut store, Eighteenth Street and Sixth Avenue, is being equipped, giving a total bed capacity of 5,651. Four other debarkation hospitals, three in New York City and one at Long Beach, are being put in readiness. They will practically double existing facilities.

When a patient arrives from overseas, his name, the extent of his injuries, and his condition are promptly communicated to his immediate relatives. As soon as he is able to make the journey, he is sent to a general hospital for special treatment.

GENERAL HOSPITALS

There are twenty-seven general hospitals in this country. They are as follows:

	Normal Capacity.	Maximum Capacity.
Hot Springs, Ark.....	266	286
Fort Bayard, New Mexico..	1,283	1,283
San Francisco	1,197	1,233
Takoma Park, D. C.....	1,560	2,010
Williamsbridge, N. Y.....	977	1,045
Fort McHenry, Md.....	906	1,066
Colonia, N. J., (Rahway)...	539	589
Fort Porter, (Buffalo).....	212	212
Fort Ontario, (Oswego)....	233	471
Fort McPherson, (Atlanta).	1,200	1,900
Rofand Park, Md.....	102	102
Otisville, N. Y.....	566	712
Lakewood, N. J.....	865	865
Cape May, N. J.....	700	700
Biltmore, N. C.....	448	588
Fort Oglethorpe, Ga.....	1,100	1,700
Corpus Christi, Texas.....	255	314
New Haven, Conn.....	200	220
Markleton, Penn.	160	160
Dansville, N. Y.....	250	250
Boston	288	288
Waynesville, N. C.....	316	391

	Normal Capacity.	Maximum Capacity.
Aza'ea, N. C.....	1,000	1,000
Whipple Barracks, Ariz.....	155	207
Denver	1,000	1,000
Richmond, Va.....	284	284
Fort Des Moines, Iowa.....	1,159	1,159
Hoboken, N. J.....	663	763

At many of these hospitals extensive improvements are being made, and some are of entirely new construction. At the Walter Reed Hospital, at Tacoma Park, D. C., where special provisions are made for amputation work, additional hospital buildings are being erected at an estimated cost of \$733,400. At Denver, Col.; Otisville, N. Y., and Azalea, in the heart of the North Carolina Mountains, there will be quarters for 2,650 tubercular patients, constructed at a cost to the Government in round numbers of \$3,000,000. At Norfolk, Va., at the Norfolk Quartermaster Terminal, the Government has spent over \$200,000 to build a new 120-bed hospital. Additional accommodations for 150 nurses have been provided at Fort McPherson, Ga. The Lakewood and Florence in the Pines Hotels at Lakewood, N. J., have been leased for hospital purposes at an annual rental of \$58,600. The capacity of the General Hospital at Fort Oglethorpe, Ga., has been increased by the erection of two-story convalescent barracks.

During the six months ended June 1, 1918, the Government spent \$25,173,477 on new buildings and improvements for army hospitals of all kinds. In August the general hospitals were ready to receive 17,447 patients, and it was estimated that the construction then under way would give an additional 7,027 beds, providing for a total of 24,474 sick and wounded men by the end of 1918. These figures should be augmented by beds for 185 patients in the Mary Imogene Bassett Hospital at Cooperstown, N. Y., which has been offered to and accepted by the Government. Here special attention will be given nervous conditions among aviators. This hospital will have at its command the resources of the Pathological Laboratory of Cooperstown.

The War Department announced on Sept. 9 that the Grand Central Palace in New York City had been leased for use as a surgical reconstruction hospital for

the period of the war and three months after, at an annual rental of \$395,000 and maintenance. It will be remodeled to accommodate 3,000 patients, and is expected to be ready for occupancy by Dec. 1.

Modern medicine and surgery have made the present war the least destructive to human life, in proportion to the numbers engaged, of any in the history of the world. That is what the most eminent physicians and surgeons assert. This statement, considered in conjunction with the length of allied casualty lists, at first seems incredible, but it must be borne in mind that in other wars we reckoned the number engaged in thousands, while in this one the figures run well up in millions, and aside from actual soldiers, in no other conflict have there been within the firing line so many people who were not fighting, but erecting hospitals, barracks, and officers' quarters, treating and nursing wounded, engineering the construction of railroads, storehouses, bridges, and all the means by which a modern army is provisioned, cared for, and transported.

In the civil war 7 per cent. of the soldiers perished yearly. Dr. Woods Hutchinson is authority for the statement that the annual death rate in the allied armies is 3 per cent., while an official survey made for Congress places the French mortality for 1917 as low as 1.375 per cent. Again, during the civil war from 20 to 50 per cent. of those injured in battle never recovered; but now from 70 to 80 per cent. of the wounded are returned to the front within forty days. Of the men who live six hours after being injured 90 per cent. recover, and 95 per cent. of those who reach the casualty clearing houses are saved.

Five-sixths of the deaths in the civil war resulted from what are now known as preventable diseases. The medical catastrophes of the Spanish-American war are still fresh in the recollection of this generation. The havoc which typhoid and other diseases of intestinal origin wrought among the troops who were never engaged in battle is a memory filled with shame. Those diseases were preventable then as now, but medical science had not progressed as it has

in the present day. Modern methods of inoculation and sanitation have triumphed over disease and modern surgeons have accomplished results almost beyond belief.

INOCULATION AGAINST DISEASE

Typhoid has been practically abolished by inoculation. In the civil war there were 79,462 cases of typhoid, and 29,336 deaths. In the Boer war there were 58,000 cases, and 8,000 deaths. In the Spanish-American war, when our army numbered 107,973, there were 20,738 cases of typhoid, and 1,580 deaths. In the United States Army, from Sept. 17 of last year to Jan. 18 (one month longer than the duration of the war with Spain) there were 742,626 men in various camps and cantonments, and only 119 cases of typhoid. Inoculation is now compulsory.

Cholera is under control by disinfecting drinking water and vaccinating against it. Dysentery is being held down to a low rate by water sterilization and latrine sanitation. Preventive measures have robbed spinal meningitis—at one time one of the most baffling and cruel of plagues—of its terrors. Epidemic meningitis, which in earlier wars was dreaded under the name of "spotted fever," is now successfully treated by means of a curative serum. "Trench fever," a sickness which rarely kills, but which is the most prolific source of disability with which our armies have to contend, has not been done away with, but at least its source—the body louse—has been determined, and the question now becomes one of prevention and sanitation.

The most frightful scourges of former wars have been tetanus (lockjaw) and gaseous gangrene. Soil highly fertilized with animal excrement, like that of France, contains in large numbers the spores of tetanus and gaseous gangrene bacilli. From the earth they gain access to the clothing of men. When particles of cloth or dirt, as frequently happens, are carried into wounds by bullets or shell fragments, tetanus or gaseous gangrene, or both, frequently develop. To Dr. C. G. Bull of the Rockefeller Institute belongs the discovery of the antitoxin for

the gas bacillus. Recent experiments have proved that a single serum injection may be made carrying the antitoxins for both tetanus and gaseous gangrene. As soon as possible after a wounded man is picked up he is inoculated, and both of these diseases are now practically under control.

CARREL-DAKIN TREATMENT

The greatest addition to the modern knowledge of antiseptics came through the discoveries of Dr. Dakin in experimenting with chlorine preparations. It remained for Dr. Alexis Carrel to develop a way to use the solution compounded by Dr. Dakin. He worked with Dr. Dakin, and they experimented with 200 antiseptics before the hypochlorite solution was perfected. Dr. Carrel then invented a method of application which made it practical. His work was done in New York, at the Experimental Hospital, built for studying the diseases of the war and treatment of the wounded, and located just below the Rockefeller Institute on Sixty-fourth Street and the East River.

Dr. Carrel's invention is a unique mode of wound irrigation. It consists of a system of little rubber tubes, pierced here and there for the liquid to flow out. The wound is cleansed, the tubes are laid in and fed from a glass container which hangs above the bed. The flow is regulated by stopcocks. Of the wounded treated at Compiègne by this method, 99 per cent. were healed by first intention. Whereas formerly amputations frequently resulted in painful stumps, and the healing process consumed from six to eighteen months, now, when treated with the Dakin solution they heal quickly, and artificial legs can almost always be fitted within from four to six weeks after the treatment is first given.

The latest method of treating wounds includes the excision of all contaminated tissue, muscle, and even bone. This is on the theory that it is better and more economical to do the thing well at first than to risk a spreading of the infection and a second amputation. The use of the knife as a vital factor in cleansing wounds was the discovery of Dr. Pierre Duval of the French Army. Every bit

of infected or suspected tissue is removed. When the wound may be declared "mechanically clean" it is usually closed. That is a matter of surgical technique. Under this treatment many severe wounds heal in two weeks. This means an enormous saving in man power, bandages, nursing, and surgical attention.

In connection with this treatment the transfusion of blood taken from slightly wounded but healthy men, who are willing to make the sacrifice, is freely used. It has been discovered that blood for transfusion can be kept for several weeks without deteriorating. Every casualty clearing station now endeavors to have in its icebox in readiness for emergencies about thirty pints of blood.

CREATING NEW FACES

To another French surgeon, Dr. de Villeon, is due the discovery of a method of operating on the lungs for the successful removal of foreign matter. To expedite the examination of the wounded, the American Army Medical Department has developed a mobile X-ray outfit which may be taken to the front line trenches. A very important phase of surgery is the restoration of faces of persons supposed to be permanently disfigured. To reach the desired effect a photograph of the man, taken before his injury, is studied by a skillful French sculptor who has given three years to this work. He makes a careful model of the face in plaster, which is used by the surgeon as a guide. By transplanting bits of cartilage and bone from the man's ribs or legs, holding them in place by paraffin or the plastic material used by dentists, and then bringing over them portions of skin lifted from the forehead or cheek or neck—skin which is left with some natural attachment to aid its nutrition—a new face is actually built up, and one which is not only agreeable in appearance, but which resembles the man's former likeness. This work is being done in England, where twelve surgeons are working in collaboration with the sculptor. A reconstruction clinic has been established in New York.

In this war, as in no other in history, careful consideration has been given to

the future of individuals who have been crippled in battle. For years in this country more men have annually been totally or partially disabled by industrial accidents than have been incapacitated by the war in Europe. These injured men left to fend for themselves have, in many cases, lost their grip on their self-respect, taken to drink, and, slowly deteriorating, have become either a menace to life and property or wards of the State. Comparatively little of a constructive nature has been done to aid them. There has been no scientific concerted effort in their behalf, and, paradoxically enough, it has remained for war, that great destructive power, to arouse intelligent employers from their apathy toward this enormous economic waste. The application of methods of reclamation to the injured in battle will be bound to have its reaction for good toward those disabled in industrial life.

IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Already our associates in the war have made great strides in the right direction. The reclamation of the crippled is a matter not of sentiment, but of sound common sense. It is better business to train a man to be self-supporting than to provide for his maintenance in an institution at the public expense. The benefit to the race is, in proportion, even greater than that to the individual. Men unfit for further military service may yet be of great use to the nation in industrial fields.

Belgium, whose man-power depletion has been the most severe, was the first nation to use her men over again. It has been a profitable venture. Not only has the large Belgian re-educational centre of Port Villez been self-supporting, but it has repaid to the Belgian Government its first cost. The men receive not only 43 centimes a day, the regular pay of the Belgian soldier, but also 5 to 20 centimes an hour, according to the nature of their work, and, in addition, surplus profits are funded for the men. Forty-three trades are taught at Port Villez. A large part of the output is material, equipment, and tools made for the Belgian Army.

After the war, in all European nations,

the problem of the rehabilitation of the disabled will be an important, perhaps a determining, factor in their economic future. Germany recognizes this. It is stated that Germany uses back of the lines 85 to 90 per cent. of her disabled, and the remaining 10 to 15 per cent. are entirely self-supporting. The German policy is "to make every man self-supporting no matter how little of him there may be left." France has made provision for the vocational training of her wounded soldiers, but complete action has been retarded because of the difficulties of her position. England is teaching those blinded in battle massage, telephone operating, boot repairing, mat making, basket weaving, joinery, poultry farming, and market gardening. Scotland has a National Neurasthenic Hospital for men suffering from shell shock.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Canada has taken most constructive action in this important matter. One of her hospitals best equipped for vocational training consists of the buildings and grounds—800 acres—of the old Ontario Reformatory at Guelph. Here there is a woolen mill, machine, broom, tailor, shoe and woodworking shops, and a lime kiln. A herd of eighty cows furnishes the means for the men to learn dairying. The nearby Ontario Agricultural College teaches them scientific farming. Canada's Military Orthopaedic Hospital at North Toronto has a factory where crippled men learn to make artificial limbs. The Newmarket Convalescent Hospital specializes in mental diseases and their cure through healthful occupation. Whitby Convalescent Hospital has a vocational training building. This work is also done at the Military Hospital at Manitoba and the Red Cross Hospital at Calgary. At Calgary also the Institute of Technology has a special training course in the various crafts, and the University of Saskatchewan provides free education in farm work, while the Department of Agriculture at Saskatchewan is in constant touch with farmers who will take returned men for practical training.

A magazine with the avowed purpose of interesting the public in the recon-

struction of disabled soldiers and sailors is edited in the office of Surgeon General William C. Gorgas. Colonel Roosevelt and Charles M. Schwab were contributors to the August number. Both urged the necessity of viewing the matter from the sane standpoint that a man's real worth is measured by his brains and not by his possession of a full complement of legs and arms. Mr. Schwab makes the striking statement that "it is the duty of the business men of America to take these men at their intrinsic value; to employ them, not from a sense of duty, but *because a trained man who has been taught to think is a valuable asset.*"

From the moment the disabled American soldier comes out from under the influence of the anaesthetic he is constantly reminded that his future is whatever he is willing to make it. A corps of "cheer up" men, themselves cripples of various kinds, has been organized at the base hospitals in France, on hospital transports, and in the reconstruction wards in the United States. Through their efforts, example, and precept the injured man is from the first stimulated to use his brains in his own behalf. The education of his family and relatives is an important factor. They must discard maudlin pity for real helpfulness. They must make the soldier feel that his family, friends, and community expect him to prove himself a real hero by continuing to play a man's part in life, no matter how great his handicap.

PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS

The vocational training of injured and crippled men has three aspects. First, the teaching of light and easy crafts, which may be followed at the bedside or even in bed. The psychological effect of this training is its most valuable result. It is not difficult to imagine the mental condition of a man who, once able-bodied, useful, and active, is now facing life as a semi-invalid—one who will always have to be careful—or who must return to the world minus a leg or an arm. Perhaps he can no longer expect to take up the work which he performed before he gave his health in the service of his country. Unless something is done to rouse him from morbid introspection,

from despair, his recovery will be greatly retarded, or he may die. In case of a lingering convalescence, without hope or a real interest in life, he faces the danger of a deteriorating manhood, an inertia which refuses to be shaken off, a growing willingness to permit himself to be provided for by his friends or by the State. This might happen to men of the highest calibre under adverse conditions; indeed, the more sensitively tuned the nervous system, the more refined and imaginative the individual, the greater the danger.

Here the teacher of bedside vocational training steps in and prescribes an easy task, which is interesting. Many clever men have devoted the spare hours of convalescence to solving a foolish but intricate picture puzzle. The vocational training supplements the interest provided by the picture puzzle with something which is really useful. Under its guidance disheartened men take on a new lease of life. They grow eager, alert, and hopeful.

As their recovery proceeds, the men who are able to move about come under the influence of the curative workshop. Here they are taught to use the ordinary tools of the carpenter and machinist, or perhaps given some light work out of doors. A man with stiff fingers, who looks askance at spring dumbbells and other like apparatus, will cheerfully spend the morning grasping a big duster, cleaning up. An invalid with a stiff ankle is offered, for instance, fret work, where his foot drives the fret saw almost subconsciously while his hands guide the work and his mind is busy with his task. Without knowing it, he is exercising the necessary muscles quite as well as he would on a less absorbing pedal massage or stationary bicycle. All the shops have their special parts in the work. Whatever the men are given to do is designed not only to amuse and interest them, but to exercise the limbs and muscles looking toward the restoration of health, always keeping in view as much as possible the third step—training for their ultimate work in the world. For, unless they are fit to go back to the tasks which they performed before they entered the serv-

ice, they must be given new vocations. The endeavor is to suit a man's training to his personal inclinations as well as to the nature and extent of his disability.

Canadian figures show that 20 per cent. of the men returned unfit for military service require vocational training. Of these one-half must be equipped for an entirely new kind of work.

The report to Congress estimates that for each 1,000,000 men sent overseas 100,000 will be returned unfit, and of these 10,000 will require partial and 10,000 complete vocational training. Of 516 cases treated in four hospitals, 134 men were able to return to full military duty, 210 are fit for limited service, and 172 are eligible for discharge. In the last group twelve are helpless or institutional cases, 121 are able to return to their former occupations, and 39 must have complete vocational training.

WONDERFUL ARTIFICIAL LIMBS

To aid the appearance and efficiency of the crippled, many new and valuable types of artificial arms and legs have been invented. An artificial leg adopted by the Government is the invention of Major David Silver, Medical Corps, U. S. A. It is said that a cripple, after he has become accustomed to it, may learn to walk with almost natural movements. No crutch or support is necessary. The foot movement is simulated by a jointed instep. The invention has been tried successfully by a soldier who had lost both legs. When it is properly clad and booted it is difficult for a casual observer to detect its artificiality.

The Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men at 311 Fourth Avenue, New York City, maintains a training school and acts as a clearing house for men who have been taught. The institute has a room fully equipped with facilities for enabling the cripple to make his own limbs. Here plaster casts of stumps are taken and finished limbs are adjusted. Here, too, are displayed not only artificial feet and legs, but arms and hands almost perfect in their imitation of nature. But the latter are for dress only. At work an armless man uses the devices which will best aid him

to fulfill his task. His working arms are fitted not with hands, but with tools, chucks and hooks, which may be interchangeably adjusted—whatever will most adequately take the place of the hand which he has lost.

Already cripples have been placed in good positions. The Kohler & Campbell Company, the Empire Art Metal Company, the Automatic Company, the Eagle Pencil Company, Untermeyer & Robbins, the Ford Company, and the Fox Film Company are among the large institutions employing reclaimed men.

Pennsylvania is the pioneer State, as such, in enabling injured soldiers to get on their feet again. The Bureau of Employment of the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry maintains card files, which, compiled from a Statewide questionnaire to employers of all kinds of labor, contain a list of

42,111 jobs open to crippled soldiers and sailors. Many of them are skilled tasks which may be performed by men who have lost one or both legs or an arm.

THOUSANDS OF NURSES

By the end of the Summer of 1918 15,000 women had enlisted in the American Army as nurses and been inducted into active service. By the end of the year 28,000 of them will have been mustered in, 20,000 will have been assigned to foreign service, and 8,000 will be on duty with the army in the making, which still remains at home. When the United States became a part of the conflict the army nursing corps numbered only 372 women. On the anniversary of that occasion it was 8,500 strong, with a call for 5,000 more by June and 20,000 more by the end of the year.

A Miracle of the New Surgery

By Harold Begbie

[By arrangement with The London Chronicle]

THE operating room is full of light. It is spacious and uncrowded. The smell of drugs is not oppressive. A little group of quiet people are gathered in the centre. I notice two nurses standing perfectly still. Just beyond these women are three or four men, masked and gloved. I am introduced to Major Gillies, who bows to me and then turns to his patient.

The patient is sitting upon the operating table. He is naked to the waist, and the whole of his flesh is painted a reddish yellow with iodine. It is only by an effort that I can bring myself to look at his face. What I see I dare not describe. I hear one of the greatest surgeons in England whisper to a doctor at my side, "Did you ever see an anaesthetic more perfectly administered?" They are raptured by the perfection of the patient's repose. I can see that the patient is a man and I can see that once upon a time this man had a face; but I am thinking not of the anaesthetist, not even of the damnable wickedness of war; only how

long I shall be able to stand looking at this dreadful creature who is still a man.

Major Gillies is about to operate. The patient's position is not quite suitable. He puts a yellow gloved hand on the patient's yellow shoulder and touches him. The effect upon me is like a shock. What was something like a man, seems of a sudden to be a figure stuffed with straw. The figure flops to one side, soulless, boneless.

"You understand what we are going to do?"

I shake my head.

Major Gillies points with his knife to the man's chest. There, faintly marked on the reddish-yellow flesh, as it were with thin pencil strokes, is the shape of a face. "These spots here are the eyes; this is where the nose will be, and here you see the mouth we shall give him." Good God, it searches me to the bone! That penciled face on the man's chest, like a mask; and above that penciled face on the chest, the old blasted and shattered face that a few days ago had

the beauty and freshness of youth; why do surgeons speak of these things as a landscape gardener of his plans?

Some one whispers to me: "You see those little swellings on the shoulder? Those are bits of bones which have been taken from the man's ribs and placed there to form the cartilage of the nose. What is going to happen is this: the whole face on the chest, when everything is ready, will be lifted up and placed over the disfigured face; the nose will be built up with the cartilage taken from the ribs—it will be lined with the real living skin; the tissue, fed naturally by blood, will grow in its new place like a graft; and then all scars will be removed. The man's face will be as natural and real a face as any in the world."

Very well, let me see how long I can stand it. But how hot it is now, how suffocating! * * *

There is silence now. The knife gets to work. The miracle has actually begun. I glance at the nurses; they are like statues. I watch the dresser at his work. How simply, how easily he follows the surgeon's knife! I am looking below the skin, seeing behind the beautiful covering of man's wonderful but awful body. I begin to feel * * * How hot it is! My mouth is dry. Yes, it is wonderful, most wonderful, this science of surgery. A miracle; but I can't stand it. Let me get out. What a disturbance I should make dropping down in my surplice. Have I the strength to walk across the room? Yes, if I go now. Now, now; as quietly

as I can. * * * Outside the theatre, I am shown photographs. He who shows them to me, a lawyer who has volunteered to serve as registrar, is enthusiastic in a depreciating manner. "Oh, yes," he keeps saying, "we are getting on, getting on; science isn't doing so badly; look at this photograph—not so bad, is it? No, not so bad; oh, yes, we are getting on—getting on."

It is easier, with my surplice off, smoking a cigarette by an open window, thus to follow the wonders of surgery. What photographs these are! Mr. Derwent Wood, the most imaginative of our English sculptors, in the early days of the war made masks for disfigured soldiers, so wonderful that across a room they looked natural. But now surgery is its own sculptor. A revolution has come. A new face is grafted on, and grows there, and becomes a real face—not a mask that hides horror. I am shown photographs so repulsive that they could not be published. A splash of lead in the centre of a boy's face turns it to a caricature so inconceivably laughable that you gasp and shudder. But these are photographs of men when they enter the Queen's Hospital at Sidcup. Look at the last photographs of them before they go back again to the trenches. They are as handsome and smiling as any youth in the world. These new faces are as real as your face, veritable faces, unscarred, lovable, beautiful. And in many cases only six months separate the one photograph from the other. "Oh, yes, we are getting on—not so bad, not so bad."





General Gouraud addressing his cavalry at the time of the pursuit of the Germans northward to the Aisne

THE REVIVAL OF ANCIENT ARMOR IN THE PRESENT WAR



A British soldier of today in armor standing alongside a man in an ancient suit of mail



German hand grenade throwers clad in steel armor

Keeping Our Men Fit Physically and Morally

By EDWARD FRANK ALLEN

[Author of "Keeping Our Fighters Fit"]

THE twin Commissions on Training Camp Activities—one for the War Department and one for the Navy Department—were appointed by Secretary Baker and Secretary Daniels early in the war. In the Summer of 1916, when our troops were encamped on the Mexican border, Secretary Baker sent Raymond B. Fosdick as a special agent of the War Department to study the problem of the soldiers' environment. Conditions in the towns near which the camps were situated were far from satisfactory. There was no provision for any sort of legitimate amusement or relaxation, nothing to compete with the lure of red-light districts and saloons. Many men who under normal conditions would avoid the evils of prostitution and alcohol fall victims in such circumstances.

When Mr. Fosdick made his report to the Secretary of War it became evident that to normalize the conditions obtaining in and around the camps where fighting men were stationed would be to supply competitive forces for combating these evils and their usual attendant result, venereal disease.

The War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities was appointed at the beginning of our war with Germany. Shortly afterward a similar commission was appointed by the Navy Department, and Mr. Fosdick was made Chairman of both. It was the first time in history that a Government had looked beyond the machinery of fighting to the personal and moral welfare of the fighters. Linked together under the supervision of the commissions are such organizations as the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, and the Jewish Welfare Board, all of which minister to the social and religious needs of the men in camp; the American Library Association, which maintains and directs the

camp libraries, and the Playground and Recreation Association of America, which provides for the soldier and sailor when away from camp. Under the direct management of the commissions are the military athletics, camp singing, the Liberty Theatres, and the Division of Law Enforcement, with which are connected sections on social hygiene for both men and women outside the camps.

RESULTS ACHIEVED

Their work has in less than a year and a half shown remarkable results. In the army and navy the venereal disease rate has been reduced 50 per cent., and our country holds the enviable record of having the cleanest set of fighting men in the world. The co-operation of the whole country has been enlisted in the campaign to keep it so, and as a result of the activities of the commissions much social good has been accomplished. Eighty-two cities have abolished their red-light districts; a number of States are establishing reformatories for the rehabilitation of prostitutes and delinquent women and girls; many cities are providing detention houses and venereal disease hospitals where the hardened offender, the beginner, and the young girl may receive attention and provision may be made toward their rehabilitation. Laws and administrative machinery for dealing with prostitution and the liquor traffic have in a large number of States and cities been remodeled in accordance with the War Department's program. There has, in fact, been a nation-wide awakening to the importance of the matter.

"Cheerful environment" is provided by giving the men such a combination of recreation and physical exercise as will modify the abnormality of military camp life. Prominent in the recreational field

are the club facilities of the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, and the Jewish Welfare Board. Their buildings furnish a social background to camp life, a gathering place for the men off duty, where wholesome amusement and relaxation go hand in hand. Freedom from restraint characterizes these clubs. There is usually a player-piano or two and a phonograph, and when the buildings are crowded it is not unusual for all of them to be in use at once. Men are always found writing letters at the desks, for one of the aims of these organizations is to keep the home fires burning. In the chimney corner men congregate to read and smoke, and on the floor of the larger room that is a part of some of the houses there is apt to be a basket ball game in progress.

Every night in the week there is an interesting event in one or more of the buildings. One night there will be a movie show, and the next there may be a boxing exhibition or an amateur vaudeville. Religious services are held from the same platform. And, what is more to the point, no meetings are held by any of the organizations to which all the troops in camp are not invited. Indeed, the admission of such organizations to the army camps and naval training stations was on the express condition that their activities must not be limited to any particular constituency. Denominational and racial lines are disregarded, and a broad spirit of co-operation prevails.

In these buildings, especially the Y. M. C. A., is carried on the educational work of the missions. Some alien soldiers cannot understand English, and the all-inclusive draft has gathered in a small percentage of illiterates. Classes in elementary English have been formed for their instruction, and, further than this, there are courses in languages, especially French, mathematics, history, and other higher branches of learning, many of which serve practical purposes in various lines of military activity. It is estimated that at this time [Sept., 1918] over 100,000 men are enrolled in these educational classes, the majority being students of French.

THE HOSTESS HOUSES

In a similar classification with that of the clubs are the hostess houses, which are maintained by the Young Women's Christian Association. They provide a place wherein the fighting men may meet their womenfolk who visit them in camp. They solve the problem of the woman who arrives at a cantonment tired, hungry, and bewildered, and with no definite idea of how to find the man she has come to see; for, besides a very comfortable and attractive sitting room, there are rest rooms, a cafeteria, and secretaries who can locate the desired person in the shortest possible time. So homelike is the atmosphere of these houses that their use has widened far beyond the original sphere for which they were intended. Their popularity has become a byword, and even the old line officers who at first objected to their having a place in camp are now among their most enthusiastic supporters.

Athletics occupies an important place in the program of the Commissions on Training Camp Activities. Most of the camp athletic directors appointed by the commissions have been made officers, with the rank of Captain, and their work is directed solely toward the task of making better soldiers, the recreational side being merely a valuable by-product. The big idea behind military athletics as directed by Dr. Joseph E. Raycroft, the member of the War Department Commission, and Walter Camp, the member of the Navy Department in charge of this work, is that it is absolutely essential in making a fighting man.

BOXING AND BASEBALL

Take, for instance, the matter of boxing as practiced in the army. Experience has shown that as preliminary instruction in bayonet fighting it is invaluable, for almost every thrust of the bayonet has its counterpart in the manly art. "Bayonet fighting is boxing with a gun in your hands," the soldiers are told, and for the best preparation for hand-to-hand combat the foremost American exponents of boxing have been engaged as instructors in the camps. Boxing, moreover, trains men to be alert and to dis-

regard punishment; it makes determined, aggressive fighters. Other sports as well have a distinct military training value, while participation in recreative activities of an athletic nature counteracts the inevitable monotony of the professional training work and develops a group spirit and solidarity in the various units. Besides, it was recently characterized by one of the leading authorities on mental and nervous diseases as one of the most important factors in preventing the occurrence of the condition known as "shell shock."

Sports today are being promoted on a scale that is unparalleled in history. In one of the Western cantonments there are not infrequently sixteen baseball games going on at the same time in one big field. A football game between teams representing two camps brought in gate receipts of \$40,000. At another camp there are twenty-six football grid-irons, with a seating capacity of 18,000. Games of soccer have frequently occurred in which 400 players have participated, with from eight to ten balls in use. Two thousand men run cross-country races at one time. These are but a few indications of how our men are being made fit for fighting—and after.

LIBRARY BUILDINGS

There are thirty-six library buildings in the various army camps and naval training stations of this country that provide reading matter for the soldiers and sailors. This branch of the commissions' work is handled by the American Library Association under the direction of Dr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, and has already attained to a high degree of usefulness. The buildings are of wood, about a hundred feet long and forty feet wide, and, having been designed by a library architect, they are well adapted to their purpose. There is a librarian in charge of each, and one or more assistants.

The majority of books circulated are fiction, but there is an unusually high percentage of demands for technical books of all kinds, owing to the fact that men have been called to unaccustomed tasks and are reading up on a vast variety of subjects. They are also read-

ing books of information about the war and the countries at war. The following subjects were represented in the circulation of one day at Camp Meade, Md.: French history, mechanics, topography and strategy in war, self-propelled vehicles, hand grenades, field intrenchments, bridges, chemistry, physics, astronomy, geology, hydraulics, electricity, mediaeval history, civil engineering, geography, American history, surveying, materials of construction, general history, masonry and concrete.

Not only do the libraries operate in the training camps, but their service extends also to many smaller posts and to innumerable warships, patrol vessels, and transports. Books are shipped overseas in specially designed cases and distributed by Chaplains, Red Cross workers, and others. Some even find their way into the trenches. The whole service is devoid of "red tape" and is planned to meet the widest possible requirements.

THEATRES FOR SOLDIERS

On the well-substantiated theory that contentment makes for efficiency, the plan of the Commissions on Training Camp Activities for a string of Liberty Theatres in the army camps was built. In each of thirty camps today there is a fully equipped theatre with seating capacity of from 1,200 to 3,000, constructed on the most modern lines as regards utility and safety. Plays that have been successfully tried out on Broadway are presented by capable casts, so that the soldiers may see the same shows as their friends in civil life. The admission prices are 10, 25, and 50 cents, but soldiers who are fortunate enough to have been presented with a "Smileage Book"—which are sold to the public for sending to their soldier friends—pay their way in with coupons.

The Liberty Theatres are also used for the more pretentious motion-picture shows, athletic exhibitions, lectures, amateur performances, and regimental "sings."

Singing is being developed in our army and navy as never before in the history of any nation. As a definite part of camp drill—for so it is regarded by the War

and Navy Departments—it has a distinct military value. A well-known officer said that theoretically music is a gratuity, a luxury, but that practically it has proved itself to be a necessity. These sentiments are typical among military men, and consequently singing in the army and navy is making tremendous progress. Besides promoting morale and esprit de corps, it has a marked physical effect that has been proved again and again when it has been introduced on the march. General Wood recently said, "There isn't anything in the world, even letters from home, that will raise a soldier's spirits like a good, catchy marching tune." Another officer expressed it thus:

It is monotony that kills the men off. A man gets tired of drill, tired of doing the same thing in barracks, even tired of getting shot at. We need company leaders to teach the men new songs; we need instructors to show the men how to get up their own minstrel shows and dramatic entertainments. Everything that can be devised by way of wholesome amusement toward breaking up the monotony is a direct help in making better soldiers and in keeping the standards high.

The commissions have placed a song leader in every army camp and naval training station, and aboard many battleships as well. Their work has shown remarkable results, and its influence is being felt in France today.

The well-being of the soldier and sailor on leave is being provided for by the War Camp Community Service, the organization promoted by the American Playground and Recreation Association, into whose hands this phase of the work was placed by the commissions. There are at this writing over 200 cities and towns which have clubs for the use of the fighting men under the direction of the War Camp Community Service, and many thousands of volunteer workers have given the movement a nation-wide impetus.

It has proved a very satisfactory solution of the problem of social conditions arising from the proximity of camps to cities and from the shore leave of thousands of sailors. These men are assured of sleeping accommodations and food at the lowest possible cost, club facilities without cost, and in many cases the personal hospitality of private families. They are protected against extortion by merchants and others, they are given facilities for sightseeing and attending entertainments, and, best of all, they are made to feel at home in the community.

It must not be forgotten that the work of the Commissions on Training Camp Activities was conceived as an efficiency measure. Its purpose is to make better fighters and better men, and the results thus far attained have more than justified its creation.

American Indians in the War

The total Indian population of the United States is only 335,998. Of these just about half are citizens, 50,000 still wear skins and blankets, while only 30 per cent. read and write English. There are less than 33,000 male Indians of military age. Yet there are over 6,000 Indians in the United States Army, 85 per cent. of them volunteers, and several hundred more in the navy, every one a full citizen. Fourteen tribes are represented in the service, and when young enough the chiefs themselves have enlisted. In rank our Indian soldiers scale down from Major to private, and almost

every branch has lured some Indians. One Indian helps run a flock of balloons, and there are many in the Aviation Corps. Some have become proficient in wireless telegraphy, and there are others scattered through various technical divisions of the army. Wherever Indian soldiers are found they are reported as earnest, efficient, silently observant, and equal to the best. Above all, they are anxious to fight. On the first three Liberty Loans the Indians of the United States subscribed more than \$13,000,000—between \$30 and \$40 per capita.

German Peace Talk After the Retreat

Political Leaders of Germany and Austria-Hungary Change Their Tone in War-Aims Speeches

The allied victories in France provoked a fresh peace offensive among the Central Powers; during August and September the German and Austrian authorities made various statements suggestive of peace overtures. The German Emperor and his chief lieutenants no longer spoke of "a peace with victory"; on the contrary, they declared that the nation was in danger, and that the struggle was being conducted as a war of defense. The chief utterances on this subject are here placed on record.

By KAISER WILHELM

[Message Sent Sept. 5, 1918, to the Municipality of Munich]

THE German people understand the difficulty of the present decisive battles against an enemy filled with hatred, jealousy, and the will to destruction, but has unanimously decided to devote all its strength to defend against its enemies' assaults its sacred soil and its kultur, which it had won in peaceful work.

By FIELD MARSHAL VON HINDENBURG

[Manifesto Issued Sept. 6, 1918]

We are engaged in a severe battle with our enemies. If numerical superiority alone were to guarantee victory, then Germany would long since have lain crushed on the ground. The enemy knows, however, that Germany and her allies are not to be vanquished by arms alone.

[Von Hindenburg then refers to leaflets dropped on the German lines, of which he says 10,000 are gathered up daily. Some of the leaflets, according to von Hindenburg, read: "Your fight is hopeless. America will cook your goose. Your submarines are of no use. We construct more ships than you sink. Your trade is destroyed and we shall cut off your raw materials after the war; then Germany's industries must famish. You shall never see your colonies again." He continues:]

What are the facts? In the east we have forced peace, and in the west we also are strong enough to do so despite the Americans. But we must be strong and united. * * * Why does the enemy incite colored people against the German soldiers? Because he wants to annihilate us.

The enemy knows what strength resides in our State and Empire and endeavors to open wounds in the German body politic with leaflets and rumors. He endeavors to sow dissension and distrust among the Federal States. We seized on Lake Constance many thousands of leaflets which were being sent to Bavaria to stir up feeling against the North Germans. There have always been traitors to the Fatherland, witting and unwitting. They mostly dwell in neutral countries in order not to be obliged to share our battles and deprivations or be executed as traitors. * * * Be on your guard, German Army.

By THE GERMAN CROWN PRINCE

[Authorized Interview Published Sept. 4, 1918, in the Budapest Az Est]

If Germany had wanted war, we should not have chosen this moment. No moment could have been more unfavorable for Germany. How will the end come? Through the enemy perceiving that they are not equal to the winning of their colossal stake, and that they cannot win as much as they are bound to lose.

The enemy attacks and the withdrawal on our front at several places are often wrongly interpreted in some circles. Some of our people are too accustomed to a continuous advance, and when a battle occurs wherein the enemy attacks and we have to defend ourselves, the situation is not always correctly understood. In judging the situation, both military and political, we must never forget one thing—that we are waging a war of defense. The war is one of annihilation only for the enemy, not for us.

We want to annihilate none of our enemies. We mean, however, to hold our own.

Regarding the American forces in France, I've found that the majority don't know what they are fighting for, but we feel, of course, the effect of the entry of the Americans. They have sent over very much material and are now sending very much human material. We speak openly of victory. The word victory must not be understood to mean that we want to annihilate the enemy, but only that we mean to hold our own and not let ourselves be vanquished. The moment England entered the war that was clear to me and I always emphasized it.

It was clear that England would take advantage of the opportunity. Belgium, after all, was only a pretext. England intervened because German competition was unbearable. We are fighting for our existence. I repeat, our aim therefore can only be to safeguard ourselves.

The enemy assault doubtless will continue for some time, but our enemies must themselves see that they will not be able to attain their aim. Our troops are fighting splendidly and I attribute to their courage that such colossal superiority in strength does not crush us.

The French fight brilliantly and are bleeding to death. They do not hesitate at any sacrifice. With the English, the individual man is very good and tenacious, but the leadership is deficient. Among the Americans I've found that the majority do not know what they are fighting for. I asked an American prisoner what they were fighting for and he answered, "For Alsace," and to the question, "Where is Alsace?" he replied, "It's a big lake."

By CHANCELLOR VON HERTLING

[Address to Prussian Upper House, Sept. 5, on Reform and the Franchise]

The Government considers that its task is to bring to fulfillment the royal pledge expressed in the July message. As all the sons of the Fatherland are defending the Fatherland, there is now no question of social discrimination at the next election.

The object is one which I undertook

to achieve when I accepted office and upon which I intend to stand or fall, but it is no question of Ministerial responsibility in the ordinary political sense. My honest conviction is that with this serious question the protection and the preservation of the crown and the dynasty are at stake.

Therefore, endeavor to find a road that leads to an understanding. The Government sees no possibility of approving the bill in the form in which it came from the lower house.

I fully appreciate the scruples regarding the introduction of general, equal suffrage, but at the present time these scruples must give way to greater tasks, namely, the protection of the most precious treasures of our political life—the dynasty and the crown. The Government will exercise no pressure on you.

By BARON BURIAN

Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister

[Address to German Newspaper Men at Vienna, Sept. 10, 1918]

Isn't it a crime against humanity even to think of completely pulling down a structure which has become historical—and which certainly here and there needs improvement, but is only in need of improvement—in order to found a paradise in future on its ruins? The defect in this, however, is that in accordance with the destructive methods of our enemies it can only be created with a much too great sacrifice.

Count the past hecatombs of this war. Think of those to come and ask whether striving to attain war aims at such a price is justifiable—war aims in which the principle of justice is put foremost—without investigating whether an understanding could not be reached by a fair application of that principle.

It is unthinkable that even the most confident hopes of final victory could permit the enemy in the long run to avoid considering whether the most terrific exertions and sacrifices can longer be justified in order to carry through principles which are not the enemy's monopoly or to regulate the affairs of other peoples who can manage them quite as well themselves.

I believe that careful and sincere investigation would bring many on the other side to realize that they often are fighting for imaginary things. It may be an ungrateful task to want to communicate one's own perceptions of things to the enemy.

The enemy group can, if it wishes, convince itself that in all questions of humanity and justice and of future international relations it will encounter on the part of our group no opposition and will be in line with our existing progressive aspirations. But at the same time it will meet our determination to continue steadfastly to stand up for our good right.

Our adversaries need only provide an opportunity in a calm exchange of views—some sort of direct informative discussions is thinkable which would be far from being peace negotiations—of discussing and weighing everything which today separates the belligerent parties, and no further fighting will, perhaps, be needed to bring them closer together.

But I would not delude you with baseless prospects of peace at a moment when the war fever still is shaking the world. I must, however, talk to you of peace because we all honestly want it and because we are certain there is an ever-growing number of like-minded persons in all enemy countries.

We desire to contribute to the best of our ability to a mutual understanding and help to pave a way for conciliation. But, so long as necessary, we shall hold out in a loyal and resolute joint defense.

I am certain that this war must cost this tormented earth a terrible amount of bloodshed and an immeasurable destruction of precious possessions before the end can be reached by the military overthrow of the enemy, if, indeed, this at all is possible.

We are oppressed by the same cares, but we are not downhearted. You can convince yourself here that we, just as in Germany, with head erect and without fear or arrogance, are waging a defensive war, rejecting all responsibility for the prolongation thereof, which was criminally and quite uselessly forced upon us by the enemy.

No party can be sure of the issue until

the end of a war, but it is not to be expected that either party should renounce the possibility of a military victory.

By COUNT CZERNIN

Former Foreign Minister of Austria-Hungary

[Statement at Vienna Sept. 10, 1918]

We must not again try to stray from peace by understanding, or otherwise the war will continue until friend and foe alike have perished. The opposition to disarmament is the greatest test of all obstacles to peace. Therefore, I regard this opposition as a serious mistake.

I must admit that the league of nations is envisaged by Entente statesmen and intends to secure Entente predominance and therefore is unacceptable to us. But I deny that no single form could be found that would impose equal rights and duties upon all States.

From the banks of the Danube this call ought to go forth to the world: "Wake up, wake up from the bad dreams of blood and force, for a new and better future must be shaped. War as a political means must be combated." The day will come when millions in all countries will repeat this call.

By COUNT VITZHUN VON ECKSTAEDT

Foreign Minister of Saxony

[Address at Dresden Sept. 10, 1918]

The more we speak of peace the further away it is. The enemy's means of success have plunged him into a kind of warlike folly which makes conciliation impossible. * * * We must, therefore, hold out. We can trust the army and the high command, but popular confidence is tottering. Why? Because Germany, having no enemy in the Fatherland, becomes too oblivious of the risks incidental to war. We must deal more energetically with enemy agents in our midst. Put forth all our strength into the war and forget our differences. Then we may win.

By Dr. W. S. SOLF

German Colonial Secretary

[Address Before German Society of Berlin Aug. 21, 1918]

The Chancellor declared last month in the Reichstag to all who wished to hear that we do not intend to retain Belgium

in any form whatsoever. Belgium shall arise again after the war as an independent State, vassal to no one. Nothing stands in the way of the restoration of Belgium but the enemy's will to war.

How small a part regard for Belgium plays in the plans of the Entente is most clearly shown by an extract from the American press, which England's Minister of Propaganda, Lord Northcliffe, printed with enthusiastic approval in one of his papers. *THE NEW YORK TIMES* wrote:

Germany's assurance that she does not intend to retain Belgium is neither of interest nor value. The Allies will drive the Germans out of Belgium and France.

Referring to this Lord Northcliffe says in *The Evening News* of July 16:

We rejoice to hear such a clear, resounding voice from America. That is the way to speak. Germany must be destroyed in the sense of *THE NEW YORK TIMES*, we mean destroyed by bloody and absolutely irreparable defeats on the battlefield, so that nothing remains of Germany but the bones of her dead soldiers in France and Belgium. There is no other way.

Thus speak the protectors who for the sake of Belgium have drawn their swords.

I dare say that the safeguarding of our colonial future is not only the aim of our Government and certain groups of individuals, but it has become an aim of the German people. A lively consciousness now extends far into the workers' circles that the retention of our colonies is a vital question for the honor of Germany as a great power. Our colonial war aims are second to no other in national importance. The growing realization of German workers as to Germany's position is especially gratifying in view of the plans of our enemies, which have been clearly revealed during the last few days.

REPLIES TO MR. BALFOUR

Mr. Balfour formally announced Great Britain's claim for the annexation of our colonies and did not hesitate to advance on moral grounds this claim for annexation. He not only concerns himself as to our colonial methods, but goes into high politics with all sails set. Mr. Balfour, in his speech, announced the British creed, which amounts to representing

Britain's right to world domination as something self-evident, and morally annihilating Germany's claim to be a great power.

Mr. Balfour asserts that intellectual Germany is dominated by the mailed fist doctrine. Here there are Chauvinistic jingoes, people who worship the eternal yesterday, and anxiously and without understanding await the approach of a new era. Before the war these people formed a small group without political influence on the Government, which constantly combated them. During the war their number, indeed, has increased, not because the struggle for German supremacy in the world had taken deeper root, but because their ranks were swelled by numerous sober and solicitous patriots.

Among these are many who before the war held high ideals about an understanding of peoples, good-will, and fair play in international relations, but whose political creed broke down under the experiences of the war.

Where does the blame lie? Nowhere but in the spirit which animates our enemies—that spirit which is a dishonor and has turned to scorn the grand ideal of a league of nations by a simultaneous demand for a commercial war against Germany.

If I believed that the spirit which at present seems to prevail in England, which speaks clearly in Mr. Balfour's speech, and which was manifested against us in the Pemberton-Billing case—if I had to believe that this spirit would always have the upper hand in England, then I also would advocate that the war should be fought to the death.

I am, however, firmly convinced that, before the end of the war comes, an intellectual revulsion must and will supervene against this knockout spirit. Otherwise the realization of a league of nations remains a Utopian war aim.

DEFENDS BREST PEACE

Mr. Balfour's second charge is directed against our Eastern policy. To this I reply that the Brest-Litovsk peace came about by agreement between the Russian and German Governments; that the

frontier peoples of Russia, after centuries of oppression, should be permitted to live their own national life, for which object they had been striving. This agreement on the fate of the border peoples is a fact of world importance which never can be erased from history.

Not about the aim, but about the ways and means leading to conferring their own national life upon these peoples, did the Russian and German conceptions differ. Our conception was and is that the path to freedom shall not lead through anarchy to wholesale murder. Between the first bursting of the bonds and full capability for self-determination of the border peoples there lies a natural transitory period. Until the regulation forces should co-operate in the various countries, Germany felt called upon to protect these communities in their own, as well as in the general, interest, as indeed she has been called upon to do by both national majorities and minorities.

The Brest-Litovsk peace is a framework, and the picture which is to appear within is only sketched in rough lines.

England forfeited the right to act as moral champion of the Russian border States in their unparalleled time of suffering. During the war they repeatedly appealed to England for help. It was always denied them.

ASSAILS CZECH RECOGNITION

The recognition of the Czechoslovaks—those landless robber bands—as an allied power is the logical keystone of the singular structure of Anglo-Russian friendship.

The economic distress in the territories occupied by us is undoubtedly great, but it is cynicism when England laments this, because her hunger blockade is directed against the occupied territories just as it is directed against us, against neutrals, and against the whole world. * * *

The time must come when between peoples and peoples something like an impulse of confidence shall germinate; when oppressed human nature shall revolt against false doctrines, hated and threatening to suffocate the innermost human affinities. Mr. Balfour feared such a reaction, and this is precisely why

he directed accusations not solely against the German Government, but against the German people itself. * * * Our enemies do not want peace by negotiation.

There are today groups and men who can be regarded as centres of the European conscience. In these centres there stirs something like recognition of the fact that the way into the open can only be found if the war-waging nations awaken to the knowledge of their common tasks. * * * The victorious march of the common aims is certain. Mr. Balfour can postpone that victory, but he cannot prevent it.

By LORD ROBERT CECIL

British Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs
[Summary of a Reply to Dr. Solf, Issued
Aug. 23, 1918]

Lord Robert said that the British Government had been collecting and soon would publish evidence of Germany's brutality and callousness in governing her colonies, after which the world would agree that the colonies could not be restored to Germany.

Lord Robert said that Dr. Solf's utterances were a very remarkable "essay in psychology," which seemed to indicate that sections of German opinion were beginning to realize that the attitude taken by the Pan Germans must be disastrous to the future of Germany. He added, however, that it was not his view that the Pan Germans were done for, as in the last resort they would always dominate Germany.

The speaker referred to Dr. Solf's statement about Belgium, saying that it appeared to represent an advance toward decency, but it was not clear. He challenged Dr. Solf to say whether he meant that Germany was prepared to give up Belgium and to restore the damage done. "Let him say this in plain language so that the whole world will understand," he added.

The Under Secretary asserted that only a few weeks ago Dr. von Kühlmann (former Minister of Foreign Affairs) was ousted because he said Germany could not have things all her own way, and declared that the German Chancellor (Count von Hertling) also had been

made to explain away a phrase he uttered about the restoration of Belgium.

Referring to the Brest-Litovsk treaty, Lord Robert said that any one who had seen the way the so-called independent States were created would see that it had been done so that they would have as little independence as possible.

"When Foreign Secretary Balfour recently said that the German colonies could not be restored, he was speaking only what the conscience of mankind would have him say." Lord Robert continued: "Premier Lloyd George said months ago that the question of the colonies would be settled at the Peace Conference, but Mr. Balfour's more recent statement ruled out the possibility that they would be restored."

Turning to Dr. Solf's mention of a league of nations, the speaker said:

"Devoted as some of us are to the conception of a league of nations, we see no hope of the success of any such scheme unless preceded by victory, until it is acknowledged by Germany that her whole military system is criminal."

He said that only last April the Germans, in the flush of victory, were talking of a continent from Flanders to Egypt, and saying that the only peace possible was a German peace.

The Under Secretary asserted that as far as the Allies were concerned they had made up their minds that the only way to obtain peace was on the field of battle, and they were determined to carry on the war to victory.

Germany's War Aims in March, 1918

An Instructive Symposium

A German publishing house, Montanus, at Siegen, published a book in March, 1918, containing contributions from nineteen German Deputies—representing all parties except the Minority Socialists—on German war aims. The symposium very clearly revealed the feeling of an overwhelming majority of Germans on the subject of peace terms at the time when the great offensive campaign of 1918 was launched in France. The following extracts were made by The London Times:

HERR WILHELM BLOS, Socialist Member of the Reichstag, writes: "The fundamental condition for us all is that Germany shall remain the conqueror in the world war, or, at any rate, shall not be defeated." Herr Eduard David, the Socialist leader, contributes a violent denunciation of French Socialism, in which he declares that Jaurès was murdered because he possessed evidence of French responsibility for the war, and that the German Socialists only did their duty in defending their assaulted country. David talks a good deal about democracy, but he admits that the German Socialists "agreed to the peace in the East," although "it contains the danger of future wars." On the other hand, they advocate "the self-determination of the peoples," first, because it is "practicable," secondly, because it is "ethical," but finally, because it is "the only

guarantee that the peace will be respected in Russia." Here is the calculation:

However things may shape in Russia, the populations will remain the final Court of Appeal. Thereby we achieve for all time the dissolution of the coalition against us.

Take next the views of the so-called "Liberals" and of the Centre Party. Herr Müller, the well-known Radical Deputy for Meiningen, writes:

After the exclusion of Russia, we must not state any but general points of view; our special demands for Belgium, France, and the Colonies we must hold back for the present. We want no conquests for their own sake; we want them only as permanent security against future assaults and "encirclements," and we need elbow room for our work—not upon a paper, but upon a real foundation. For treaties are today hardly worth the paper they are written on, (sic.) From these two aims everything also will follow—the "freedom of the seas," the assurance of our greatest possible independence of for-

eign imports, and much else. Our new neighbor States in the East must give us settlement land for the increase of our national strength.

The well-known Centre Party leader in the Reichstag, Herr Pfeiffer, says that the war was never anything but an economic duel between Germany and England:

It was a duel, criminally provoked by England, who thought that she was still the stronger, but was already compelled to fear that the existence and the continuation of this strength was being disputed. * * * One can understand the idea of revenge in the case of France and also in the case of Italy, but anybody who looks into the eyes of the English politicians, cold as ice and hard as steel, knows that for them there was no question of real sentiment or ideal patriotism, but that for them only naked business interests turned the scales.

For Herr Pfeiffer the result of the war must be a "greater Germany"—with economic and territorial guarantees, "freedom of the seas," and all the rest of it. Count Spee, Centre Party Deputy in the Prussian Diet, wants merely a German world, finally healed by German kultur. What a blessing it is, he observes, that German statesmen are not compelled to declare their war aims publicly, "like Lloyd George and Clemenceau," who have thus "to expose themselves to the coarsest abuse of their enemies."

Herr Schlee, a National Liberal member of the Reichstag, says:

I cannot see why we should bear the tremendous cost of this war, which was forced upon us. Like Herr Helfferich, I consider it obvious that our enemies, who caused this war, must also bear its cost—in so far as they can in any way be got at. The fact that they have not at present the necessary money is a matter of indifference. They can owe us the money or most of it, pay the interest on the debt, and pay off the debt little by little. * * *

I consider it inadvisable to talk at present about the amount of the war indemnity to be paid to us, and about the extent and the character of the securities which we require. There will be time enough to talk about that after the war, and then we shall also have to see to it that the countries which we take away from our enemies shall be unable to do us any harm in future. For reasons both of law and morality I consider it evident that the German people must be better off

after the war than it was before. During the whole period of its existence the German people has fertilized the whole world with its ideas, and for centuries (sic) it has lived in peace with its neighbors.

Several of the Deputies are much concerned about their duty to God. For example, Count Wilhelm Hoensbroech, a member of the Upper House of the Prussian Diet, sees Islam in revolt against its "oppressors," and Persia, India, and Egypt "in conflagration," and he is much concerned lest Germany should interfere with the judgment of "Divine Providence" upon "proud England." His last word is that all the German demands must "harmonize with national needs and bow to the authority which God has given to the Germans."

As for the avowed Pan Germans, there is an astonishing contribution by Herr Bacmeister. He wants everything. Now that Germany holds the coast of Flanders, she sees for the first time how important it is for her to keep it. She sees that in future her navy must be able to destroy British trade on the outbreak of war. Again, she sees that the fortresses of Liège and Namur, and an enemy Antwerp, are preposterous obstacles to a smooth invasion of France. And it is clear that Germany must have more agricultural land and abundant supplies of fodder and materials of every kind in order to fight the next war in comfort. Germany's war aims, in fact, are dictated by the experience of the last four years. The principles of action are so simple:

The future necessities of Germanism must by themselves alone determine the aims of the war. The interests of Germanism must be satisfied without any consideration for the interests of foreign peoples. Given military and economic necessities, Germany's might must be established even in places where the decision hitherto rested with foreign peoples. Any difficulties which may arise must be faced.

Herr Bacmeister constructs a long list of "necessities." It is obvious that Germany must hold the line of the Meuse and the Sambre. It is equally obvious that Germany must dominate the communications, and therefore must hold the Belgian railways and canals. As for coal and iron, Germany must keep what she wants. Hence she must "correct"

the French and Luxemburg frontiers. In the east, it is obvious that Germany must take plenty of land for the settlement of her peasants. As the alliance with Turkey is vital, the Balkan States must be permanently subordinated to Austria-Hungary, and there must be an end of Serbia. Germany must, of course, dominate the Danube. Indemnities would be good, but a "broadening of the basis" of German economic strength by annexations in east and west, and the recovery of world trade would be better. The only way to settle the Alsace-Lorraine question is by smashing France, and the only way to settle the Italian question is by

smashing Italy. All talk is useless; the power of the sword alone must decide:

It sounds paradoxical, but it is true; a peace by agreement, without a clear military decision, means ultimately the maintenance of the old antagonisms—that is to say, of the causes of war—and so means not a true peace, but an armistice. At the moment when the English Government fears that the continuation of the war will imperil the English Empire, it will be ready for peace. Then the war will be as good as lost. The English Government will not admit this, but will proceed to conversations among the statesmen. Then these conversations will be profitable and successful. Why? Because the power of the sword will have decided.

After the War Is Over

A Striking Appeal for International Partnership in Business During the Transition Period

By PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE

[ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE A LARGE DEPUTATION OF THE CHIEF MANUFACTURERS OF GREAT BRITAIN, WHO SOUGHT A DECLARATION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY TOWARD INDUSTRY AFTER THE WAR]

THERE are two considerations, at least, that delay declarations on the part of the Government as to their final views. First of all, there is the one that our time has been absorbed, especially during the last few months, by the demands of the great battle. The second is, that we must necessarily, in whatever policy we proclaim, keep in touch and be in complete accord, first of all, with our dominions; and, secondly, with our allies. There is a good deal of discussion about a league of nations, and I am certainly one of those who believe in it. But there are two leagues of nations which are already in existence; the first is the British Empire, and the second is the Great Alliance against the Central Powers. And whatever decision we come to must be one in which we can march hand in hand and side by side with those two great league of nations of which we are members. We have been discussing this problem in the course of the last few weeks with the dominions, and we had discussions with our allies in 1916, be-

fore America came in. The Paris resolutions were arrived at in 1916. Up to the present time America has expressed no opinion upon the Paris resolutions, and it is vitally important that the policy of America and the policy of this country should be in complete agreement on economic problems as well as on other problems. All I am permitted to say at the present moment is, that I am very hopeful, because agreement among the Allies on these great problems means that the economic fate of the world will be in the hands of the great allied powers who are federated together at present.

The less we talk of the theories of, the past and the more we deal with the realities and the needs of the present the better the national progress we shall make. I will tell you why. In the war we have been a united people in defending the empire. I want us to be a united people again in the reconstruction of the empire. And more than that. There is nothing which you have said today that would lead me to believe that there are

any insuperable difficulties in our continuing united. You have raised some issues of the most vital importance with regard to our industries. The essential industries of this country must be not merely maintained but strengthened. This war has taught many of us useful lessons, and I hope those lessons are not confined to one party. I have no doubt there are men in the party to which I belong who have been taught many things they did not quite appreciate before. May I respectfully hope that there are men in the other party who also have been taught a few things. These are the days when courage is needed, and there is no greater demand on courage than, when you have made up your mind that a certain course is the right one to take, to take it without any regard to anybody who taunts you that you are inconsistent with what you have done before. The country must come first and not the career or consistency of any man or of any party.

ESSENTIAL INDUSTRIES

During the war we have undoubtedly discovered that there were industries in this country that were essential not merely from the commercial point of view, but from the point of view of national defense and security. Under no conditions, whatever it costs, should we let those industries down in the future. There, I think, we ought to have the most complete agreement, and I do not doubt for a moment that you will get it. The best method of securing those industries against unfair attack, against unfair competition, the best way in which you can secure their development and secure that they shall go on growing and increasing with a view to the strengthening of the country, is a matter which will require the very deepest consideration; and it is a consideration which no Government could possibly avoid giving to it at the earliest possible moment.

There are two or three things which I should like to say upon that particular problem. The longer the war lasts the sterner must be the economic terms we impose on the foe. And I think the sooner he realizes that the better. He

is fighting in order to impose his own economic terms upon the Allies. He will never succeed in doing so. As far as that is concerned we must be in a position to determine the conditions which we regard as fair without having them imposed upon us by the will of the enemy. And if he goes on fighting, imposing greater burdens upon us, destroying our young manhood, and guilty also of outrages which shock humanity and which make it difficult to shake hands with him when the war is over, the sterner will be the terms that will be imposed upon him.

When peace comes I have no doubt that there will be a good deal of confusion, that there will be a time when all the organizing capacity of the nation and all its individual strength will be required in order to prevent something which is worse than confusion. A fact of much importance is that there will be arrears of work which it will take us years to make up, even in manufacture. A great difficulty will be raw material; where to get it and how to get it. Another difficulty will be transport, and you will find that during the first years of peace these will be difficulties that will require special consideration of a totally different character even from that which has been predicted in the very able speeches which have been delivered here today. These questions will demand the most careful consideration. You will require the most complete understanding with our allies and a complete understanding with our dominions, because it is most important that you should carry along with you the people who have contributed with you to the common sacrifices.

VALUE OF STATE AID

No one ever dreams of continuing the present system of control after the war. The strength of this country has been very largely in the ingenuity, the self-reliance, the adaptability, and the resource which come from individual effort.

All the same, do not let us despise what the German has won from combination, and in the future, although I do not in the least deprecate the in-

dividuality which has come out of the old British methods, there is a lesson of the war which even the Germans have taught us, in the effect of the assistance of State action, of State help, of State encouragement, of State promotion, and of combined effort among those who are engaged in all the industries of the country. Let us learn our lessons wherever they come from, even from the Germans.

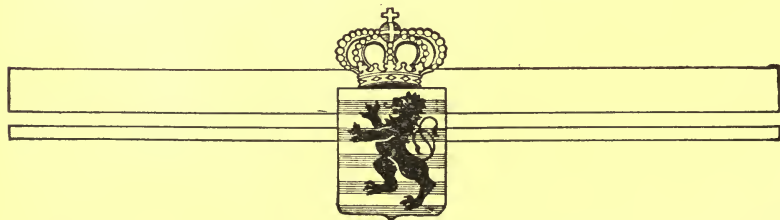
But no one would ever dream of continuing the present system of rigid meticulous interference which is essential in a war. War, if it is to be victorious, must be waged by a disciplined nation; and a disciplined nation must mean interference. You tear a man out of his business—he may be the only one who is conducting it—and you send him away at 1s. 7d., or whatever it is, a day, to a trench in France. That is interfering with a man's business. The war is essentially interfering with business at every turn, and you cannot avoid it. And let me say this: magnificently as the business and industrial community of this country has shown its capacity to organize itself for war—and there has been nothing comparable to it in the whole history of the world—I quite agree that when the war is over all the constant interference which may be absolutely essential now in order to direct and to concentrate the whole strength of the nation upon the war must disappear.

But there are two or three things that must remain even then until we get over the transition period. You are not going

to get raw material without Government interference to a considerable extent. You have also to organize transport. You have got to see that the dominions, who are also in arrears in respect of British manufactures, shall have their fair share. We have to do more than that. We must not forget the countries who have been fighting side by side with us, and who will be entitled to the assistance of Great Britain in the re-equipment of the essential conditions of their industrial and national life. You might have perhaps from an enemy source an order which will be more remunerative to you than an order which would come from Great Britain, from the dominions, or from our allies. I think we ought to see that the people who have been fighting together should be served first. Do not let us make the mistake of dissolving partnership the moment this fighting is over. The world will not come right at once, and, if you dissolve partnership with all these great peoples—a partnership cemented with blood—there will be men quite ready to take advantage of it, even when the war is over.

Therefore, it is vital that when the war is over and when the transition period has come, when there will not be enough to go round, we must keep the partnership going and help each other to the end, so that the brotherhood shall remain.

[The address closed with the statement that what decision was finally reached would be "with the concord and good-will and co-operation which have existed between us and our allies."]



America's War Aims

What the United States Will Demand as a Just and Righteous Peace

By HENRY CABOT LODGE

United States Senator from Massachusetts

[AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, AUG. 23, 1918, BY THE REPUBLICAN LEADER OF THE SENATE]

THE Germans, repulsed and losing, will undoubtedly resort to their other weapon, which they have used more than once during this war with terrible effect. They will begin an insidious and poisonous peace propaganda. With this weapon they have succeeded in disorganizing Russia, reducing that great country to a wreck and removing it for the time being as a military factor. With the same weapon they brought about the Italian defeat on the Isonzo, which was the result of treachery and disintegrating propaganda and not of straight fighting, because the Italians, when unbetrayed, have shown since then at the Piave the finest fighting qualities and have thrown Austria back in crushing defeat.

It is the German propaganda which we shall be obliged to face in the ensuing months, and it therefore seems to me of the last importance to know exactly what we mean by peace. Generalities will not serve. It must be, it is commonly said—we have all said it—a just and righteous peace. But what is a just and righteous peace? What are the conditions that would make it so? What is the irreducible minimum? We intend to make the world safe for democracy. But what exactly do we mean by democracy? If we mean, as we undoubtedly do, the democracy of England, France, Italy, and the United States, we can all understand it; but the Bolsheviki masquerade under the name of democracy, and the Bolsheviki, by a combination of treachery, corruption, and ignorance, have reduced Russia to servitude under Germany and have engendered a form of democracy as dangerous to the world as the Government of the Hohenzollerns.

But assuming, as we do, when we say we must make the world safe for democracy that we mean our own conception of democracy, how is it to be made safe? That, again, is a vague term which must be answered, and can only be answered by definition.

We are fighting and our allies are fighting with us for security; for independence; for the right of nations, great and small, to govern themselves in their own way; for organized races and peoples to have the opportunity to govern themselves in independent States; for the sanctity and observance of treaties; for the general disarmament of nations. How are these things to be secured? The details are really far more important than the general propositions, in which we all agree. Broadly speaking, there is only one way to obtain this security of the nations, this safety of democracy, this preservation of freedom and civilization, and that is by reducing Germany to a condition where by no possibility can she precipitate another war for universal conquest, with all its attendant horrors, upon an unoffending world. Again we are faced by details. How is this to be done? I see only one way in which it can be done, and I will enumerate the results, the hard facts, the essential conditions to which we must attain.

Belgium must be restored.

Alsace and Lorraine must be returned to France—unconditionally returned—not merely because sentiment and eternal justice demand it, but because the iron and coal of Lorraine must be forever taken from Germany.

Italia Irredenta—all those areas where the Italian race is predominant, including Trieste—must go back to Italy.

Serbia and Rumania must be established in their independence.

Greece must be made secure.

Most important of all, if we are to make the world safe in the way we mean it to be safe, the great Slav populations now under the Government of Austria—the Jugoslavs and the Czechoslovaks, who have been used to aid the Germans, whom they loathe—must be established as independent States.

The Polish people must have an independent Poland.

And we must have these independent States created so that they will stand across the pathway of Germany to the east. Nothing is more vital than this for a just, a righteous, and an enduring peace.

The Russian provinces taken from Russia by the villainous peace of Brest-Litovsk must be restored to Russia. The President, as you all remember, has announced the vast importance of sustaining Russia. If Germany continues to hold a large part of Russia, the world for years to come will be under the shadow of another great war which will surely be precipitated upon us when Germany has developed her Russian possessions to the point of yielding her men, money, and supplies.

Constantinople must be finally taken away from Turkey and placed in the hands of the allied nations as a free port, so as to bar Germany's way to the east and hold the Dardanelles open for the benefit of mankind.

We must not be beguiled into concessions to Turkey in the hope of separating her from Germany. It would be a miserable outcome to have Turkey retained in Europe, a curse to her subjects and neighbors, a plague spot, and a breeder of wars. Her massacres must not under any pretense be condoned nor her iniquities rewarded. Let Turkey and Bulgaria share the fate of their master and be so treated that they will be unable again to trouble the world.

Palestine must never return to Turkish rule, and the persecuted Christians of Asia Minor—the Syrians and the Armenians—must be made safe.

These are the principal conditions which alone will give us a victory worth

having, and when we talk about a complete peace and a just and righteous peace, let it be known to all the world that this is what we mean. It is idle to talk about our not annihilating the German people. Nobody, of course, has any such idea. It could not be done even if we wished to do it. We are not engaged in this war to try to arrange a government for Germany. The German people must do that themselves, and they will get precisely the government that they desire and deserve—just as they now have the government they prefer, whose purposes and ambitions and barbarism they share and sustain. Our part and our business is to put Germany in a position where she can do no more harm in the future to the rest of the world. Unless we achieve this we shall have fought in vain. Congress and the President had no right to declare war unless they meant to do precisely this thing. Nothing less would justify our action.

We are pouring out the best blood of the country, the blood of our chosen youth, upon the altar of patriotism. We are making every sort of pecuniary sacrifice. We are bearing an immense burden of taxation. We are mortgaging with our loans the future of coming generations. We have set aside for the time being the Constitution under which individual liberty has been preserved and the country has grown and prospered. We have adopted measures which lead, if unchecked, to the building up on the one hand of a great bureaucracy such as that which crushed and ruined Russia and which on the other are stimulating the development of State socialism. It is our intention to return, as our laws show, to the old restrictions, protections, and rights of the ordered freedom of the Constitution.

We are taking these vast risks, we are bearing these huge burdens, we are making these unspeakable sacrifices of life with a brave and cheerful spirit; but we have no right to do all these things unless we win the prize and reach the goal which alone can warrant and justify them. The results which we must have, and which I have ventured to outline, can never be ob-



The village of Bourresches, at the edge of Belleau Wood, northwest of Château-Thierry, after its capture by Americans, June 7, 1918. (Note the shell holes)

(© Times Photo Service)



Women and children who had remained in Chateau-Thierry during the fighting for the town emerging from their shelters after the Germans were driven back

(© Underwood & Underwood)

tained by a negotiated peace. Lord Lansdowne—and he is not alone—appears to think that this war can be ended by a peace formulated by eminent representatives of the nations in the old way. He does not seem to have gone beyond the methods of 1815 and the Congress of Vienna.

As this war is utterly different from any war that the world has ever known, so must the peace which concludes it be utterly different from any peace which the world has ever known. It cannot be a peace of bargain, of give and take, and of arrangement. No peace that satisfies Germany in any degree can ever satisfy us. It cannot be a negotiated peace. It must be a dictated peace, and we and our allies must dictate it. The victory bringing such a peace must be won inside, not outside, the German frontier. It must be won finally and thoroughly in German territory, and can be so won nowhere else.

In no other way can we secure the safety for which we are fighting. In no other way can we justify the sacrifices we are making. To this supreme end our efforts must be addressed. I do not underrate the difficulties. I do not underestimate the obstacles to be overcome. But the difficulties and the obstacles must alike be crushed, set aside, and overridden. The United States occupies, fortunately, a position in which she

will be able to speak with a powerful voice. We seek no territory, no material gain for our own country. We seek only the safety of civilization and freedom and the assurance of our own absolute independence and our right to live our own lives and settle our own problems in our own way. There is no territory by which we could be bribed or influenced, no trade advantage by which we could be tempted. There is no personal profit which can turn us from the one great object. Our sole purpose is to put Germany finally and completely in a position where she can never again attempt to conquer and ruin the world as she has done in the last four years. This purpose can be accomplished. We shall do it, but we must be above all propositions of a bargained peace, all suggestions of negotiations; deaf to every voice which would divert us from the path; deaf alike to the whimper of the pacifist and to the wheedling or truculent appeal of the helpers of Germany. When Germany is beaten to her knees and the world is made safe by the arrangements which I have suggested, then, and not before, we shall have the just and righteous peace for which we fight. In this way and in no other shall we obtain it. We shall obtain it because we are going to win. Let us but be true to ourselves, and we shall not then be false to any man.

Vagaries of Inventive Minds

The Inventions Department of the British Ministry of Munitions reports having received the following extraordinary suggestions for dealing with hostile aircraft:

The clouds are to be frozen artificially and guns mounted on them; heavy guns are to be suspended from captive balloons; the moon is to be covered with a big black balloon; airplanes are to be armed with scissors or scythes, like Boaricea's chariot, or to trail bombs behind them on a long cord; heat rays are to be projected for the purpose of setting Zeppelins on fire; electric waves to paralyze the magnetos. One of the most popular suggestions of all is to attach a searchlight to an anti-aircraft gun, get the light on the object, and shoot along the beam; but, unfortunately, the path of a shell is quite different from that of a ray of light. To prevent the polished lines of a railway showing at night, the last car of the last train, according to another correspondent, was to *camouflage* them by dribbling blacking as it went along.

Other proposals were: A balloon carrying magnets hung on strings to attract the rifles out of men's hands; a shell to contain fleas or other vermin inoculated with disease; a shell with a man inside it to steer it at the target; the squirting of cement over soldiers so as to petrify them; the sending of snakes into enemy trenches by pneumatic propulsion.

Peace Only Through Victory

By GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK

United States Senator From Nebraska and Chairman of Foreign Relations Committee

[ADDRESS IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, AUG. 27, 1918, FAVORING THE MAN POWER BILL]

AS a nation we are confronted with a great menace and are in the midst of a great world crisis. Not only must we from now on produce the greatest military man power of any nation on our side of the conflict, but we must help to finance our associate nations, help to feed them, and furnish to them much of the raw material and finished products that they require. This means that we must mobilize and conserve our man power at home. The men most valuable at home must be kept at home to support families or to work in essential industries.

The productiveness of the United States must be maintained at its highest point. This means not only the production of the soil and of the industries, but it means also the production of revenues derived from taxes and the production of credit derived from the sale of bonds. This can only be done by taking for military service those least needed in the field of production and business. To make the choice as broad as possible it is necessary at this time, in my opinion, to go as low as 18 years and as high as 45.

To my mind it is almost as important to success that the United States should avoid impairing its powers of production and supply as it is to furnish man power. We must furnish steel and copper and ships and food and lumber and transportation and ammunition and cotton and wool and sugar and coal and motors and hundreds of other products directly needed in the war, not only by ourselves, but by the allied nations. But, more than that, we must furnish money and credit not merely for ourselves, but to some extent for them, and this can only be done by enormous taxes and equally enormous bond sales, and these are only possible while the country is prosperous and productive. To keep it prosperous and productive we must avoid taking men in es-

sential or useful occupations who are important or essential to those occupations.

Nothing less than a great military disaster will burn into the mind of Germany the lesson she must learn if the world is to be made safe for democracy. The German people must become convinced that their system is wrong. They must be shown that the system of military autocracy built up and developed in fifty years is a failure.

When that time comes the German people will be willing to give a guarantee of peace. They will be willing to accept the democratic theory of self-government. They will be willing to agree to the independence of small nations. They will be willing to accept justice in place of force as the international standard, but they will not be ready to do these things and repudiate military autocracy until they have tasted defeat. And, so, I am reconciled to the idea of extending the age limits of the draft, because nothing but a great military triumph can bring a real and a permanent peace. President Wilson expressed the thought in terse and striking phrase at Baltimore, when he declared the purpose of the American people. He said:

Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

Under the present age limits we have raised over 3,000,000 men, without materially encroaching upon those in deferred classifications. Under the proposed extension provided in this bill we can increase our forces to more than 5,000,000 without calling married men who are supporting families and without taking men or boys needed in essential industries.

With such a force the road to victory and to peace may be comparatively short. The harder we hit, the shorter the fight and the lower the cost and loss.



THE LUSITANIA, THE MOST FAMOUS VICTIM OF THE U-BOAT

Sinking of the Lusitania

Judicial Analysis of the Deed by the United States District Court

The Federal District Court of New York, in a decision written by Judge J. M. Mayer and filed Aug. 24, 1918, held that the steamer Lusitania of the Cunard Steamship Company, torpedoed by a German submarine May 7, 1915, was an unarmed merchant vessel which had no explosives of any kind on board. The decision absolves the steamship company from damages in the sixty-seven suits, involving \$6,000,000, that had been brought against it on the ground that the vessel carried ammunition and high explosives, and had been improperly navigated while passing through the submarine zone off the Irish coast. The decision officially reviews the facts, and for the first time pronounces an American judicial verdict regarding one of the most tragic episodes of the war. The full text, constituting a document of profound historical significance, is as follows:

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.—IN THE MATTER OF THE PETITION OF THE CUNARD STEAMSHIP COMPANY, LTD., AS OWNER OF THE STEAMSHIP LUSITANIA, FOR LIMITATION OF ITS LIABILITY.—MAYER, DISTRICT JUDGE:

ON May 1, 1915, the British passenger-carrying merchantman Lusitania sailed from New York bound for Liverpool, with 1,257 passengers and a crew of 702, making a total of 1,959 souls on board, men, women, and children. At approximately 2:10 on the afternoon of May 7, 1915, weather clear and sea smooth, without warning, the vessel was torpedoed and went down by the head in about eighteen minutes, with an ultimate tragic loss of 1,195.

Numerous suits having been begun against the Cunard Steamship Company, Limited, the owner of the vessel, this proceeding was brought in familiar form by the steamship company, as petitione-

to obtain an adjudication as to liability and to limit petitioner's liability to its interest in the vessel and her pending freight, should the court find any liability.

The sinking of the Lusitania was inquired into before the Wreck Commissioner's Court in London, June 15, 1915, to July 1, 1915, and the testimony then adduced, together with certain depositions taken pursuant to commissions issued out of this court and the testimony of a considerable number of passengers, crew, and experts, heard before this court, constitute the record of the cause.

It is fortunate, for many reasons, that such a comprehensive judicial investigation has been had; for, in addition to a mass of facts which give opportunity for a clear understanding of the case in its various aspects, the evidence presented has disposed, without question and for all time, of any false claims brought forward to justify this inexpressibly cow-

ardly attack upon an unarmed passenger liner.

UNARMED: NO EXPLOSIVES

So far as equipment went, the vessel was seaworthy in the highest sense. Her carrying capacity was 2,198 passengers and a crew of about 850, or about 3,000 persons in all. She had 22 open lifeboats capable of accommodating 1,322 persons, 26 collapsible boats with a capacity for 1,283, making a total of 48 boats with a capacity for 2,605 in all, or substantially in excess of the requirements of her last voyage. Her total of life belts was 3,187, or 1,959 more than the total number of passengers, and, in addition, she carried 20 life buoys. She was classed 100 A1 at Lloyd's, being 787 feet long over all, with a tonnage of 30,395 gross and 12,611 net. She had 4 turbine engines, 25 boilers, 4 boiler rooms, 12 transverse bulkheads, dividing her into 13 compartments, with a longitudinal bulkhead on either side of the ship for 425 feet, covering all vital parts.

The proof is absolute that she was not and never had been armed nor did she carry any explosives. She did carry some 18 fuse cases and 125 shrapnel cases, consisting merely of empty shells without any powder charge, 4,200 cases of safety cartridges, and 189 cases of infantry equipment, such as leather fittings, pouches, and the like. All these were for delivery abroad, but none of these munitions could be exploded by setting them on fire in mass or in bulk, nor by subjecting them to impact. She had been duly inspected on March 17, April 15, 16, and 17, all in 1915, and before she left New York the boat gear and boats were examined, overhauled, checked up, and defective articles properly replaced.

There is no reason to doubt that this part of her equipment was in excellent order when she left New York. The vessel was under the command of a long service and experienced Captain and officered by competent and experienced men. The difficulties of the war prevented the company from gathering together a crew fully reaching a standard as high as in normal times, (many of the younger British sailors having been called to the

colors,) but, all told, the crew was good and, in many instances, highly intelligent and capable. Due precaution was taken in respect of boat drills while in port, and the testimony shows that those drills were both sufficient and efficient. Some passengers did not see any boat drills on the voyage, while others characterized the drills, in effect, as formally superficial. Any one familiar with ocean traveling knows that it is not strange that boat drills may take place unobserved by some of the passengers who, though on deck, may be otherwise occupied or who may be in another part of the ship, and such negative testimony must give way to the positive testimony that there were daily boat drills, the object of which mainly was to enable the men competently and quickly to lower the boats.

BOAT DRILLS WERE HELD

Each man had a badge showing the number of the boat to which he was assigned, and a boat list was posted in three different places in the ship. Each day of the voyage a drill was held with the emergency boat, which was a fixed boat, either No. 13 on the starboard side or No. 14 on the port side, according to the weather, the idea, doubtless, being to accustom the men quickly to reach the station on either side of the ship. The siren was blown and a picked crew from the watch assembled at the boat, put on life belts, jumped into the boat, took their places, and jumped out again.

Throughout this case it must always be remembered that the disaster occurred in May, 1915, and the whole subject must be approached with the knowledge and mental attitude of that time. It may be that more elaborate and effective methods and precautions have been adopted since then, but there is no testimony which shows that these boat drills, as practiced on the voyage, were not fully up to the then existing standards and practices. There can be no criticism of the bulkhead door drills, for there was one each day.

In November, 1914, the Directors of the Cunard Company, in view of the falling off of the passenger traffic, decided to withdraw the Lusitania's sister ship, *Mauretania*, and to run the *Lusi-*

tania at three-fourths boiler power, which involved a reduction of speed from an average of about twenty-four knots to an average of about twenty-one knots. The ship was operated under this reduced boiler power and reduced rate of speed for six round trips until and including the fatal voyage, although at the reduced rate she was considerably faster than any passenger ship crossing the Atlantic at that time. This reduction was in part for financial reasons and in part "a question of economy of coal and labor in time of war." No profit was expected and none was made, but the company continued to operate the ship as a public service. The reduction from twenty-four to twenty-one knots is, however, quite immaterial to the controversy, as will later appear.

Having thus outlined the personnel, equipment, and cargo of the vessel, reference will now be made to a series of events preceding her sailing on May 1, 1915.

GERMANY'S WARNING

On Feb. 4, 1915, the Imperial German Government issued a proclamation as follows:

PROCLAMATION

1. The waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel, are hereby declared to be war zone. On and after the 18th of February, 1915, every enemy merchant ship found in the said war zone will be destroyed without its being always possible to avert the dangers threatening the crews and passengers on that account.

2. Even neutral ships are exposed to danger in the war zone, as in view of the misuse of neutral flags ordered on Jan. 31 by the British Government and of the accidents of naval war, it cannot always be avoided to strike even neutral ships in attacks that are directed at enemy ships.

3 Northward navigation around the Shetland Islands, in the eastern waters of the North Sea and in a strip of not less than thirty miles width along the Netherlands coast is in no danger

VON POHL,

Chief of the Admiral Staff of the Navy.
Berlin, Feb. 4, 1915.

This was accompanied by a so-called memorial, setting forth the reasons advanced by the German Government in support of the issuance of this proclama-

tion, an extract from which is as follows:

Just as England declared the whole North Sea between Scotland and Norway to be comprised within the seat of war, so does Germany now declare the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel, to be comprised within the seat of war, and will prevent by all the military means at its disposal all navigation by the enemy in those waters. To this end it will endeavor to destroy, after Feb. 18 next, any merchant vessels of the enemy which present themselves at the seat of war above indicated, although it may not always be possible to avert the dangers which may menace persons and merchandise. Neutral powers are accordingly forewarned not to continue to intrust their crews, passengers, or merchandise to such vessels.

THE AMERICAN PROTEST

To this proclamation and memorial the Government of the United States made due protest under date of Feb. 10, 1915. On the same day protest was made to England by this Government regarding the use of the American flag by the Lusitania on its voyage through the war zone on its trip from New York to Liverpool of Jan. 30, 1915, in response to which, on Feb. 19, Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, handed a memorandum to Mr. Page, the American Ambassador to England, containing the following statement:

It is understood that the German Government had announced their intention of sinking British merchant vessels at sight by torpedoes without giving any opportunity of making any provisions for saving the lives of noncombatant crews and passengers. It was in consequence of this threat that the Lusitania raised the United States flag on her inward voyage and on her subsequent outward voyage. A request was made by the United States passengers who were embarking on board her that the United States flag should be hoisted, presumably to insure their safety.

The British Ambassador, the Hon. Cecil Spring-Rice, on March 1, 1915, in a communication to the American Secretary of State regarding an economic blockade of Germany, stated in reference to the German proclamation of Feb. 4:

Germany has declared that the English Channel, the north and west coasts of France, and the waters around the British

Isles are a war area and has officially notified that all enemy ships found in that area will be destroyed, and that neutral vessels may be exposed to danger. This is in effect a claim to torpedo at sight, without regard to the safety of the crew or passengers, any merchant vessel under any flag. As it is not in the power of the German Admiralty to maintain any surface craft in these waters, this attack can only be delivered by submarine agency.

Beginning with the 30th of January, 1915, and prior to the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, German submarines attacked and seemed to have sunk twenty merchant and passenger ships within about 100 miles of the usual course of the *Lusitania*, chased two other vessels which escaped, and damaged still another.

THE CHANGED COURSE

It will be noted that nothing is stated in the German memorandum, *supra*, as to sinking enemy merchant vessels without warning, but, on the contrary, the implication is that settled international law as to visit and search and an opportunity for the lives of passengers to be safeguarded will be obeyed, "although it may not always be possible to avert the dangers which may menace persons and merchandise."

As a result of this submarine activity, the *Lusitania*, on its voyages from New York to Liverpool, beginning with that of Jan. 30, 1915, steered a course further off from the south coast of Ireland than formerly.

In addition, after the German proclamation of Feb. 4, 1915, the *Lusitania* had its boats swung out and provisioned while passing through the danger zone, did not use its wireless for sending messages, and did not stop at the Mersey Bar for a pilot, but came directly up to its berth.

The petitioner and the master of the *Lusitania* received certain advices from the British Admiralty on Feb. 10, 1915, as follows:

Instructions with Reference to Submarines, 10th February, 1915.

Vessels navigating in submarine areas should have their boats turned out and fully provisioned. The danger is greatest in the vicinity of ports and off prominent headlands on the coast. Important landfalls in this area should be made after

dark whenever possible. So far as is consistent with particular trades and state of tides, vessels should make their ports at dawn.

On April 15 and 16, 1915, and after the last voyage from New York, preceding the one on which the *Lusitania* was torpedoed, the Cunard Company and the master of the *Lusitania* received at Liverpool the following advices from the British Admiralty:

Confidential Daily Voyage Notice 15th April, 1915, issued under Government War Risks Scheme.

German submarines appear to be operating chiefly off prominent headlands and landfalls. Ships should give prominent headlands a wide berth.

Confidential memo. issued 16th April, 1915:

War experience has shown that fast steamers can considerably reduce the chance of successful surprise submarine attacks by zigzagging—that is to say, altering the course at short and irregular intervals, say in ten minutes to half an hour. This course is almost invariably adopted by warships when cruising in an area known to be infested by submarines. The underwater speed of a submarine is very slow and it is exceedingly difficult for her to get into position to deliver an attack unless she can observe and predict the course of the ship attacked.

Sir Alfred Booth, Chairman of the Cunard Line, was a member of the War Risks Committee at Liverpool, consisting of ship owners, representatives of the Board of Trade and the Admiralty, which received these instructions and passed them on to the owners of vessels, including the Cunard Company, which distributed them to the individual masters.

On Saturday, May 1, 1915, the advertised sailing date of the *Lusitania* from New York to Liverpool on the voyage on which she was subsequently sunk, there appeared the following advertisement in THE NEW YORK TIMES, New York Tribune, New York Sun, New York Herald, and the New York World, this advertisement being in all instances except one placed directly over, under, or adjacent to the advertisement of the Cunard Line, regarding the sailing of the *Lusitania*:

Travelers intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies. That the zone of war includes the waters

adjacent to the British Isles. That in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain or of any of her allies are liable to destruction in those waters, and that travelers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY,
April 22, 1915. Washington, D. C.

CUNARD LINE NOT ADVISED

This was the first insertion of this advertisement, although it was dated more than a week prior to its publication. Captain Turner, the master of the vessel, saw the advertisement or "something of the kind" before sailing, and realized that the Lusitania was included in the warning. The Liverpool office of the Cunard Company was advised of the sailing and the number of passengers by cable from the New York office, but no mention was made of the above quoted advertisement. Sir Alfred Booth was informed through the press of this advertisement on either Saturday evening, May 1, or Sunday morning, May 2.

The significance and construction to be given to this advertisement will be discussed infra, but it is perfectly plain that the master was fully justified in sailing on the appointed day from a neutral port with many neutral and non-combatant passengers, unless he and his company were willing to yield to the attempt of the German Government to terrify British shipping. No one familiar with the British character would expect that such a threat would accomplish more than to emphasize the necessity of taking every precaution to protect life and property which the exercise of judgment would invite.

And so, as scheduled, the Lusitania sailed, undisguised, with her four funnels and a figure so familiar as to be readily discernible not only by naval officers and marines, but by the ocean-going public generally.

The voyage was uneventful until May 6. On approaching the Irish coast on May 6 the Captain ordered all the boats hanging on the davits to be swung out and lowered to the promenade deckrail, and this order was carried out under the supervision of Staff Captain Anderson,

who later went down with the ship. All bulkhead doors which were not necessary for the working of the ship were closed, and it was reported to Captain Turner that this had been done. Lookouts were doubled, and two extra were put forward and one on either side of the bridge; that is, there were two lookouts in the crow's-nest, two in the eyes of the ship, two officers on the bridge, and a quartermaster on either side of the bridge.

ALL STEAM POSSIBLE ORDERED

Directions were given to the engine room to keep the highest steam they could possibly get on the boilers, and in case the bridge rang for full speed, to give as much as they possibly could. Orders were also given that ports should be kept closed.

At 7:50 P. M., on May 6, the Lusitania received the following wireless message from the Admiral at Queenstown: "Submarines active off south coast of Ireland," and at 7:56 the vessel asked for and received a repetition of his message. The ship was then going at a rate of 21 knots per hour.

At 8:30 P. M. of the same day the following message was received from the British Admiralty:

To All British Ships 0005:

Take Liverpool pilot at bar and avoid headlands. Pass harbors at full speed; steer mid-channel course. Submarines off Fastnet.

At 8:32 the Admiralty received a communication to show that this message had been received by the Lusitania, and the same message was offered to the vessel seven times between midnight of May 6 and 10 A. M. of May 7.

At about 8 A. M. on the morning of May 7, on approaching the Irish coast, the vessel encountered an intermittent fog, or Scotch mist, called "banks" in seafaring language, and the speed was reduced to 15 knots. Previously the speed, according to Captain Turner's recollection, had been reduced to 18 knots. This adjustment of speed was due to the fact that Captain Turner wished to run the last 150 miles of the voyage in the dark, so as to make Liverpool early on the morning of May 8, at the earliest

time when he could cross the bar without a pilot.

Judging from the location of previous submarine attacks, the most dangerous waters in the Lusitania's course were from the entrance to St. George's Channel to Liverpool Bar. There is no dispute as to the proposition that a vessel darkened is much safer from submarine attack at night than in the daytime, and Captain Turner exercised proper and good judgment in planning accordingly as he approached dangerous waters. It is futile to conjecture as to what would or would not have happened had the speed been higher prior to the approach to the Irish coast, because, obviously, until then the Captain could not figure out his situation, not knowing how he might be impeded by fog or other unfavorable weather conditions.

On the morning of May 7, 1915, the ship passed about twenty-five or twenty-six, and, in any event, at least eighteen and a half miles south of Fastnet, which was not in sight. The course was then held up slightly to bring the ship closer to land, and a little before noon land was sighted, and what was thought to be Brow Head was made out.

SHIP'S SPEED INCREASED

Meanwhile, between 11 A. M. and noon, the fog disappeared, the weather became clear, and the speed was increased to 18 knots. The course of the vessel was S. 87 E. Mag. At 11:25 A. M. Captain Turner received the following message:

Submarines active in southern part of Irish Channel, last heard of twenty miles south of Coningbeg. Light vessel make certain "Lusitania" gets this.

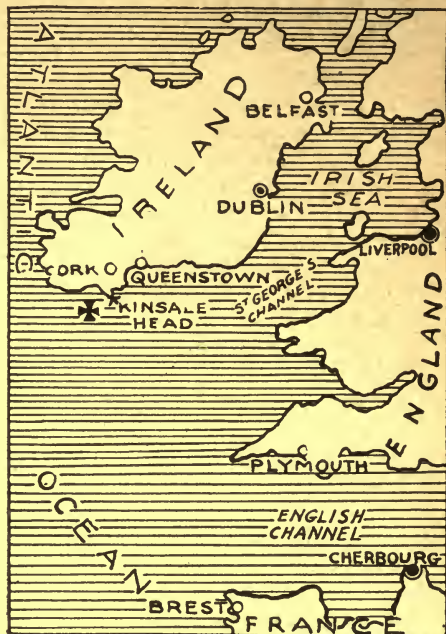
At 12:40 P. M. the following additional wireless message from the Admiralty was received:

Submarines five miles south of Cape Clear, proceeding west when sighted at 10 A. M.

After picking up Brow Head and at about 12:40 P. M., the course was altered in shore by about 30 degrees, to about N. 63, or 67 E. Mag., Captain Turner did not recall which. Land was sighted which the Captain thought was Galley Head, but he was not sure, and therefore held in shore. This last course

was continued for an hour at a speed of 18 knots until 1:40 P. M., when the Old Head of Kinsale was sighted and the course was then changed back to the original course of S. 87 E. Mag.

At 1:50 P. M. the Captain started to take a four-point bearing on the Old



THE CROSS NEAR KINSALE HEAD MARKS THE PLACE WHERE THE LUSITANIA WAS SUNK

Head of Kinsale, and while thus engaged and at about 2:10 P. M., as heretofore stated, the ship was torpedoed on the starboard side. Whether one, two, or three torpedoes were fired at the vessel cannot be determined with certainty. Two of the ship's crew were confident that a third torpedo was fired and missed the ship. While not doubting the good faith of these witnesses, the evidence is not sufficiently satisfactory to be convincing.

There was, however, an interesting and remarkable conflict of testimony as to whether the ship was struck by one or two torpedoes, and witnesses, both passengers and crew, differed on this point, conscientiously and emphatically, some witnesses for claimants and some for petitioner holding one view and

others called by each side holding the opposite view. The witnesses were all highly intelligent, and there is no doubt that all testified to the best of their recollection, knowledge, or impression, and in accordance with their honest conviction. The weight of the testimony (too voluminous to analyze) is in favor of the "two torpedo" contention, not only because of some convincing direct testimony, (as, for instance, Adams, Lehman, Morton,) but also because of the unquestioned surrounding circumstances. The deliberate character of the attack upon a vessel whose identity could not be mistaken, made easy on a bright day, and the fact that the vessel had no means of defending herself, would lead to the inference that the submarine commander would make sure of her destruction. Further, the evidence is overwhelming that there was a second explosion. The witnesses differ as to the impression which the sound of this explosion made upon them—a natural difference due to the fact, known by common experience, that persons who hear the same explosion even at the same time will not only describe the sound differently, but will not agree as to the number of detonations. As there were no explosives on board, it is difficult to account for the second explosion, except on the theory that it was caused by a second torpedo. Whether the number of torpedoes was one or two is relevant, in this case, only upon the question of what effect, if any, open ports had in accelerating the sinking of the ship.

WHERE TORPEDOES STRUCK

While there was much testimony and some variance as to the places where the torpedoes struck, judged by the sound or shock of the explosions, certain physical effects, especially as to smoke and blown-up débris, tend to locate the areas of impact with some approach of accuracy.

From all the testimony it may be reasonably concluded that one torpedo struck on the starboard side somewhere abreast of No. 2 boiler room and the other, on the same side, either abreast of No. 3 boiler room or between No. 3 and No. 4. From knowledge of the torpedoes then

used by the German submarines, it is thought that they would effect a rupture of the outer hull thirty to forty feet long and ten to fifteen feet vertically.

Cockburn, senior Second Engineer, was of opinion that the explosion had done a great deal of internal damage. Although the lights were out, Cockburn could hear the water coming into the engine room. Water at once entered No. 1 and No. 2 boiler rooms, a result necessarily attributable to the fact that one or both of the coal bunkers were also blown open. Thus, one torpedo flooded some or all of the coal bunkers on the starboard side of Nos. 1 and 2 boiler rooms, and apparently flooded both boiler rooms.

The effect of the other torpedo is not entirely clear. If it struck midway between two bulkheads, it is quite likely to have done serious bulkhead injury. The *Lusitania* was built so as to float with two compartments open to the sea, and with more compartments open she could not stay afloat. As the side coal bunkers are regarded as compartments, the ship could not float with two boiler rooms flooded and also an adjacent bunker, and, therefore, the damage done by one torpedo was enough to sink the ship.

To add to the difficulties, all the steam had gone as the result of the explosions, and the ship could not be controlled by her engines.

Little, senior Third Engineer, testified that in a few seconds after the explosion the steam pressure fell from 190 to 50 pounds, his explanation being that the main steam pipes or boilers had been carried away.

The loss of control of and by the engines resulted in disability to stop the engines, with the result that the ship kept her headway until she sank. That the ship commenced to list to starboard immediately is abundantly established by many witnesses.

Some of the witnesses, (Lauriat and Adams, passengers; Duncan, Bestic, and Johnson, officers,) testified that the ship stopped listing to starboard and started to recover and then listed again to starboard until she went over.

This action, which is quite likely, must have resulted from the inrush of water on the port side. There can be no other

adequate explanation consistent with elementary scientific knowledge; for, if the ship temporarily righted herself, it must have been because the weight of water on the two sides was equal or nearly so. The entry of water into the port side must, of course, have been due to some rupture on that side. Such a result was entirely possible, and, indeed, probable.

The explosive force was sufficiently powerful to blow debris far above the radio wires—i. e., more than 160 feet above the water. The boiler rooms were not over sixty feet wide, and so strong a force could readily have weakened the longitudinal bulkheads on the port side in addition to such injury as flying metal may have done. It is easy to understand, therefore, how the whole pressure of the water rushing in from the starboard side against the weakened longitudinal bulkheads on the port side would cause them to give way and thus open up some apertures on the port side for the entry of water. Later, when the water continued to rush in on the starboard side, the list to starboard naturally again occurred, increased and continued to the end. As might be expected, the degree of list to starboard is variously described, but there is no doubt that it was steep and substantial.

A considerable amount of testimony was taken upon the contention of claimants that many of the ship's ports were open, thus reducing her buoyancy and substantially hastening her sinking. There is no doubt that on May 6 adequate orders were given to close all ports. The testimony is conclusive that the ports on Deck F (the majority of which were dummy ports) were closed. Very few, if any, ports on E deck were open, and, if so, they were starboard ports in a small section of the first class in the vicinity where one of the torpedoes did its damage. A very limited number of passengers testified that the portholes in their staterooms were open, and, if their impressions are correct, these portholes, concerning which they testified, were all, or nearly all, so far above the water that they could not have influenced the situation.

There was conflicting testimony as to the ports in the dining room on D deck. The weight of the testimony justifies the conclusion that some of these ports were open—how many it is impossible to determine. These ports, however, were from twenty-three to thirty feet above water, and when the gap made by the explosion and the consequent severe and sudden list are considered, it is plain that these open ports were not a contributing cause of the sinking, and had a very trifling influence, if any, in accelerating the time within which the ship sank.

From the foregoing the situation can be visualized. Two sudden and extraordinary explosions, the ship badly listed so that the port side was well up in the air, the passengers scattered about on the decks and in the staterooms, saloons and companion ways, the ship under headway and, as it turned out, only eighteen minutes afloat—such was the situation which confronted the officers, crew, and passengers in the endeavor to save the lives of those on board.

HEROISM OF PASSENGERS

The conduct of the passengers constitutes an enduring record of calm heroism with many individual instances of sacrifice and, in general, a marked consideration for women and children. There was no panic, but, naturally, there was a considerable amount of excitement and rush and much confusion, and, as the increasing list rendered ineffective the lowering of the boats on the port side, the passengers, as is readily understandable, crowded over on the starboard side.

The problem presented to the officers of the ship was one of exceeding difficulty, occasioned largely because of the serious list and the impossibility of stopping the ship or reducing her headway.

The precaution of extra lookouts resulted in a prompt report to the Captain, via the bridge, of the sighting of the torpedo. Second Officer Heppert, who was on the bridge, immediately closed all watertight doors worked from the bridge, and the testimony satisfactorily shows that all watertight doors worked by hand were promptly closed. Imme-

diately after Captain Turner saw the wake of the torpedo there was an explosion and then Turner went to the navigation bridge and took the obvious course, i. e., had the ship's head turned to the land. He signaled the engine room for full speed astern, hoping thereby to take the way off the ship, and then ordered the boats lowered down to the rail and directed that women and children should be first provided for in the boats. As the engine room failed to respond to the order to go full speed astern, and as the ship was continuing under way, Turner ordered that the boats should not be lowered until the vessel should lose her headway, and he told Anderson, the Staff Captain, who was in charge of the port boats, to lower the boats when he thought the way was sufficiently off to allow that operation. Anderson's fidelity to duty is sufficiently exemplified by the fact that he went down with the ship.

Jones, First Officer, and Lewis, Acting Third Officer, were in charge of the boats on the starboard side and personally superintended their handling and launching. Too much cannot be said both for their courage and skill, but, difficult as was their task, they were not confronted with some of the problems which the port side presented. There, in addition to Anderson, were Bestic, Junior Third Officer, and another officer, presumably the Second Officer. These men were apparently doing the best they could and standing valiantly to their duty. Anderson's fate has already been mentioned, and Bestic, although surviving, stuck to his post until the ship went down under him. The situation can readily be pictured even by a novice.

BOATS WERE DAMAGED

With the ship listed to starboard, the port boats, of course, swung inboard. If enough man power were applied, the boats could be put over the rail, but then a real danger would follow. Robertson, the ship's carpenter, aptly described that danger in answer to a question as to whether it was possible to lower the open boats on the port side. He said:

No. To lower the port boats would just be like drawing a crate of unpacked china along a dock road. What I mean is that if you started to lower the boats you would be dragging them down the rough side of the ship on rivets which are what we call "snap-headed rivets"—they stand up about an inch from the side of the ship, so you would be dragging the whole side of the boat away if you tried to lower the boats with a 15-degree list.

That some boats were and others would have been seriously damaged is evidenced by the fact that two port boats were lowered to the water and got away, (though one afterward filled,) and not one boat reached Queenstown.

Each boat has its own history, (except possibly Boats 2 and 4,) although it is naturally difficult, in each case, to allocate all the testimony to a particular boat.

There is some testimony, given in undoubted good faith, that painted or rusted davits stuck out, but the weight of the testimony is to the contrary. There were some lamentable occurrences on the port side, which resulted in spilling passengers, some of whom thus thrown out or injured went to their death. These unfortunate accidents, however, were due either to lack of strength of the seaman who was lowering, or possibly, at worst, to an occasional instance of incompetency due to the personal equation so often illustrated, where one man of many may not be equal to the emergency. But the problem was of the most vexatious character. In addition to the crowding of passengers in some instances was this extremely hazardous feat of lowering boats swung inboard from a tilted height, heavily weighted by human beings, with the ship still under way. It cannot be said that it was negligent to attempt this, because, obviously, all the passengers could not be accommodated in the starboard boats.

On the starboard side, the problem, in some respects, was not so difficult, while, in others, troublesome conditions existed quite different from those occurring on the port side. Here the boats swung so far out as to add to the difficulty of passengers getting in them, a difficulty intensified by the fact that many more passengers went to the star-

board side than to the port side and, also, that the ship maintained her way. Six boats successfully got away. In the case of the remaining boats, some were successfully lowered but later met with some unavoidable accident, and some were not successfully launched (such as Nos. 1, 5, and 17) for entirely explainable reasons which should not be charged to inefficiency on the part of the officers or crew.

CREW NOT INEFFICIENT

The collapsible boats were on the deck under the open lifeboats, and were intended to be lifted and lowered by the same davits which lowered the open boats after the open boats had gotten clear of the ship. It was the duty of the officers to get the open boats away before giving attention to the collapsible boats, and that was a question of time. These boats are designed and arranged to float free if the ship should sink before they can be hoisted over. They were cut loose and some people were saved on these boats.

It is to be expected that those passengers who lost members of their family or friends, and who saw some of the unfortunate accidents, should feel strongly and entertain the impression that inefficiency or individual negligence was widespread among the crew. Such an impression, however, does an inadvertent injustice to the great majority of the crew, who acted with that matter-in-fact courage and fidelity to duty which are traditional with men of the sea. Such of these men, presumably fairly typical of all, as testified in this court, were impressive not only because of inherent bravery, but because of intelligence and clearheadedness, and they possessed that remarkable gift of simplicity so characteristic of truly fearless men who cannot quite understand why an ado is made of acts which seem to them merely as, of course; in the day's work.

Mr. Grab, one of the claimants and an experienced transatlantic traveler, concisely summed up the situation when he said:

They were doing the best they could—they were very brave and working as

hard as they could without any fear. They didn't care about themselves. It was very admirably done. While there was great confusion, they did the best they could.

It will unduly prolong a necessarily extended opinion to sift the voluminous testimony relating to this subject of the boats and the conduct of the crew and something is sought to be made of comments of Captain Turner, construed by some to be unfavorable but afterward satisfactorily supplemented and explained, but if there were some instances of incompetency they were very few and the charge of negligence in this regard cannot be successfully maintained.

In arriving at this conclusion, I have not overlooked the argument earnestly pressed that the men were not sufficiently instructed and drilled; for I think the testimony establishes the contrary in the light of conditions in May, 1915.

I now come to what seems to be the only debatable question of fact in the case, i. e., whether Captain Turner was negligent in not literally following the Admiralty advices and, also, in not taking a course different from that which he adopted.

RESPONSIBILITY OF CAPTAIN

The fundamental principle in navigating a merchantman, whether in times of peace or of war, is that the commanding officer must be left free to exercise his own judgment. Safe navigation denies the proposition that the judgment and sound discretion of the Captain of a vessel must be confined in a mental straitjacket. Of course, when movements are under military control, orders must be strictly obeyed, come what may. No such situation, however, was presented either to petitioner or Captain Turner. The vessel was not engaged in military service nor under naval convoy. True, she was, as between the German and British Governments, an enemy ship as to Germany, but she was unarmed and a carrier of not merely noncombatants, but, among others, of many citizens of the United States, then a neutral country, at peace with all the world.

In such circumstances the Captain could not shield himself automatically against error behind a literal compliance

with the general advices or instructions of the Admiralty, nor can it be supposed that the Admiralty, any more than the petitioner, expected him so to do. What was required of him was that he should seriously consider and, as far as practicable, follow the Admiralty advices and use his best judgment as events and exigencies occurred; and if a situation arose where he believed that a course should be pursued to meet emergencies which required departure from some of the Admiralty advices as to general rules of action, then it was his duty to take such course, if in accordance with his carefully formed deliberate judgment. After a disaster has occurred, it is not difficult for the expert to show how it might have been avoided, and there is always opportunity for academic discussion as to what ought or ought not to have been done; but the true approach is to endeavor, for the moment, to possess the mind of him upon whom rested the responsibility.

Let us now see what that responsibility was and how it was dealt with. The rules of naval warfare allowed the capture and, in some circumstances, the destruction of an enemy merchant ship, but, at the same time, it was the accepted doctrine of all civilized nations (as will be more fully considered *infra*) that, as Lord Mersey put it, "there is always an obligation first to secure the safety of the lives of those on board."

The responsibility, therefore, of Captain Turner, in his task of bringing the ship safely to port, was to give heed not only to general advices advanced as the outcome of experience in the then developing knowledge as to submarine warfare, but particularly to any special information which might come to him in the course of the voyage.

Realizing that if there was a due warning, in accordance with international law, and an opportunity, within a limited time, for the passengers to leave the ship, nevertheless that the operation must be quickly done, Captain Turner, on May 6, had taken the full precautions, such as swinging out the boats, properly provisioned, which have been heretofore described. The principal features of the

Admiralty advices were (1) to give the headlands a wide berth; (2) to steer a midchannel course; (3) to maintain as high a speed as practicable; (4) to zig-zag, and (5) to make ports, if possible, at dawn, thus running the last part of the voyage at night.

FOLLOWED HIS INSTRUCTIONS

The reason for the advice as to keeping off headlands was that the submarines lurked near those prominent headlands and landfalls to and from which ships were likely to go. This instruction Captain Turner entirely followed in respect of Fastnet, which was the first point on the Irish coast which a vessel bound from New York to Liverpool would ordinarily approach closely, and, in normal times, the passing would be very near, or even inside of Fastnet. The *Lusitania* passed Fastnet so far out that Captain Turner could not see it. Whether the distance was about twenty-five miles, as petitioner contends, or about eighteen and one-half miles, as claimant calculates, the result is that either distance must be regarded as a wide berth, in comparison with the customary navigation at that point, and, besides, nothing happened there. At 8:30 P. M. on May 6 the message had been received from the British Admiralty that submarines were off Fastnet, so that Captain Turner, in this regard, not only followed the general advices, but the specific information from the Admiralty.

At 11:25 A. M. on May 7 Captain Turner received the wireless from the Admiralty plainly intended for the *Lusitania*, informing him that submarines (plural) were active in the southern part of the Irish Channel and when last heard of were twenty miles south of Coningbeg Light Vessel. This wireless message presented acutely to the Captain the problem as to the best course to pursue, always bearing in mind his determination and the desirability of getting to the Liverpool Bar when it could be crossed while the tide served and without a pilot. Further, as was stated by Sir Alfred Booth, "The one definite instruction we did give him with regard to that was to authorize him to come up

without a pilot." The reasons for this instruction were cogent and were concisely summed up by Sir Alfred Booth during his examination as a witness as follows:

It was one of the points that we felt it necessary to make the Captain of the *Lusitania* understand the importance of. The *Lusitania* can only cross the Liverpool Bar at certain states of the tide, and we therefore warned the Captain, or whoever might be Captain, that we did not think it would be safe for him to arrive off the bar at such a time that he would have to wait there, because that area had been infested with submarines, and we thought therefore it would be wiser for him to arrange his arrival in such a way, leaving him an absolutely free hand as to how he would do it, that he could come straight up without stopping at all. The one definite instruction we did give him with regard to that was to authorize him to come up without a pilot.

The tide would be high at Liverpool Bar at 6:53 on Saturday morning, May 8. Captain Turner planned to cross the bar as much earlier than that as he could get over without stopping, while at the same time figuring on passing during the darkness the dangerous waters from the entrance of St. George's Channel to the Liverpool Bar.

DECISION OF THE CAPTAIN

Having thus in mind his objective, and the time approximately when he intended to reach it, the message received at 11:25 A. M. required that he should determine whether to keep off land approximately the same distance as he was when he passed Fastnet, or to work inshore and go close to Coningbeg Lightship. He determined that the latter was the better plan to avoid the submarines reported in midchannel ahead of him.

When Galley Head was sighted the course was changed so as to haul closer to the land, and this course was pursued until 1:40 P. M., at which time Captain Turner concluded that it was necessary for him to get his bearings accurately. This he decided should be done by taking a four-point bearing, during which procedure the ship was torpedoed. It is urged that he should have taken a two-point bearing or a cross bearing, which would have occupied less time, but if, under all the condi-

tions which appealed to his judgment as a mariner, he had taken a different method of ascertaining his exact distance and the result would have been inaccurate, or while engaged in taking a two-point bearing the ship had been torpedoed, then somebody would have said he should have taken a four-point bearing. The point of the matter is that an experienced Captain took the bearing he thought proper for his purposes, and to predicate negligence upon such a course is to assert that a Captain is bound to guess the exact location of a hidden and puzzling danger.

Much emphasis has been placed upon the fact that the speed of the ship was eighteen knots at the time of the attack instead of twenty-four, or, in any event, twenty-one knots, and upon the further fact (for such it is) that the ship was not zigzagging as frequently as the Admiralty advised or in the sense of that advice.

Upon this branch of the case much testimony was taken, (some in camera, as in the Wreck Commissioners' Court,) and, for reasons of public interest, the methods of successfully evading submarines will not be discussed. If it be assumed that the Admiralty advices as of May, 1915, were sound and should have been followed, then the answer to the charge of negligence is twofold: (1) that Captain Turner, in taking a four-point bearing off the Old Head of Kinsale, was conscientiously exercising his judgment for the welfare of the ship, and (2) that it is impossible to determine whether, by zigzagging off the Old Head of Kinsale or elsewhere, the *Lusitania* would have escaped the German submarine or submarines.

As to the first answer I cannot better express my conclusion than in the language of Lord Mersey:

Captain Turner was fully advised as to the means which in the view of the Admiralty were best calculated to avert the perils he was likely to encounter, and in considering the question whether he is to blame for the catastrophe in which his voyage ended I have to bear this circumstance in mind. It is certain that in some respects Captain Turner did not follow the advice given to him. It may be (though I seriously doubt it) that had he done so

his ship would have reached Liverpool in safety. But the question remains: Was his conduct the conduct of a negligent or of an incompetent man? On this question I have sought the guidance of my assessors, who have rendered me invaluable assistance, and the conclusion at which I have arrived is that blame ought not to be imputed to the Captain. The advice given to him, although meant for his most serious and careful consideration, was not intended to deprive him of the right to exercise his skilled judgment in the difficult questions that might arise from time to time in the navigation of his ship. His omission to follow the advice in all respects cannot fairly be attributed either to negligence or incompetence.

He exercised his judgment for the best. It was the judgment of a skilled and experienced man, and although others might have acted differently, and, perhaps, more successfully, he ought not, in my opinion, to be blamed.

As to the second answer, it is only necessary to outline the situation in order to realize how speculative is the assertion of fault. It is plain from the radio messages of the Admiralty, (May 6, 7:50 P. M., "Submarines active off south coast of Ireland"; May 6, 8:30 P. M., "Submarines off Fastnet"; the 11:25 message of May 7, *supra*; May 7, 11:40 A. M., "Submarines five miles south of Cape Clear, proceeding west when sighted at 10 A. M.,") that more than one submarine was lying in wait for the Lusitania.

LUSITANIA WAS HELPLESS

A scientific education is not necessary to appreciate that it is much more difficult for a submarine successfully to hit a naval vessel than an unarmed merchant ship. The destination of a naval vessel is usually not known, that of the Lusitania was. A submarine commander, when attacking an armed vessel, knows that he, as the attacker, may and likely will also be attacked by his armed opponent. The Lusitania was as helpless in that regard as a peaceful citizen suddenly set upon by murderous assailants. There are other advantages of the naval vessel over the merchant ship which need not be referred to.

It must be assumed that the German submarine commanders realized the obvious disadvantages which necessarily attached to the Lusitania, and, if she had evaded one submarine, who can say what

might have happened five minutes later? If there was, in fact, a third torpedo fired from the Lusitania's port side, then that incident would strongly suggest that, in the immediate vicinity of the ship, there were at least two submarines.

It must be remembered also that the Lusitania was still in the open sea, considerably distant from the places of theretofore submarine activity and comfortably well off the Old Head of Kinsale, from which point it was about 140 miles to the Scilly Islands, and that she was nearly 100 miles from the entrance to St. George's Channel, the first channel she would enter on her way to Liverpool.

No transatlantic passenger liner, and certainly none carrying American citizens, had been torpedoed up to that time. The submarines, therefore, could lay their plans with facility to destroy the vessel somewhere on the way from Fastnet to Liverpool, knowing full well the easy prey which would be afforded by an unarmed, unconvoyed, well-known merchantman, which from every standpoint of international law had the right to expect a warning before its peaceful passengers were sent to their death. That the attack was deliberate and long contemplated and intended ruthlessly to destroy human life, as well as property, can no longer be open to doubt. And when a foe employs such tactics it is idle and purely speculative to say that the action of the Captain of a merchant ship, in doing or not doing something or in taking one course and not another, was a contributing cause of disaster or that had the Captain not done what he did or had he done something else, then that the ship and her passengers would have evaded their assassins.

I find, therefore, as a fact, that the Captain and, hence, the petitioner were not negligent.

The importance of the cause, however, justifies the statement of another ground which effectually disposes of any question of liability.

It is an elementary principle of law that even if a person is negligent recovery cannot be had unless the negligence is the proximate cause of the loss or damage.

GERMANY INTERVENED

There is another rule, settled by ample authority, viz.: that, even if negligence is shown, it cannot be the proximate cause of the loss or damage if an independent illegal act or a third party intervenes to cause the loss.

Jarnagin v. Travelers' Protective Assn.,
133 F. R. 892.

Cole v. German Savings and Loan Soc.,
124 F. R. 113.

See also, Insurance Co. v. Tweed, 7
Wall. 44.

Railroad Co. v. Reeves, 10 Wall. 176.

Insurance Co. v. Boon, 95 U. S. 117.

The Young America, 31 F. R. 749.

Goodlander Mill Co. v. Standard Oil Co.,
63 F. R. 400.

Claimants contend strongly that the case at bar comes within *Holladay v. Kennard*, 12 Wall, 254, where Mr. Justice Miller, who wrote the opinion, carefully stated that that case was not to be construed as laying down a rule different from that of *Railroad Company v. Reeves*, supra. An elaborate analysis of the *Holladay* and other cases will not be profitable; suffice it to say, neither that nor any other case has changed the rule of law above stated, as to the legal import of an intervening illegal act of a third party.

The question, then, is whether the act of the German submarine commander was an illegal act.

The United States courts recognize the binding force of international law. As was said by Mr. Justice Gray in the *Paquete Habana*, 175 U. S. 677, 700:

International law is part of our law, and must be ascertained and administered by the courts of justice of appropriate jurisdiction, as often as questions of right depending upon it are duly presented for their determination.

At least since as early as June 5, 1793, in the letter of Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State, to the French Minister, our Government has recognized the law of nations as an "integral part" of the laws of the land.

Moore's International Law Digest, I.,
P. 10.

The *Scotia*, 14 Wall, 170, 187.

The *New York*, 175 U. S., 187, 197.

Kansas v. Colorado, 185 U. S., 125, 146.

Kansas v. Colorado, 206 U. S., 46.

To ascertain international law, "resort must be had to the customs and

usages of civilized nations; and, as evidence of these, to the works of commentators and jurists. * * * Such works are resorted to by judicial tribunals * * * for trustworthy evidence of what the law really is."

The *Paquete Habana*, 175 U. S. 677;
(and authorities cited.)

RIGHTS OF HUMANITY

Let us first see the position of our Government, and then ascertain whether that position has authoritative support. Mr. Lansing, in his official communication to the German Government dated June 9, 1915, stated:

But the sinking of passenger ships involves principles of humanity which throw into the background any special circumstances of detail that may be thought to affect the cases, principles which lift it, as the Imperial German Government will no doubt be quick to recognize and acknowledge, out of the class of ordinary subjects of diplomatic discussion or of international controversy. Whatever be the other facts regarding the *Lusitania*, the principal fact is that a great steamer, primarily and chiefly a conveyance for passengers, and carrying more than a thousand souls who had no part or lot in the conduct of the war, was torpedoed and sunk without so much as a challenge or a warning, and that men, women, and children were sent to their death in circumstances unparalleled in modern warfare. The fact that more than one hundred American citizens were among those who perished made it the duty of the Government of the United States to speak of these things and once more with solemn emphasis to call the attention of the Imperial German Government to the grave responsibility which the Government of the United States conceives that it has incurred in this tragic occurrence, and to the indisputable principle upon which that responsibility rests. The Government of the United States is contending for something much greater than mere rights of property or privileges of commerce. It is contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity, which every Government honors itself in respecting and which no Government is justified in resigning on behalf of those under its care and authority. Only her actual resistance to capture or refusal to stop when ordered to do so for the purpose of visit could have afforded the commander of the submarine any justification for so much as putting the lives of those on board the ship in jeopardy. This principle the Government of the United States understands the explicit instructions issued on Aug. 3, 1914, by the Im-

perial German Admiralty to its commanders at sea to have recognized and embodied as do the naval codes of all other nations, and upon it every traveler and seaman had a right to depend. It is upon this principle of humanity, as well as upon the law founded upon this principle, that the United States must stand. * * *

The Government of the United States cannot admit that the proclamation of a war zone from which neutral ships have been warned to keep away may be made to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights either of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality. It does not understand the Imperial German Government to question those rights. It understands it, also, to accept as established beyond question the principle that the lives of noncombatants cannot lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unresisting merchantman, and to recognize the obligation to take sufficient precaution to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag. The Government of the United States therefore deems it reasonable to expect that the Imperial German Government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles into practice in respect of the safeguarding of American lives and American ships, and asks for assurances that this will be done. See White Book of Department of State entitled "Diplomatic Correspondence with Belligerent Governments Relating to Neutral Rights and Duties, European War, No. 2," at p. 172. Printed and distributed Oct. 21, 1915.

CONCEDED BY GERMANY

The German Government found itself compelled ultimately to recognize the principles insisted upon by the Government of the United States, for, after considerable correspondence, and on May 4, 1916, (after the *Sussex* had been sunk,) the German Government stated:

The German submarine forces have had, in fact, orders to conduct submarine warfare in accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels as recognized by international law, the sole exception being the conduct of warfare against the enemy trade carried on enemy freight ships that are encountered in the war zone surrounding Great Britain. * * *

The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: In accordance with the general principles of

visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared as naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance. See Official Communication by German Foreign Office to Ambassador Gerard, May 4, 1916. (White Book No. 3 of Department of State, pp. 302, 305.)

There is, of course, no doubt as to the right to make prize of an enemy ship on the high seas, and, under certain conditions, to destroy her, and equally no doubt of the obligation to safeguard the lives of all persons aboard, whether passengers or crew.

Phillemore on International Law, 3d Ed. Vol. 3, p. 584;

Sir Sherston Baker on "First Steps in International Law," p. 236;

G. B. Davis on "Elements of International Law," pp. 358, 359;

A. Pearce Higgins on "War and the Private Citizen," pp. 33, 78, referring to proceedings of "Institute of International Law at Turin" in 1882;

Creasy on International Law, p. 562, quoting Chief Justice Cockburn in his judgment in the General Arbitration;

L. A. Atherby-Jones on "Commerce in War," p. 529;

Professor Holland's Article, Naval War College, 1907, p. 81;

Oppenheim on International Law, 2d Ed. Vol. 2, pp. 244, 311;

Taylor on International Law, p. 572;

Westlake on International Law, 2d Ed., p. 309, Part II.;

Halleck on International Law, Vol. II., pp. 15, 16;

Vattel's "Law of Nations," Chittrey's Ed., p. 362.

FROM LAW OF NATIONS

Two quotations from this long list may be given for convenience, one stating the rule and the other the attitude which obtains among civilized Governments. Oppenheim sets forth as among violations of the rules of war:

(12) Attack on enemy merchantmen without previous request to submit to visit.

The observation in Vattel's "Law of Nations" is peculiarly applicable to the case of the *Lusitania*:

Let us never forget that our enemies are men. Though reduced to the disagreeable necessity of prosecuting our right by force of arms, let us not divest ourselves of that charity which connects us with all man-

kind. Thus shall we courageously defend our country's rights without violating those of human nature. Let our valor preserve itself from every stain of cruelty and the lustre of victory will not be tarnished by inhuman and brutal actions.

In addition to the authorities *supra* are the regulations and practices of various Governments. In 1512 Henry VIII. issued instructions to the Admiral of the Fleet which accord with our understanding of modern international law. (Hosack's Law of Nations, p. 168.) Such has been England's course since. (22 Geo. 2d C. 33, 2 Sec. 9, 1749; British Admiralty Manual of Prize Law 188, Secs. 303, 304.)

Substantially the same rules were followed in the Russian and Japanese regulations, and probably in the codes or rules of many other nations. Russian Prize Regulations, March 27, 1895, (cited in Moore's Digest, Volume VII., p. 518.) Japanese Prize Law of 1894, Article 22, (cited in Moore, *supra*, Volume VII., p. 525.) Japanese Regulations, March 7, 1904, (see Takahashi's Cases on International Law during Chino-Japanese War.)

The rules recognized and practiced by the United States, among other things, provide:

(10) In the case of an enemy merchantman it may be sunk, but only if it is impossible to take it into port, and provided always that the persons on board are put in a place of safety. (U. S. White Book, European War, No. 3, p. 192.)

These humane principles were practiced both in the war of 1812 and during our own war of 1861-65. Even with all the bitterness (now happily ended and forgotten) and all the difficulties of having no port to which to send a prize, Captain Semmes of the Alabama strictly observed the rule as to human life, even going so far as to release ships because he could not care for the passengers. But we are not confined to American and English precedents and practices.

While acting contrary to its official statements, yet the Imperial German Government recognized the same rule as the United States, and prior to the sinking of the Lusitania had not announced any other rule. The war zone proclamation of Feb. 4, 1915, contained no warning that the accepted rule of civil-

ized naval warfare would be discarded by the German Government.

DID NOT DISPUTE RULE

Indeed, after the Lusitania was sunk, the German Government did not make any such claim, but in answer to the first American note in reference to the Lusitania the German Foreign Office, per von Jagow, addressed to Ambassador Gerard a note dated May 18, 1915, in which, *inter alia*, it is stated in connection with the sinking of the British steamer Falaba:

In the case of the sinking of the English steamer Falaba, the commander of the German submarine had the intention of allowing passengers and crew ample opportunity to save themselves. It was not until the Captain disregarded the order to lay to and took to flight, sending up rocket signals for help, that the German commander ordered the crew and passengers by signals and megaphone to leave the ship within ten minutes. As a matter of fact, he allowed them twenty-three minutes, and did not fire the torpedo until suspicious steamers were hurrying to the aid of the Falaba. (White Book N. 2, U. S. Department of State, p. 169.)

Indeed, as late as May 4, 1916, Germany did not dispute the applicability of the rule, as is evidenced by the note written to our Government by von Jagow of the German Foreign Office, an extract of which has been quoted *supra*.

Further, Section 116 of the German Prize Code, (Huberich and Kind translation, p. 68,) in force at the date of the Lusitania's destruction, conformed with the American rule. It provided:

Before proceeding to a destruction of the vessel the safety of all persons on board, and, so far as possible, their effects, is to be provided for, and all ship's papers and other evidentiary material which, according to the views of the persons at interest, is of value for the formulation of the judgment of the prize court, are to be taken over by the commander.

Thus, when the Lusitania sailed from New York, her owner and master were justified in believing that, whatever else had theretofore happened, this simple, humane and universally accepted principle would not be violated. Few, at that time, would be likely to construe the warning advertisement as calling attention to more than the perils to be ex-

pected from quick disembarkation and the possible rigors of the sea after the proper safeguarding of the lives of passengers by at least full opportunity to take to the boats.

It is, of course, easy now in the light of many later events, added to preceding acts, to look back and say that the Cunard Line and its Captain should have known that the German Government would authorize or permit so shocking a breach of international law and so foul an offense, not only against an enemy, but as well against peaceful citizens of a then friendly nation.

But the unexpected character of the act was best evidenced by the horror which it excited in the minds and hearts of the American people.

GERMANY IS RESPONSIBLE

The fault, therefore, must be laid upon those who are responsible for the sinking of the vessel, in the legal as well as moral sense. It is, therefore, not the Cunard Line, petitioner, which must be held liable for the loss of life and property. The cause of the sinking of the *Lusitania* was the illegal act of the Imperial German Government, acting through its instrument, the submarine commander, and violating a cherished and humane rule observed, until this war, by even the bitterest antagonists. As Lord Mersey said, "The whole blame for the cruel destruction of life in this catastrophe must rest solely with those

who plotted and with those who committed the crime."

But, while in this lawsuit there may be no recovery, it is not to be doubted that the United States of America and her allies will well remember the rights of those affected by the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and, when the time shall come, will see to it that reparation shall be made for one of the most indefensible acts of modern times.

The petition is granted and the claims dismissed, without costs.

JULIUS M. MAYER,
District Judge.

Aug. 23, 1918.

ADDENDUM

The grounds upon which the decision is put render unnecessary the discussion of some other interesting questions suggested.

As to the exception to interrogatory 20, brushing aside all technical points, I am satisfied that the withheld answer relates to matters irrelevant to the issues here. It certainly cannot be expected, in wartime, that an American court will ask for the disclosure of information deemed confidential by the British Admiralty, nor can I see any good reason for delaying a decree until some future date when the information may be forthcoming; for it seems to me that no matter what other general advice of the Admiralty may have been given prior to May 7, 1915, the result of this case must be the same. D. J.

Treasures Destroyed at Louvain

When the Germans burned the Library of Louvain the world lost forever the galleries in which Emperor Charles V., master of the greater part of Europe, meditated on ancient science. The 250,000 manuscripts reduced to ashes on Aug. 27, 1914, can never be replaced. Complete collections of the sixteenth century editions of Virgil, nineteen editions of Terence made in the sixteenth century, ten of Sallust, seventeen of Quintilian, complete sixteenth century editions of Tacitus, Seneca, Martial, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, Livy, Lucretius, Lucian, Cicero, and Caesar were destroyed. Rare copies of Aristotle and the Greeks were lost. There vanished also first editions of the Bible that were priceless, and whole libraries of ecclesiastical history and of civil law, besides illuminated texts with initials and borders created by the patient and devoted labors of monks of Spain, Germany, and the Netherlands.

[OFFICIAL]

German Plotting in the United States

A Summary of Authenticated Facts Issued by the Committee on Public Information

EARL E. SPERRY, Professor of History in Syracuse University, has compiled for the United States Government an official summary of known and proved facts concerning "German Plots and Intrigues in the United States During the Period of Our Neutrality," which is published through the Committee on Public Information. In the introduction the following statement by the President of the United States is quoted, being a part of his address to Congress asking for a declaration of war against Germany:

One of the things that have served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities, and even our offices of government, with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed, it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture, but a fact proved in our courts of justice, that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States.

The facts upon which President Wilson based this indictment are contained in a large array of documents. Among these, says Professor Sperry, are telegrams from the German Government to its diplomatic representatives in the United States; letters and telegrams exchanged by them with their hired agents here; records of financial dealings, as checks, receipts, bankbooks, deposit slips, orders to banks that money be paid and acknowledgments thereof; reports of subordinates to superiors; hotel registers and lists of telephone calls. Of particular value are

the counterfoils and stubs in the checkbook of Captain von Papen, on which he habitually recorded memoranda revealing the purpose for which the checks were drawn, and the cashbook of Wolf von Igel, von Papen's secretary, with its daily record of persons to whom he made payments. In addition, much information was gleaned from the criminal prosecution of certain German agents, and consisted of confessions and sworn testimony. Professor Sperry adds:

The commander in chief of Germany's agents here was Count Johann von Bernstorff, Imperial German Ambassador to the United States. His coadjutor and able adviser during some months was Constantin Theodor Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador. His chief lieutenants in the execution of his plans were Captain Franz von Papen, Military Attaché of the German Embassy; Captain Karl Boy-Ed, its Naval Attaché; Dr. Heinrich F. Albert, Commercial Attaché, and Wolf von Igel, who also had diplomatic status. Assisting this central group were many of the Consuls of Germany and Austria-Hungary scattered over the United States, and beneath them were the rank and file of obscure servitors who carried out the plans conceived by the General Staff in Berlin and sent to the German Ambassador.

Franz von Rintelen, although a leader in similar enterprises, was not a member of this band nor responsible to Ambassador von Bernstorff. He had a separate supply of funds and operated as a free lance.

INTIMIDATING WORKMEN

The brochure first deals with the attempts of German agents to prevent the export of military supplies. It quotes the following circular, which originally appeared in French papers as from the German General Headquarters:

*CIRCULAR OF NOVEMBER 2, 1914.
General Headquarters to the military representative on the Russian and French fronts, as well as in Italy and Norway:*

In all branch establishments of German

banking houses in Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, China, and the United States special military accounts have been opened for special war necessities. Main headquarters authorizes you to use these credits to an unlimited extent for the purpose of destroying factories, workshops, camps, and the most important centres of military and civil supply belonging to the enemy. In addition to the incitement of labor troubles, measures must be taken for the damaging of engines and machinery plants, the destruction of vessels carrying war material to enemy countries, the burning of stocks of raw materials and finished goods, and the depriving of large industrial centres of electric power, fuel, and food. Special agents, who will be placed at your disposal, will supply you with the necessary means for effecting explosions and fires, as well as with a list of people in the country under your supervision who are willing to undertake the task of destruction.

(Signed) Dr. E. FISCHER.

Details are given of the efforts of the German and Austrian Ambassadors to prevent the export of munitions by forcing factory employes—through coercion and intimidation—to leave their positions. The instrument used for this purpose was a so-called employment bureau, conducted by one Liebau, which pretended to find work for men who had left munition factories for conscientious reasons. That coercion and intimidation were regularly used by the bureau to drive employes from munition factories has been proved by an examination of over 5,000 letters and other papers in its files. The Austrian Government reinforced these efforts by circulating in this country, through the foreign-language press, a proclamation which threatened with a penalty of ten to twenty years' imprisonment all subjects who after working in such plants returned to their native land. Captain von Papen also sent out a circular letter of similar import.

Success rewarded these energetic efforts to harass American manufacturers. Liebau's monthly report, made to the German Embassy for February, 1916, contains the following statements:

Since the bureau began its work in August, 1915, through February, 1916, 2,828 Germans and 1,638 subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy have been provided for. The total number of applicants is now 8,000. Of these 60 per

cent. came from factories producing munitions and war material, and 40 per cent. would have been employed in such plants if the agency had not provided for them. * * *

Engineers and persons in the better class of positions * * * were persuaded by the propaganda of the bureau to leave war material factories. * * *

The commercial employment bureaus of the country have no supply of unemployed technicians. * * * Many disturbances and suspensions which war material factories have had to suffer, and which it was not always possible to remove quickly, but which on the contrary often led to long strikes, may be attributed to the energetic propaganda of the employment bureau.

In addition, strikes were systematically fomented in all parts of the country by means of an organization regularly financed by the German Government. This conspiracy was in charge of Franz von Rintelen, who is now in a Federal penitentiary. The amount of money at Rintelen's disposal was stated by the Treasurer of the fund to have been \$508,000.

PRESSURE ON CONGRESS

The German-American National Alliance had long endeavored to weld persons of German descent in the United States into a compact body, to be used, when desirable, in the interests of Germany. After the war began, prominent German-Americans organized and supported other societies which aimed to persuade or intimidate members of Congress into adopting pro-German policies.

One of these organizations was the American Embargo Conference, established to prevent the export of munitions. That it was recognized as a valuable tool of the German Government and probably received money from Berlin is shown by the following telegram (Sept. 15, 1916) from Count Bernstorff to the German Foreign Office:

The Embargo Conference in regard to whose earlier fruitful co-operation Dr. Hale can give information is just about to enter upon a vigorous campaign to secure a majority in both houses of Congress favorable to Germany and request further support. There is no possibility of our being compromised. Request telegraphic reply.

The Embargo Conference distributed to voters over 5,000,000 telegrams de-

manding an embargo on munitions, and at a fixed date 250,000 of these identical messages poured into Washington. The conference paid to the telegraph companies in Chicago alone the sum of \$20,000. It also distributed pamphlets and circular letters demanding an embargo and denouncing American makers of munitions.

Although the officers of the conference asserted that it was supported by small popular subscriptions, its cash-book shows that the \$57,000 received from July, 1915, to June, 1916, consisted of sums varying from \$400 to \$1,000; and given, as a rule, by prominent German-Americans of New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, and Detroit. One gift of \$5,000 came from an international banking firm in New York City.

The Embargo Conference apparently served the German Government well, for Count von Bernstorff, in the following telegram to Berlin, requests \$50,000 to be spent either on this or on a similar organization aiming to force pro-German policies on Congress:

I request authority to pay out up to \$50,000 (fifty thousand dollars) in order, as on former occasions, to influence Congress through the organization you know of, which can perhaps prevent war.

I am beginning in the meantime to act accordingly.

In the above circumstances a public official German declaration in favor of Ireland is highly desirable, in order to gain the support of the Irish influence here.

The actual bribery of Congressmen apparently was intended by Franz von Rintelen. According to Meloy, he supplied Lamar (who was convicted along with him) with money to be used in procuring the passage of resolutions by Congress which should embarrass the Government in the conduct of its relations with Germany. Both Congressman Buchanan and ex-Congressman Fowler received money for their assistance in attempting to bribe Congress. That such was Rintelen's intention was also stated explicitly by George Plochman, Treasurer of the Transatlantic Trust Company, where Rintelen kept his accounts.

The official summary next deals with the efforts of Foreign Secretary Zim-

mermann, through Ambassador Bernstorff at Washington and the German Ambassador at Mexico City, to provoke a war between Mexico and the United States, full details of which, with official documents, were printed in *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* in April, 1917.

BOMBS IN STEAMSHIPS

Then follow the revelations regarding the placing of incendiary bombs with time fuses in the holds of outgoing steamers, setting fire to their cargoes at sea. The bomb shells were manufactured from designs by Dr. Walter T. Scheele, a German chemist of Hoboken, on the Friedrich der Grosse of the North German Lloyd Line, and were then taken to Dr. Scheele's laboratory and filled with combustibles.

When the conspirators were tried one of the witnesses called was a detective who belonged to the New York bomb squad and had worked on the case. Under the pretense that he was a German Secret Service man employed by Wolf von Igel, he had succeeded in making an appointment with Captain von Kleist, Superintendent of Scheele's factory, and thus recounted the conversation with him:

We sat down and we spoke for about three hours. * * * I asked him the different things that he did, and said if he wanted an interview with Mr. von Igel, my boss, he would have to tell everything. So he told me that von Papen gave Dr. Scheele, the partner of von Kleist in this factory, a check for \$10,000 to start this bomb factory. * * * He told me that he, Mr. von Kleist, and Dr. Scheele and a man by the name of Becker on the Friedrich der Grosse, were making the bombs, and that Captain Wolpert, Captain Bode, and Captain Steinberg had charge of putting these bombs on the ships; they put these bombs in cases and shipped them as merchandise on these steamers, and they would go away on the trip and the bombs would go off after the ship was out four or five days, causing a fire and causing the cargo to go up in flames. * * * He also told me that they have made quite a number of these bombs; that thirty of them were given to a party by the name of O'Leary, and that he took them down to New Orleans where he had charge of putting them on ships down there, this fellow O'Leary.

Between 300 and 400 bombs were manufactured, and fires were started by

them on thirty-three ships sailing from New York alone. Four of the bombs were found at Marseilles on a vessel which sailed from Brooklyn in May, 1915. The evidence collected in the case led to the indictment of the following men for feloniously transporting on the steamship Kirk Oswald a bomb or bombs filled with chemicals designed to cause incendiary fires: Rintelen, Wolpert, Bode, Schmidt, Becker, Garbade, Praedel, Paradies, von Kleist, Schimmel, Scheele, Steinberg, and others. The last three named fled from justice, Scheele being supplied with \$1,000 for that purpose by Wolf von Igel. He eluded the Federal authorities until April, 1918, when he was found hiding in Cuba under the protection of German Secret Service agents. All the others except Schmidt were found guilty and sentenced, on Feb. 5, 1918, to imprisonment for eighteen months and payment of a fine of \$2,000 each. It was proved during the trial that Rintelen had hired Schimmel, a German lawyer, to see that bombs were placed on ships.

Schmidt, von Kleist, Becker, Garbade, Praedel, and Paradies had already been tried for conspiracy to make bombs for concealment on oceangoing vessels, with the purpose of setting the same on fire. All were found guilty, and on April 6, 1917, von Kleist and Schmidt were sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of \$5,000 each; the others to six months' imprisonment and a fine of \$500 each. Wolpert and Bode, also indicted, obtained the privilege of a separate trial, which has not yet been held.

BOMBS ON SHIP RUDDERS

Robert Fay, a former officer in the German Army, who came to the United States in April, 1915, endeavored to prevent the traffic in munitions by sinking the laden ships at sea. In recounting the circumstances of his arrival here to the chief of the United States Secret Service Fay said:

I had in the neighborhood \$4,000. * * * This money came from a man who sent me over * * * [named] Jonnersen. The understanding was that it might be worth while to stop the shipment of artillery munitions from this country. * * *

I imagined Jonnersen to be in the [German] Secret Service.

After stating that he saw von Papen and Boy-Ed and that neither would have anything to do with him, apparently because suspicious of his identity, Fay continued:

I did not want to return [to Germany] without having carried out my intention, that is, the destruction of ships carrying munitions. I proceeded with my experiments and tried to get hold of as much explosive matter as in any way possible. * * *

Fay and two confederates were arrested in a lonely spot near Grantwood, N. J., while testing an explosive. During his examination at Police Headquarters in Weehawken immediately after the arrest he was questioned as follows:

Q. That large machine you have downstairs, what is that? A. That is a patent of mine. It is a new way of getting a time fuse. * * *

Q. Did you know where Scholz [Fay's brother-in-law] had this machine made? A. In different machine shops. * * *

Q. What material is it you wanted [from Daeche, an accomplice]? A. Trinitrate of toluol (T. N. T.) * * *

Q. How much did the machinery cost? A. Roughly speaking, \$150 or \$200. * * *

Q. What would be the cost of making one and filling it with explosive? A. About \$250 each. * * * If they had given me money enough I should simply been able to block the shipping entirely.

Q. Do you mean you could have destroyed every ship that left the harbor by means of those bombs? A. I would have been able to stop so many that the authorities would not have dared [to send out any ships].

It was proved during Fay's trial that his bomb was a practical device, and that its forty pounds of explosive would sink any ship to which it was attached.

Fay and his accomplices, Scholz and Daeche, were convicted of conspiracy to attach explosive bombs to the rudders of vessels, with the intention of wrecking the same when at sea, and were sentenced, on May 9, 1916, to terms of eight, four, and two years respectively in the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta. Dr. Herbert Kienzle and Max Breitung, who assisted Fay in procuring explosives, were indicted on the same charge, but have not been tried. Both are interned.

Other instances are cited, with sworn

testimony, which definitely connected the German Consul General at San Francisco and other German officials in this country with the conspiracy to blow up ships and factories in the United States, as well as tunnels, munition works, and vessels in Canada.

A chapter is devoted to the conspiracy conducted in the United States in January, 1916, through the German Embassy, to destroy the Canadian Pacific Railway and to carry on sabotage (destruction of machinery) in works in the United States and Canada.

Full details are given of the evidence in the attempt of Paul Koenig, head of the Bureau of Investigation of the Hamburg-American Line, to blow up the Welland Canal. The plot was hatched and financed by the German Embassy. Details are also given of the trial and conviction of one Albert Kaltschmidt, a prosperous citizen of Detroit. There was documentary evidence that he had received many thousands of dollars from the German Embassy to be employed in plots to blow up factories, railroads, and tunnels in Canada. The cases are also cited of Werner Horn, who was financed by the German Embassy to blow up the international bridge on the Grand Trunk Railway between Canada and the United States, and the conspiracy of the German Consul General, Franz Bopp, at San Francisco, to blow up the tunnels through which the railway passes under the Selkirk Mountains in British Columbia.

FORGERY OF PASSPORTS

The third chief purpose of Germany's diplomatic officials in the United States was to send troops and munitions to the Central Empires. When the war began, in July, 1914, large numbers of German reservists were living in America, and in order to avoid capture on their way home many of them sought under false names to obtain passports as American citizens. They thus violated the law that American passports shall be issued only to citizens of the United States, and also discredited genuine passports, thereby causing delay and distress to American citizens abroad. Their action also was a violation of America's neutrality and

endangered its national honor and safety.

In order to have at hand an adequate supply of counterfeit passports, the German Embassy maintained an office in New York City, directed by Captain von Papen, where they were forged by wholesale. German Consuls in distant cities, as Chicago and St. Paul, were informed concerning this office and sent there for passports the reservists from their several localities.

It was shown from the papers of Hans A. von Wedell, who managed the forged passport office, that he had received from the German Embassy in November and December, 1914, nearly \$3,000 for these operations.

FRAUDULENT MANIFESTS

German agents in the United States also endeavored to give military aid to their country by sending coal and other supplies to German warships which were raiding commerce in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Such action was a violation of American neutrality, and in order to evade the law the conspirators took false oaths before Federal officials concerning the ownership of vessels, the nature of their cargoes, and their destination. These acts, even more than the use of forged passports, were likely to cause friction between the United States and countries with which it was at peace.

The Hamburg-American Line, through its high officials in New York, repeatedly defrauded the United States by procuring false manifests. Among those involved were Dr. Buenz, Managing Director; George Koetter, Superintending Engineer; Adolph Hachmeister, Purchasing Agent, and Joseph Pappinghaus, who together worked up an elaborate machinery to deceive the Government. They confessed at their trial that they had sent out twelve ships, which were proved by the Government to have fraudulent papers and all of which were captured and interned before reaching their destination. Nine of these vessels were chartered, and the Hamburg-American Line paid to the owners for their losses about \$1,400,000. The following copy of Captain Boy-Ed's account at a

New York bank indicates that he had large sums at his disposal for conducting Germany's naval operations from the United States and that he reimbursed the Hamburg-American Line for this and other expenditures:

1914 RECEIVED FROM	
July 24, National Bank of Commerce	\$250,000
July 26, A. Vogel.....	70,000
Aug. 1, National City Bank.....	100,000
Aug. 1, Speyer & Co.....	100,000
Aug. 2, National City Bank.....	200,000
Aug. 3, Speyer & Co.....	500,000
Aug. 5, Bayer Company, Inc.....	300,000
Aug. 16, Kuhn, Loeb & Co.....	35,000
Aug. 24, Interest.....	1,941
Oct. 26, National City Bank.....	300,000
Oct. 27, Kuhn, Loeb & Co.....	150,000
Oct. 29, Kuhn, Loeb & Co.....	1,250,000
Dec. 1, Interest.....	5,253
	<hr/> \$3,262,197
Oct 24, Paid to Hamburg-American	
Line.....	\$1,200,000
Dec. 2, Paid to Hamburg-American	
Line.....	1,961,365

PERJURY AS A WEAPON

Gustav B. Kulenkampf of New York, who was employed by the Hamburg-American Line to draw up the false manifests, stated at the trial that he received \$750,000, which was subject to the order of Captain Boy-Ed, Naval Attaché of the German Embassy, and was largely spent on the Pacific Coast. His evidence proved that, like the forgery of passports, fraud and perjury were committed under the direction of German officials protected by the diplomatic privileges which all civilized nations consider sacred. Buenz, Koetter, and Hachmeister were found guilty of conspiracy to defraud the United States, and were sentenced in December, 1915, to eighteen months in the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta. Pappinghaus was sentenced to a year and a day.

Similar means were employed by German agents on the western coast under the direction of Captain Boy-Ed to send provisions and coal to German raiders in the Pacific.

Perjury was also employed in a notable instance to justify Germany's conduct. When the passenger liner *Lusitania* was sunk by a submarine on May 7, 1915, with its great load of noncombatants, the German Government and its Amba-

sador in America asserted that she was in law and fact a ship of war, because laden with ammunition and armed with four cannon. In order to prove this statement, Ambassador von Bernstorff sent to the Department of State four affidavits swearing that the *Lusitania* was armed. Three of these were worthless as testimony, and the fourth had been procured by Paul Koenig of the Hamburg-American Line from Gustav Stahl, a German reservist. Federal officials knew that the *Lusitania* was not armed and that Stahl must have sworn falsely. He was accordingly tried for perjury, confessed his guilt, and was sentenced to eighteen months in the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta.

The report cites the violation of parole by the officers of the German cruisers Prinz Eitel and Kronprinz Wilhelm. They pledged their word of honor to our Government, which had opened the harbor for their protection, that they would not escape from the jurisdiction of the United States, and accordingly were allowed every liberty.

Several officers of the Kronprinz Wilhelm purchased a yacht after some weeks had passed, on the pretense that it was for pleasure cruises. They secretly stocked it with supplies and one night sailed away. They were given the necessary funds for their escape by the German Consul at Richmond, and Captain Boy-Ed filed a message at Sayville, asking the German authorities in Berlin for instructions for these officers. Paroled German officers at San Francisco and Guam also violated their oaths to remain within the jurisdiction of the United States.

A Military Information Bureau was established in this country to collect data concerning the production of war materials in the United States and transmit the information to Germany.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST INDIA

Germany's effort to incite revolution in India by conspiracies conducted in the United States also furnishes a chapter in this long indictment. Federal officials collected a great amount of evidence proving the connection of the

German Consul General in San Francisco and his staff with this expedition against India. When this evidence was presented to the Grand Jury, the following persons were indicted in March, 1917, "for feloniously conspiring to set on foot a military enterprise to be carried on from within the territory of the United States against India * * * the object and purpose being to initiate mutiny and armed rebellion in India and to overthrow the Government": Franz Bopp, Eckhart H. von Schack, William von Brincken, Hans Tauscher, F. von Papen, George Rodiek, (German Consul at Honolulu;) Ernest Sekunna, Wolf von Igel, Har Dayal, Ram Chandra, Bhagwan Singh, Chandra Kanta Chakrabarty, and Haramba Lal Gupta.

The case was tried in the Federal court at San Francisco, Cal., in March, 1918. All were convicted, except one American of very minor importance and two Hindus, one of whom killed the other and in turn was killed in the courtroom by a court official.

Under German leadership and financed by German money, a group of conspirators in Chicago was planning a simultaneous invasion of India from Siam. Among the Hindus who took part in this expedition was Sukumar Chatterji. After his arrest in Bangkok he made a statement to Brig. Gen. Dudley Ridout, commanding the British troops in the Straits Settlements, in which he stated the aims and methods of the revolutionary party, its ramifications in the Orient, and narrated the events of this particular enterprise.

When the Federal authorities presented to the Grand Jury the evidence which they had collected concerning this plot, the following persons, among others, were indicted for "feloniously conspiring to set on foot a military enterprise against the territory and dominions of the King of Great Britain and Ireland and Emperor of India": G. H. Jacobsen, Kurt von Reisswitz, A. H. Wehde, G. P. Boehm, H. L. Gupta, Jodh Singh, J. N. Sanyal, C. K. Chakrabarty, and one Scholz, otherwise called Sterneck. The indictment specifies these among the overt acts committed:

Said Kurt von Reisswitz, [German Consul General in Chicago,] on or about May 6, 1915, at Chicago * * * gave to William Wilms a check for \$20,000, the proceeds of which were to be used to incite said subjects to rebellion.

Said Kurt von Reisswitz, on or about June 30, 1915, at Chicago, caused to be given to Albert H. Wehde the sum of \$20,000, for the use of Albert H. Wehde in inciting said subjects to * * * rebellion. * * *

Said Kurt von Reisswitz, on or about May 7, 1915, at Chicago, caused to be given to * * * George Paul Boehm the sum of \$1,500 to be used by [him] in defraying his expenses in traveling from Chicago to India to engage in such rebellion.

Jacobsen, Wehde, Boehm, and Gupta were found guilty on Oct. 20, 1917, of conspiracy and of violating the neutrality of the United States. The first three were sentenced on the first charge to imprisonment in the Federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kan., for two years, and to pay a fine of \$10,000; on the second indictment to imprisonment for three years and to pay a fine of \$3,000, the sentences of imprisonment to run concurrently. Gupta was sentenced to imprisonment for one year and six months and a fine of \$100 on both indictments.

Telegrams from Chakrabarty to Zimmermann, the German Secretary for Foreign Affairs, show that the plans concerning India continued during the year 1916.

PAYING FOR PROPAGANDA

A chapter is also devoted to the efforts to provoke rebellion in Ireland through Irish revolutionists in this country, full details of which were printed in *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*, June and July, 1916. Then follows a chapter showing receipts of moneys paid to Edwin Emerson, James F. J. Archibald, and Miss Ray Beveridge for spreading German propaganda in this country in 1915 and 1916; also receipts for moneys paid Marcus Braun, the editor of a newspaper called *Fair Play*; George Sylvester Viereck, the owner of a paper called *The Fatherland*, and for other publications, the funds for which came from the German Embassy.

The aims of German propagandists in

the United States were to prove the justice of Germany's cause and the warmth of her friendship for the American people; to procure from Congress an embargo on munitions shipped to the Allies, (although Germany sent to the United States a commission with ample funds to buy such supplies for her own use, which commission organized or bought out steamship companies and chartered many vessels to transport its purchases to Germany;) to encourage pacifism by teaching the waste and wickedness of war; to provoke strife between America and the allied States, especially England and Japan. So eager were the German agents to cause friction between the United States and England that Paul Koenig attempted through perjury to manufacture evidence that supplies were being sent from New York to British warships. Ambassador von Bernstorff took a direct and active part in purchasing the services of those who would aid Germany by creating opinion in her favor.

FINANCES OF GERMAN AGENTS

The diplomatic staff of Germany in the United States had a generous supply of money with which to carry on its operations. The essential features of its financial system are described by Frederick A. Borgemeister, confidential adviser to Dr. Albert, who was disbursing agent for the German Embassy. In a statement which he made Aug. 11-13, 1917, at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, before Federal officials, he said that \$7,000,000 worth of short-term German Treasury notes were sold by an American banking house early in April, 1915, and was then asked:

Q. What became of that \$7,000,000?

A. The \$7,000,000 were partly used for the purchase of materials, raw materials, of foodstuffs, ships, and the remainder was placed at the disposal of the German Embassy at Washington.

Q. That means at the disposal of J. von Bernstorff? A. Yes, Sir.

Q. How much would that remainder be, using your best recollection? A. I should say about \$4,000,000 and probably a little more.

Mr. Borgemeister was then asked in substance this question:

Q. What in the aggregate were the transactions of your office prior to the proceeds of the April loan [1915]? A. I should say about \$5,000,000.

Q. That is, the whole sum total of the financial operations which were handled in your office exclusive of the April loan of \$7,000,000 was \$5,000,000? A. Yes. Let me think it over again—between four and five millions.

A sale of one-year notes of the German Empire realized \$3,600,000, which was paid into Dr. Albert's account. At another point in his examination Mr. Borgemeister said, "We constantly received through American correspondents of the Deutsche Bank funds as we required." Besides the money realized from the sale of securities there was available, for example, \$300,000 at one New York bank and \$400,000 at another, and loans were also made from American banks. The total balances in the many banks where Dr. Albert had deposits varied from \$1,000,000 to \$5,000,000. Toward the close of his examination Mr. Borgemeister was asked:

Q. During the time that you were retained with Dr. Albert down to the time of your resignation, covering the years 1915 and 1916, what would be the approximate amount of money which went through the H. F. Albert office, in the aggregate; please do the best you can in this estimate? A. I should say between fifteen and twenty millions.

VON PAPEN'S FUNDS

How Captain von Papen obtained the large sums necessary for the execution of his many projects is thus explained:

Q. Please explain when von Papen wanted money who he went to to get it. A. I believe he communicated with the Ambassador. And we would be instructed to place certain funds at his disposal. * * *

Q. On what instructions would Heynen and yourself [with power to sign checks] act in transferring funds from the H. F. Albert account to the von Papen account? A. Only on instruction of Dr. Albert or on instruction of the embassy approved by Dr. Albert. * * *

Q. * * * Can you tell the disbursements by Dr. Albert's office to von Papen's office? A. There were large amounts. We would receive instructions from the Ambassador to make payments, or to hold so much money at the disposal of von Papen, and von Papen would receive this money and sign receipt by himself or von Igel, von Papen's assistant.

Mr. Borgemeister then stated that substantial amounts were paid to both Captains von Papen and Boy-Ed, and was then asked this question:

Q. What are we to understand that you mean by substantial amounts? A. I mean fairly large amounts. I would say that the entire payment during that time might have been close to a million. Of course, remember that we had funds, had not only the fund of \$7,000,000; we had other funds at our disposal which had been at the office when the \$7,000,000 became available to us. * * *

Q. Are we to understand that the disbursement to von Papen between the first of April and the middle of June, 1915, aggregated approximately \$1,000,000? A. Yes, Sir, as far as I can estimate it.

Q. Between * * * the middle of June, 1915, and the time von Papen returned to Germany can you estimate the amount of money which was conveyed from the H. F. Albert accounts in various banks to von Papen on checks which were signed by Mr. Heynen and yourself? * * * A. It was a substantial amount in total. * * *

Q. Would that mean it was in excess of a million? A. I should say yes, it might be between one and two millions.

Captain von Papen also received funds, deposited to his credit in a Washington bank, directly from the German Embassy. Some of these deposits, a list of which follows, were made by Ambassador von Bernstorff himself:

1914

Sept. 9, Bernstorff.....	\$1,116.20
Sept. 24, Bernstorff.....	1,110.00
Oct. 21, Bernstorff.....	1,000.00
Nov. 4, German Embassy.....	583.10
Nov. 25, German Embassy.....	2,000.00
Dec. 7, Bernstorff.....	2,583.10

1915

Jan. 9, German Embassy.....	\$3,000.00
Jan. 15, German Embassy.....	2,000.00
Feb. 5, Bernstorff.....	2,000.00

1915 (Continued)

Feb. 24, German Embassy.....	1,500.00
Feb. 25, German Embassy.....	3,600.00
Feb. 26, German Embassy.....	1,749.30
May 26, German Embassy.....	1,166.20
June 1, German Embassy.....	583.10
July 20, German Embassy.....	1,154.30
Sept. 7, German Embassy.....	2,500.00
Oct. 14, German Embassy.....	2,500.00

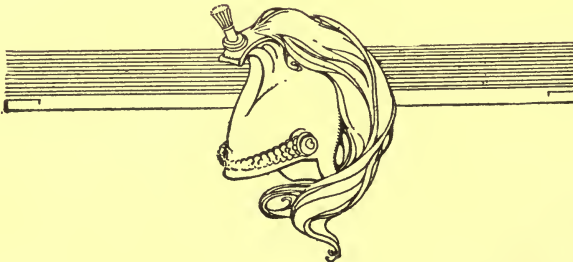
The above list is compiled from photographic copies of letters to the bank and of letters from it to Captain von Papen, advising him of the deposits, and from his checkbook. He also received from the Consul General in New York City, on March 19, 1915, \$5,000, and from various unknown sources other sums.

Captain Boy-Ed received substantial amounts, said Mr. Borgemeister, from Dr. Albert, and also received funds directly from Germany.

AN OFFICIAL LIE

All the criminal plots and conspiracies narrated in the foregoing pages were undertaken prior to the Summer of 1915. The German Government, nevertheless, in December of that year, sent to the United States for publication in the press the following authorized official lie:

"The German Government has naturally never knowingly accepted the support of any person, group of persons, society, or organization seeking to promote the cause of Germany in the United States by illegal acts, by counsel of violence, by contravention of law, or by any means whatever that could offend the American people in the pride of their own authority."



INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR

[Italian Cartoon]

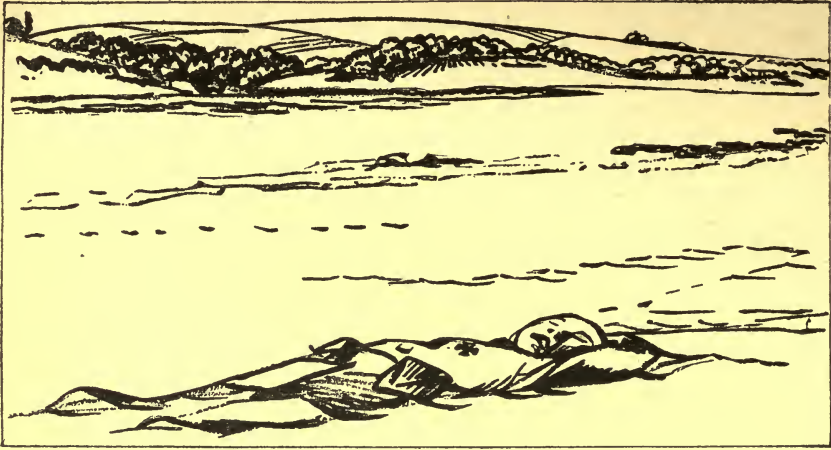
They Shall Not Pass



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

[French Cartoons]

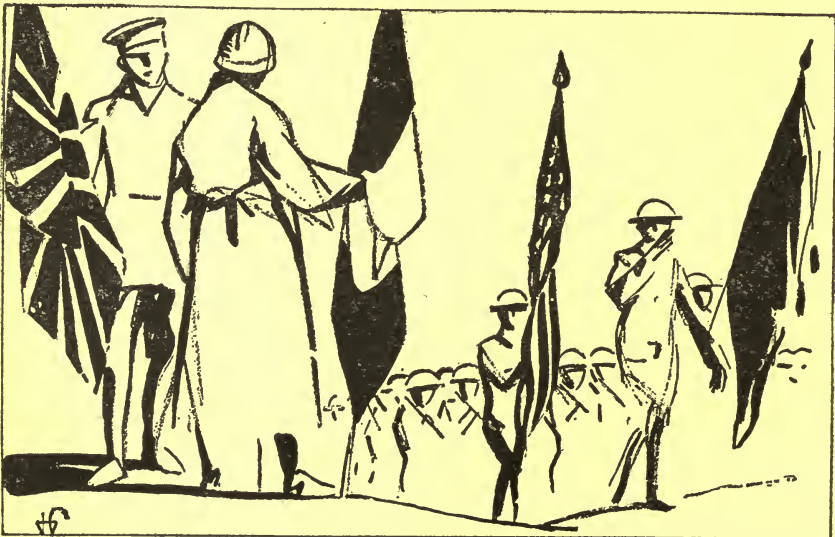
Along the Marne



—From *La Victoire, Paris*.

“Nach Paris!”

Proud of the Americans



—From *La Victoire, Paris*.

FRANCE: “They are chic!”

BRITAIN: “Well, they are our children!”

[American Cartoon]

An Elastic Offensive



—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

[English Cartoon]

Not to His Taste



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

WILHELM: "Vy can't I bid for von mitout de oder?"

AUCTIONEER: "Because they are inseparable!"

[American Cartoon]

Popular Pastime—Driving Nails Into Hindenburg



—From The New York Tribune.

[American Cartoon]

Yes, It's Uncle Sam—But Not as They Had Pictured Him



—From The New York Herald.

[American Cartoon]

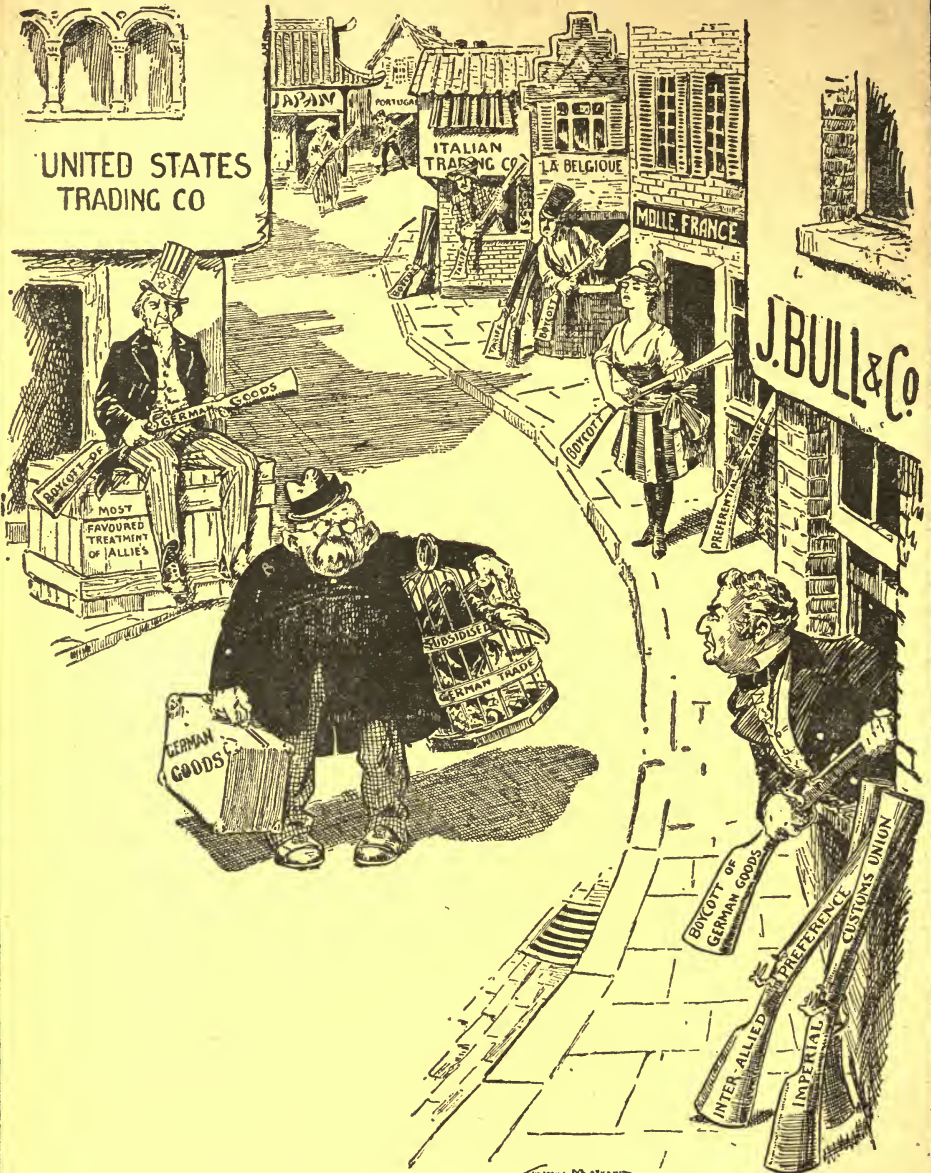
Their Place at the Board



—From The New York Herald.

[English Cartoon]

After the War



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

"All dressed up and nowhere to go!"

[American Cartoon]

Old Home Week



—From The New York World.

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

A Vision: Peace on Earth!



—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich.

[American Cartoon]

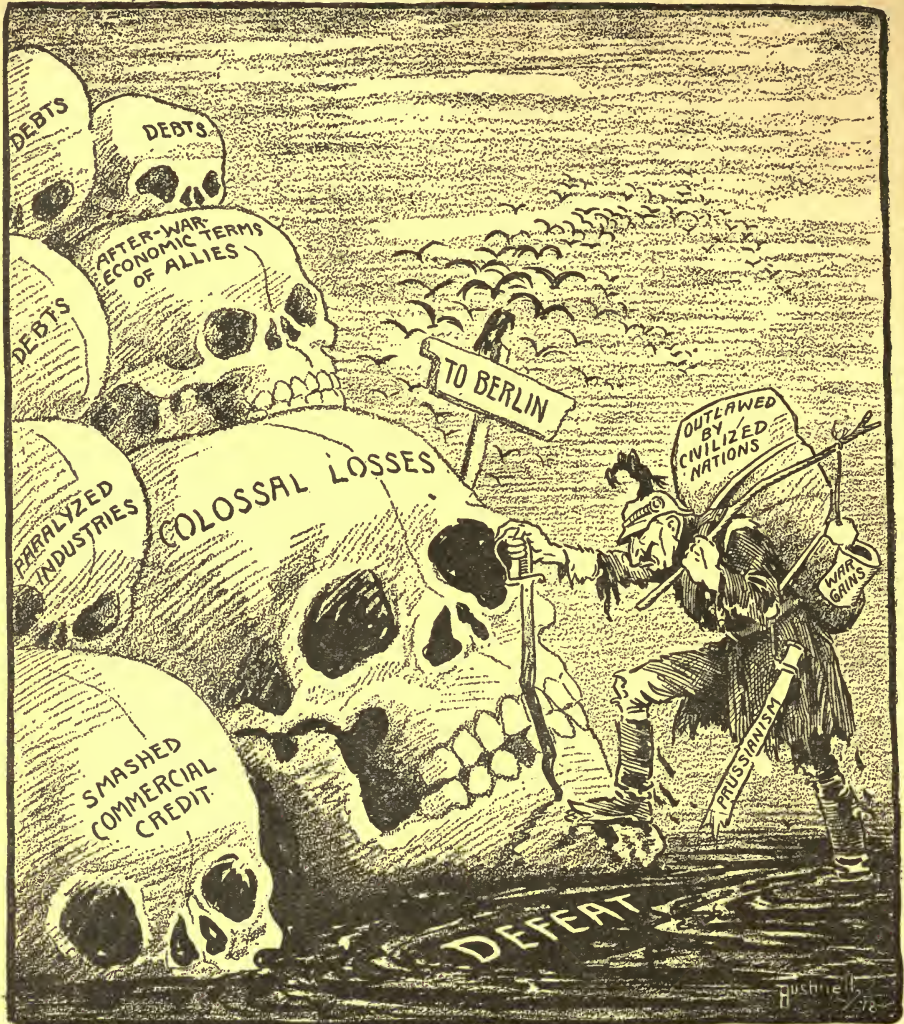
Legacy to the Unborn



—From The Dayton Daily News.

[American Cartoon]

“Over the Hills to the Poorhouse”



—Central Press Association.

The Fool Trap



Nelson Harding

Four Years Ago



Nelson Harding

"You will be back in your homes before the leaves have fallen."—Kaiser in August, 1914.

"The Hit Dog Howls"



Nelson Harding

The Sound of Wood on Bone



Nelson Harding

—From The Brooklyn Eagle.

[American Cartoon]

A Wayside Shrine



—Central Press Association.

The Rhine Wine



—Passing Show, London.

A Belated War Measure



—London Opinion.

THE KAISER: "He is the Schweinhund who discovered America!"

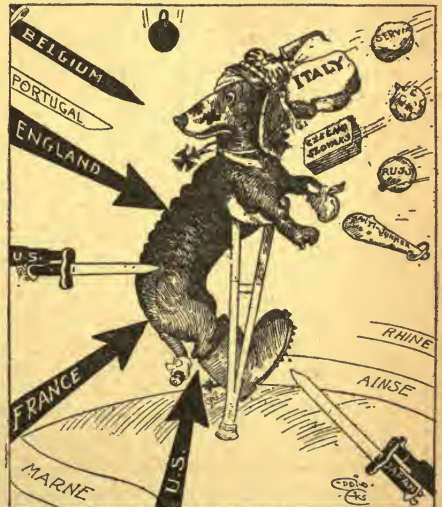
[American Cartoons]

What Doth It Profit a Man—?



—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

The Fifth Year



—St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

The Other Crown Prince Also Retires



—The Dallas News.

The Poor Nut!



—Detroit News.

"Gott! It Will Soon Become a Truth"



—Dayton Daily News.

Memories



—Detroit News.

[English Cartoon]

The Yankee Tomcat



—From the Westminster Gazette.

THE PUP: "There's a new Tomcat, father, see me go for him!"

FATHER: "What's the matter?"

THE PUP: "It was the wrong Tomcat, father!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Central Quartet Out of Tune



—From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

FIRST VIOLIN WILHELM: "What do I hear? Is it discord?"

Enlightened



More Power to Him



Troublesome Pets



When Willie Comes Marching Home



—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

[Australian Cartoon]

Peace on Earth—the Kaiser's Way



—From The Sydney Bulletin.

[American Cartoon]

Of German Extraction

—From The New York Times.



JOHN W. DAVIS



American Ambassador to Great Britain, Succeeding Mr. Page

(© Harris & Ewing)

DISTINGUISHED ALLIED LEADERS



Left to Right: Field Marshal Haig, President Poincaré, Marshal Foch, and King George

(British Official Photo: © Underwood & Underwood)

AMERICAN MAJOR GENERALS



Major Gen. E. A. Helmick
28th United States Infantry
(© Press Illustrating Service)



Major Gen. John L. Hines
Headquarters Staff, American Expeditionary Force
(© Press Illustrating Service)



Major Gen. W. L. Kenly
Chief of Military Aeronautics
(© Harris & Ewing)



Major Gen. William T. Johnston
Fort Bliss, Texas
(© Press Illustrating Service)

OTHER MAJOR GENERALS



Major Gen. Thomas H. Barry
Camp Grant, Rockford, Ill.
(© American Press Association)



Major Gen. Henry P. McCain
Adjutant General
(© Press Illustrating Service)



Major Gen. William Weigel
In United States Army Since 1887
(© Press Illustrating Service)



Major Gen. Grote Hutcheson
Embarkation Chief, Newport News
(© Harris & Ewing)

PRINCE MAXIMILIAN OF BADEN



Appointed German Chancellor in October, 1918, to Succeed Count
von Hertling

MILITARY LEADERS IN THE EAST



General Franchet d'Esperey
Chief of Allied Forces in the Balkans



General Danglis
Commander of the Greek Army
(© Photo by Paul Thompson)



General Semenoff
Anti-Bolshevist Leader in Siberia



General Liman von Sanders
Commander of Turkish Armies in Palestine
(© American Press Association)

MARSHAL FERDINAND FOCH

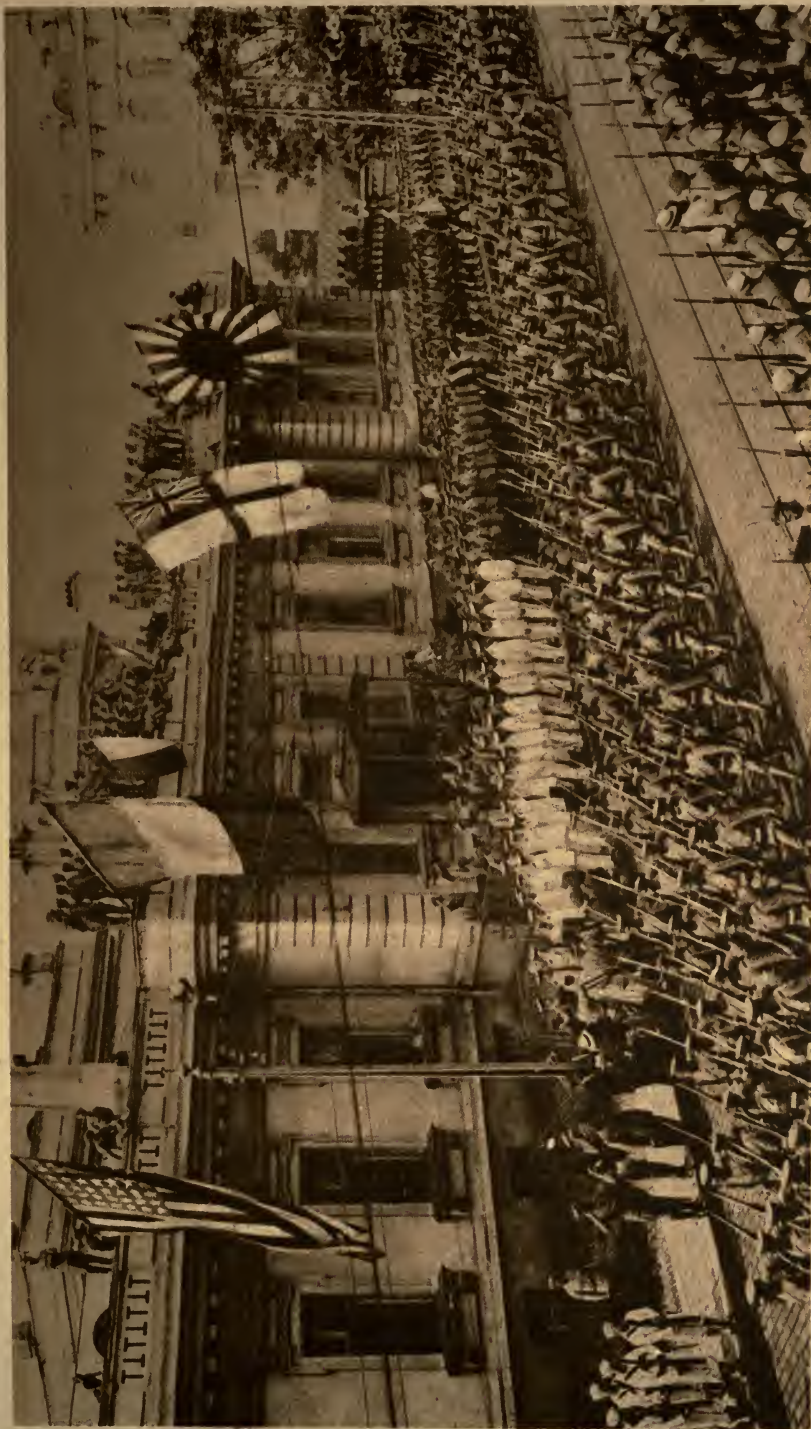


Généralissimo of the Allied Armies, with Marshal's Baton in His Hand

GENERAL MANOURY



The French Victor at the Oureq
(© Underwood & Underwood)



Americans, Britishers, and Czechoslovaks Greeting the Japanese Troops at Vladivostok

(© Underwood & Underwood)



No Man's Land at Night, Illuminated by the Blaze of Bursting Star Shells.

(© C. M. Henshaw, Camp Kearny, Neb.)



Headlong Rush of American Marines at Belleau Wood, June 10, 1918, When the Germans Were Driven Out
(Drawing by Georges Scott)



Hauling a Heavy American Gun Across a French River with the Aid of Tractors and a Block and Tackle

(© International Film Service)



French Airplane Releasing Bombs While Under Heavy Shrapnel Fire



The Ancient Town of Nazareth, Palestine, Captured by the British
(© Underwood & Underwood)



United States Infantryman When Fully Equipped for Field Service
(Committee on Public Information)



Fifth Avenue, New York City, Dressed for Fourth Liberty Loan Campaign

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 20, 1918]

AN EPOCH-MAKING MONTH

OCTOBER, 1918, the fifty-first month of the war, witnessed the most momentous events since the outbreak of the world conflict. It was in this period that the strategy of the Generalissimo of the allied forces, Marshal Foch, which was first manifested in the offensive launched in the Château-Thierry pocket, July 18, saw its brilliant consummation. Within three months from that date Bulgaria unconditionally surrendered, Turkey met supreme disaster in the field and was practically out of the war, Austria-Hungary became panicstricken in the face of impending disintegration and sued for peace—which was definitely rejected, except at the price of the dissolution of the empire—while Germany's military pride was humbled into the dust by the forced retreat of her armies along the whole front from the North Sea to the Alsatian Mountains as defeat after defeat befell her on every sector. Further humiliation came when she hurriedly evacuated the entire Belgian Coast on Oct. 17 to avoid the capture of all the forces of the German right wing, and quitted the important industrial districts of Northeastern France, surrendering the important cities of Lille, Douai, Cambrai, Roubaix, La Fère, Laon, St. Quentin, and the Argonne Forest to the victorious allied arms. On Oct. 6, forced by military disasters and domestic upheaval, the German Government appealed to President Wilson for an immediate armistice and peace on the terms laid down by the President in his public utterances since Jan. 8, 1918. The Kaiser's Government was compelled to suffer a further derogation of its pride by witnessing the rejection of this plea on account of the distrust its trickery and atrocities had produced, and was confronted with the alternative of unconditional surrender or certain defeat in the field. This crisis, one of the epoch-making points in political history, with the kaleidoscopic events that followed in quick sequence, made the month's record

a fascinating and catastrophic narrative. The phases of this culmination are treated separately in the various chapters of this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

* * *

REBUILDING LOUVAIN

ON Sept. 1 an impressive ceremony took place on the Belgian front in commemoration of the burning of Louvain and the Louvain Library. Among those present were the King and Queen of the Belgians and their son, General Roqueril, head of the French mission, and a considerable number of French and Belgian officers and men. M. Etienne Lamy, Secretary of the Académie Française, said it was the German desire to destroy everything that was not the product of their own so-called culture. There would be an international inquiry into the crime of Louvain. The Secretary of the International Reconstruction Fund said the whole of the civilized world was supporting the movement to re-establish the library. Its resurrection would be a universal work.

In a letter addressed to a meeting of men of letters at Havre for the restoration of the library, M. Emile Boutroux of the French Academy wrote:

Before the destruction of this library men belonging to one or another university, school, or society, professing some confession, right or not, seemed to be divided by such radical differences as made any kind of rapprochement impossible. In the presence of the ashes of Louvain humanity has forgotten these distinctions. It has felt outraged, violated in that which, says Pascal, is the very principle of its dignity, its thought, mirror of divine wisdom, the only instrument capable of seeking truth. Spontaneously and in unity of spirit, it has dedicated itself to the work of reparation. Intimate union, says Aristotle, is achieved by common work for a beautiful cause. The martyrdom which crowned the heroism of Belgium has been a bond of union for all men of good-will.

While we combine our efforts to repair—alas! only as much as possible—the injury done to humanity at large by the burning of Louvain, we also, if I mistake not,

pledge each other to put an end to these feuds of opinions and beliefs, as fruitless or baleful as they are contrary to human dignity, and to consecrate all our forces, first to fight as long as may be necessary the declared enemy of liberty and all true civilization, and, secondly, to solve those numerous and arduous questions which impose themselves on humanity in its effort to realize the material, intellectual, and moral perfection of which its nature is capable. Louvain in ruins is no longer a rare collection of precious things; it is the rallying point for all minds devoted to the higher interests of humanity.

* * *

POOLING WAR INDUSTRIES

THE Allies have put into operation the centralized control of all the economic forces of the nations at war with Germany. The plan was worked out by President Wilson's war advisers in conjunction with the allied missions, and received the approval of the President and the Premiers of the Entente nations. The co-ordination of effort embraces the five interallied councils—war, shipping, munitions, food, and finance—and the scope of their operations is limited to the following cases:

Where two or more Governments are interested in supplies which must be transported overseas, to supplement deficiencies in local production.

Where several sources of supplies should be agreed upon, together with the allotment and method of their distribution or utilization.

Where there might, without agreement, be competition between Governments in procuring supplies or a wasteful duplication of productive effort.

The committees deal directly with virtually all materials and commodities for the prosecution of the war. These include nitrates, tungsten, and tin, international pooling agreements for which have recently been effected in Paris and London, nonferrous metals, iron and steel, hides and leather, rubber, wool, and all other raw materials or manufactured products of which there may be a shortage, or where competitive and shipping conditions, and the local production and distribution situation make control desirable. Pooling agreements for these latter will be effected as the necessity arises.

The plan seeks to secure in the economic sphere results comparable with

those obtained in the field through the unified military command.

* * *

PRESENTING THE BATON TO MARSHAL FOCH

THE baton of a Marshal of France, the nation's highest military honor, was presented to General Ferdinand Foch on Aug. 23, 1918. The ceremony took place at his headquarters and was striking in its simplicity. The Marshal was found busied with his maps and wearing on his sleeves seven stars, the distinctive mark of his new dignity. A company of infantry was drawn up in the garden before the château. Marshal Foch, accompanied by General Pétain and a score of other eminent soldiers, waited for a few minutes in front of the troops. Then the band struck up the "Marseillaise," as motor cars bearing a distinguished party of statesmen from Paris rolled through the gates. Among those who alighted were President Poincaré, Premier Clemenceau, M. Leygues, Minister of Marine, and M. Loucheur, Minister of Armaments.

The President and Marshal Foch walked together down the line of troops. Then the Generals grouped themselves, and M. Poincaré, standing opposite Marshal Foch, recited the services, in recognition of which France had conferred upon him the highest military honor in its gift. The names of the Marne, the Yser, the Somme, and the battles of the present year followed each other in quick succession, and at the close of his eloquent peroration the President handed to the Marshal the velvet-covered and gold-starred baton, which symbolized the gratitude and confidence of France.

The distinction is one that of late has been rarely bestowed. With the exception of Joffre no one has been raised to the rank for forty years past. It was under the reign of Philip Augustus that the Marshal of France was first recognized as Commander in Chief of the army. Previous to that time he was subordinate to the constable, who held supreme military power. Under Francis I. the number of Marshals was raised to two, under Henry III. to four, and under Louis XIV. to twenty. Napoleon used the title as a stimulant to the ambition of

his soldiers, but with the downfall of the Second Empire the title fell largely into abeyance. The rarity of its bestowal increases the value of the honor conferred on the Commander in Chief of the allied forces.

* * *

ST. QUENTIN

ST. QUENTIN, in the centre of the Hindenburg line, was occupied on Oct. 1 by the Fourth British Army under Rawlinson and the First French under Debeney. It is the key to the trunk line between France, Belgium, and Northern Germany—the railway system, Lille-Rheims. It lost its tactical value for the Germans after their retreat to the Hindenburg line in the Spring of 1917, but recovered it in their offensive of last March, when von Hutier's attempt to drive his "shock" troops between the ill-fated British Fifth Army and the French Sixth almost succeeded.

During their period of occupation the Germans tried to turn the town into a miniature Paris. Both have a Champs Elysées, and in St. Quentin, in order to enhance the illusion, the Germans renamed the Faubourg St. Jean the Faubourg St. Germain, and the Faubourg d'Isle, across the Somme, the Quartier Latin. Previous to the first retreat the theatres, restaurants, and hotels did a thriving business as befitted the headquarters of the Second German Army. For three Winters it was the gayest city behind the German front. Doubtless, in the circumstances, the inhabitants learned many valuable military secrets, which may account for the fact that, when they withdrew, the enemy took with them the entire population of over 50,000.

St. Quentin has several historical edifices still standing, but more imperishable memories. Ascending the hill from the railway station by the Somme, the first of the British troops to enter the town came upon the slightly damaged structure of the Hôtel de Ville, a fine piece of Gothic. To the right at the other end of the "common" are the ruins of the church, in a crypt of which reposed the dust of the Christian martyr, Carus Quintius, whose name is preserved in both town and church.

St. Quentin saw some fighting in the war of 1870. The Boulevard du Huit Octobre commemorated the successful defense of the town on Oct. 8 against the Prussians. Later Faidherbe desperately withstood the attacks of the Bavarian, von Goeben, until the general armistice ended hostilities. The town also has several links with English history. In 1557, when the Spanish King, Philip II., was the husband of Queen Mary, their troops defeated the French Army at St. Quentin, under the famous Admiral Coligny. The battle was fought on St. Lawrence Day, and Philip raised the grim pile known as the Escorial in honor of the saint. The town was also part of the dowry of Mary Queen of Scots when she married Francis II. She drew a revenue from it until her death.

* * *

NAZARETH

NAZARETH, which was taken by the British in the advance through Palestine, is the place where Jesus spent His early youth and taught in the synagogue. Down to the time of Constantine it was a small village, occupied by Samaritan Jews, and in the year 600 it was taken by the Turks. In the year 1,000 the Greek Emperor Zimisces took the village and subsequently the Crusaders transferred thither the bishopric of Scythapolis. The town was rebuilt by Emperor Frederick II. in 1229 and was visited by Louis IX. of France.

In 1517, when the Turks conquered Palestine, the Christians were compelled to leave Nazareth. In 1620 the Franciscans, aided by Fakreddin, established themselves in the town and it enjoyed a renewal of prosperity.

The Bible relates that it was here that the Angel Gabriel appeared before the Virgin Mary to announce the conception of Christ. Upon the spot a Latin convent called the Annunciation, or the House of the Virgin, stands now, surrounded by many other buildings, dating back only to the eighteenth century. The present town has a population of about 11,000, mostly Christians. The buildings here are all flat-topped stone houses, built on a declivity, made picturesque by hedges of olive and fig trees.

CONFERENCE REGARDING AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

AN American-German War Prisoners' Conference began at Berne, Switzerland, Sept. 24, 1918, under the Presidency of Paul Dinichert, Swiss Minister Plenipotentiary. The conference was opened by President Calender of Switzerland.

The American delegates included John W. Garrett, Minister to the Netherlands; John W. Davis, the new Ambassador to London; General Kernan, representing the army; Captain Hough, representing the navy; Colonels Grant, Shartle and Ashburn, Commander Stone of the navy, Mr. Story of the Department of Justice, and Major Perkins of the American Red Cross.

The Germans included Prince Hohenlohe-Langenburg, Count Montgelas, Colonel von Fransecky, Councilor von Keller, Major Draudt, and Captain Wilke von Hindenburg of the navy.

Prince Ernst Hohenlohe-Langenburg, Chairman of the German delegation, was born in 1863. From 1900 to 1905 he was Regent in Saxe-Coburg-Gotha for Duke Karl Eduard, a minor, and later he was a member and for a short time President of the Reichstag. Count Adolph Montgelas, head of the American section of the German Foreign Office, served for a time in the embassy at Washington. He married Miss Fanny Dickinson Hazeltine, daughter of Dr. Charles S. Hazeltine of Grand Rapids, Mich, who was the American Consul at Milan under President Cleveland. Captain von Hindenburg, designated Envoy Extraordinary and Minister, is a nephew of Field Marshal von Hindenburg.

No official report of the results of the conference had been announced up to Oct. 20.

* * *

A SUPERFLUOUS MEDAL

THE Carnavalet Museum in Paris has obtained from Basle, Switzerland, a replica of the only medal remaining of a large issue which was struck off in 1914 by the Germans to commemorate their capture of Paris; the entire supply, except the single medal at the Basle Museum, was destroyed after the failure of the Kaiser's armies to reach Paris.

The medal is of an aluminium alloy. On one side is an iron cross, with "W" and a crown, and the date "1914." On the obverse is a figure of the Eiffel Tower and the Arc de Triomphe, the two dates 1871 and 1914, and the inscription, "Entry of the German troops into Paris." This medal was obviously struck with a view to the Kaiser's being in Paris in August, 1914. His hopes not being realized and the supply of metal running short, the tell-tale stock was melted down. It is stated that tens of thousands of these medals had been made.

* * *

CAMBRAI

BAPTISTE COUTAING, who was born and lived in Cambrai in the fifteenth century, there invented a fine linen cloth or muslin which, taking its name from the place, is known as "cambric" the world over. The French, however, call it "batiste," after the inventor's name.

Cambrai, which was captured by the Third British Army under General Byng, Oct. 9, is traversed by three arms of the River Scheldt, which, on French territory, is called the Escaut. Cambrai is thirty-two miles south-southeast of Lille. It had a population of about 30,000, mostly engaged in the manufacture of cloth.

From the Roman Camaracum, it became, in the Middle Ages, the capital of a small Episcopal province, the Dukes of Burgundy, and then the German Emperors, acting as their châtelains. Here in 1508 was formed the famous League of Cambrai, comprising Maximilian, Louis XII., Pope Julius II., and Ferdinand of Aragon, against Venice. Twenty-one years later Margaret of Austria and Louise of Savoy, acting, respectively, for Charles V. and Francis I., signed the "Paix des Dames"—the women's peace—the famous Peace of Cambrai.

The town has belonged to France since 1679. In 1815 it surrendered to the Duke of Wellington. Fénelon, the diplomat and author, was born and lived here, and his name is preserved in the Place Fénelon.

Cambrai has few buildings of the very remote past; most of them date from the

seventeenth or eighteenth century. But there remains the Château de Selles in the northwest corner of the town, its restorations even dating back to the eleventh century. The Belfry, in the Rue St. Martin, dates from the fifteenth century.

* * *

LIEUTENANT OF LONDON TOWER

GENERAL SIR IAN HAMILTON, Commander of the ill-starred Gallipoli expedition, which was caustically condemned by a commission, was appointed in September to the post of Lieutenant of the Tower of London, succeeding Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien, who was, made Governor of Gibraltar. His selection to this lucrative post was a surprise, in view of the criticism levelled at him for the failure in the Dardanelles.

The office of Lieutenant of the Tower dates from the reign of Edward II., who first created the post for Sir Giles de Oudenard, and ever since it has been filled by distinguished commanders of the British Army, the title being that of His Majesty's Lieutenant of the Tower. Above the Lieutenant is the Constable of the Tower, a still more ancient office, created by William the Conqueror in the year 1068 for Sir Geoffrey de Mandeville, and now held by the octogenarian Field Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood, V. C.

* * *

CRIME IN ENGLAND LESSENER BY WAR

THE report of the Prison Commissioners of England and Wales shows that in the 138 prisons the following decreases occurred in the prison population:

Daily Average—	1914.	1918.
Convict prisons.....	2,704	1,393
Local prisons.....	14,352	7,335
Borstal institutions.....	928	720
Detention	171	70
Reformatories	81	3

The report states that in 1903 one person out of every 175 in the community was or had been in prison; in 1913 the number had fallen to one in every 271, and since the war started it had dropped to one in 1,127. The fall during the war was attributed chiefly to improved social conditions, the call on

the manhood of the nation, and the diversion of many persons from idle and unprofitable lives, with endless opportunities for crime, to useful employment, while in many cases intense patriotism had led persons not only to abstain from evil themselves, but to do good work by their example and encouragement to others. Twenty years ago there were 20,000 youths between 16 and 21 in prison annually, and now there were only 4,000, while, owing to the efforts of the after-care societies, between 70 and 80 per cent. were saved from a life of crime.

As a result of appeals made to the patriotism of prison workers the average output of prison labor was nearly \$45 per head more than before the war, and more than 17,000,000 articles, representing nearly 12,000 a day, had been distributed from the prisons for war purposes. Many former inmates of prisons had made good by acts of sacrifice and gallantry, and not a few had been promoted and decorated.

* * *

HOLLAND'S IDLE SHIPPING

THE War Trade Board announced on Oct. 17 that negotiations would be resumed at once for a rationing agreement with Holland. Throughout the Summer Holland remained the one neutral country in Europe that had not concluded a commercial agreement with the United States. Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, and Switzerland all had signed such agreements. Secretary Lansing on Sept. 20 issued a statement showing the friendly attitude of the United States in this matter. A tentative agreement with the Netherlands Government similar to those with the other European neutrals had been reached in January, 1918, by which the United States was to have furnished 100,000 tons of bread cereals, 140,000 tons of petroleum products, 26,000 tons of cotton goods, 35,000 tons of coffee, and about 100,000 tons of various other articles of which Holland stood in great need, but this arrangement was rejected by the Netherlands authorities, though at least 50,000 tons of shipping lay idle in Dutch harbors. This paralysis of Dutch ton-

nage was understood to be due to German threats to destroy all shipping that might be used in carrying supplies to Holland. Between America and the Dutch East Indies, where there was no submarine activity, Dutch vessels moved freely. Holland's change of policy is attributed to the altered military situation on land and sea.

* * *

CREDITS TO ALLIED NATIONS

THE following credits had been established and cash advances made in favor of foreign Governments by the United States up to Sept. 3:

	Credits Established.	Cash Advances.
Belgium	\$154,250,000	\$144,030,000
Cuba	15,000,000	5,000,000
France	2,065,000,000	1,780,000,000
Great Britain..	3,745,000,000	3,482,000,000
Greece	15,790,000	.....
Italy	760,000,000	730,000,000
Rumania	6,666,666	.....
Russia	325,000,000	187,729,750
Serbia	12,000,000	9,005,000
Total	\$7,098,706,666	\$6,337,764,750

The obligations received from foreign Governments are in the form of or are held as demand notes, carrying interest at rates not less than those borne by the respective issues of Liberty bonds of the United States, and the Treasury Department receives assurances from the Department of State as to the authority of the foreign representatives to execute the obligations on behalf of their respective Governments.

* * *

THE USE OF SHOTGUNS IN WAR

THE German authorities on Sept. 19 transmitted through the Swiss Legation a protest against the Americans' use of shotguns in guarding prisoners of war, declaring that this was a violation of The Hague Convention and announcing that every American prisoner "found to have in his possession such guns or ammunition belonging thereto forfeits his life." Secretary Lansing replied on Sept. 29 denying that the use of shotguns was forbidden by The Hague Convention, and stating that the weapon was

lawful and that its use would not be abandoned. He added this sentence:

Moreover, if the German Government should carry out its threat in a single instance it will be the right and duty of the Government of the United States to make such reprisals as will best protect the American forces, and notice is hereby given of the intention of the Government of the United States to make such reprisals.

Shotguns are used by the American Army in general police work and in guarding prisoners, being preferred in such army work over the high-power rifle, because the latter would endanger persons not intended to be hit.

* * *

THE latest church census in England shows a decrease of 135,542 communicants in two years in the Established Church; the free churches are less in membership in the same period by 74,827; the net shrinkage in ten years in Sunday schools in all churches in England is 545,161 scholars and 19,234 teachers.

* * *

THE Finance Minister of Rumania introduced on Aug. 24, 1918, a bill in the Chamber of Deputies for war credits amounting to \$400,000,000, of which \$120,000,000 is appropriated to cover damages caused to private property in Rumania by the war. Indemnities of from 25 to 75 per cent. will be paid for damage suffered; where the damage exceeds \$20,000, 25 per cent. will be allowed.

* * *

THE Kaisertreuen, the party of the Kaiser in Germany, issued a statement in August, asserting that the German Socialist newspaper, Vorwärts, receives each year as a subsidy from the German Government from \$60,000 to \$125,000; also that the Berliner Tageblatt annually receives \$500,000 from official sources. The definite statement is also made that Rudolf Mosse, publisher of several important German daily newspapers, receives a \$900,000 annual subsidy from the Government.

GREAT GERMAN RETREAT

How Foch's Flank Strategy Turned the Enemy Out of the Gigantic Salient in Belgium and France

[PERIOD FROM SEPT. 18 TO OCT. 18, 1918]

IN the last week of September Marshal Foch appeared suddenly to change one of his first principles of strategy and to resort to frontal attacks on a large scale—in Champagne and then in Flanders. It was a paradox, however, for only locally were they delivered against the enemy's front, and even here there was no change in the details of flanking the enemy out of defended positions; in relation to the great salient of German occupation in France, however, they were gigantic flank movements at the extremities of this salient. The masterly co-ordination of decisive effects revealed Pershing's operations on the St. Mihiel salient as part of a pinching-out process on a prodigious scale.

Champagne and Flanders mark the third phase of the great movement begun on July 18. Three days earlier Ludendorff had reached the maximum of his territorial expansion in France. He had developed the Lys, the Picardy, and the Marne salients, and by so doing had stretched his active front from 195 to 250 miles.

He could expand no further. Foch held the sectors connecting the arcs of these salients, and had, almost unnoticed, secured the strategic positions on their perimeters. The Crown Prince's excursion across the Marne on July 15 was a desperate expedient. It failed. Then everywhere, but in precise tactical sequence, Foch began three days later to utilize the positions he had gained. His doubted army of manoeuvre suddenly materialized and was utilized with telling effect. Ludendorff, smashed here and there, at times simultaneously a hundred miles apart, could not hold his front. He had not the men. Foch drove in the three salients one after the other.

That was the first phase. He next developed two salients of his own at the extremes of the Hindenburg perpendicu-

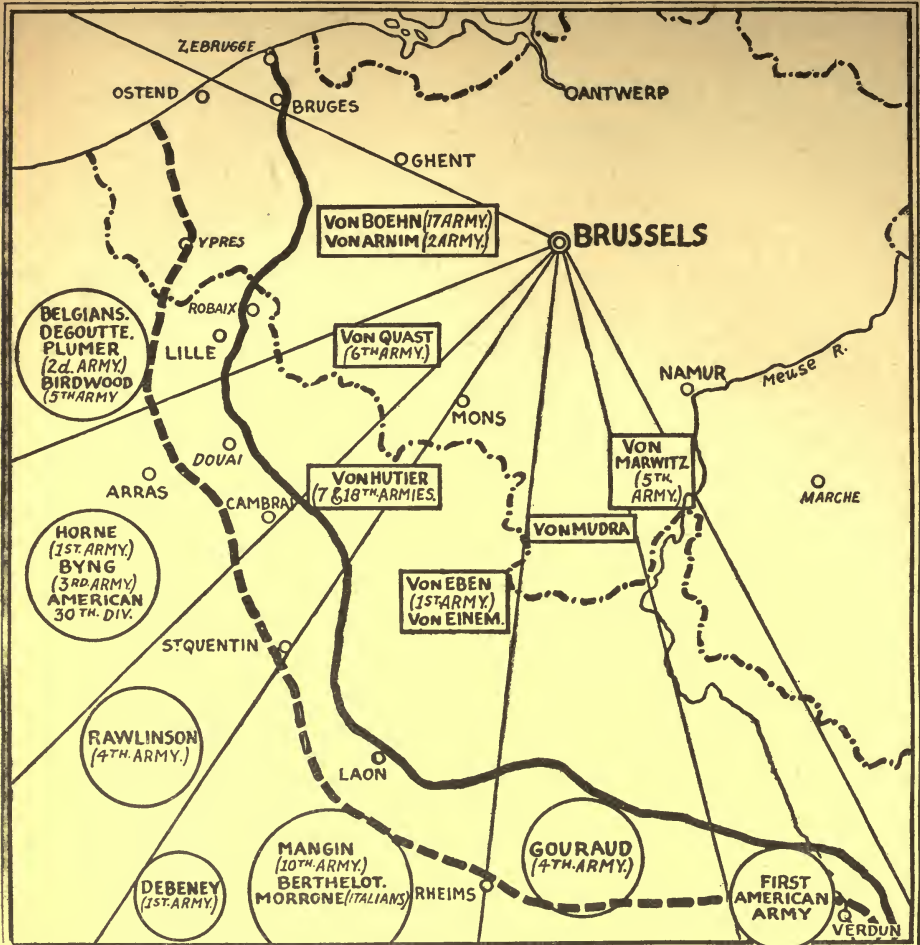
lar—against Cambrai on the north and Laon on the south. That was the second phase. By Oct. 15 the world was observing the third—the attacks on the extremities of the great arc whose cord was represented by 200 miles of Belgian frontier.

The German view of the first two phases of the Foch movement—in the light of the German offensive and retreat—is indicated by these words of General Ardenne in the *Berliner Tageblatt*:

The three great attacking actions from March 21 to July 15 caused the enemy losses amounting to 1,225,000 men. Then, when on July 15 the attempted surprise failed, and, in spite of his losses, the enemy's numerical superiority was ready, the German command, swift as lightning and without any hesitation, knew how to find the transition to the now necessary, but momentary, defensive. That is a strategic masterpiece which merits admiration. Moltke once said that the defensive could, under certain conditions, be the stronger form of combat, especially if, in sections of ground which are particularly favorable for defense and inaccessible to hostile enemy flanking attacks, a numerically inferior force compels superior enemy forces to costly frontal attacks. The German command adopted this principle in the battles since July 15.

The expounder of this "strategic masterpiece" overlooked or ignored the psychological objective in the Foch strategy—the obsession of the enemy's mind by the idea of defeat and the conviction of useless death. With what success Foch has attained this objective the loss of the enemy's morale is abundantly demonstrating. His casualties are believed to be twice the number alleged by General Ardenne to have been suffered by the Allies up to July 15. The number of prisoners and guns lost by the enemy since July 15 is upon record; it is 300,000 soldiers and nearly 5,000 guns.

As for Foch's material objectives, the



WHERE THE ALLIES FORCED THE GREAT GERMAN RETREAT. THE BROKEN LINE SHOWS BATTLEFRONT OF SEPT. 18, AND THE HEAVY LINE THAT OF OCT. 18, 1918.

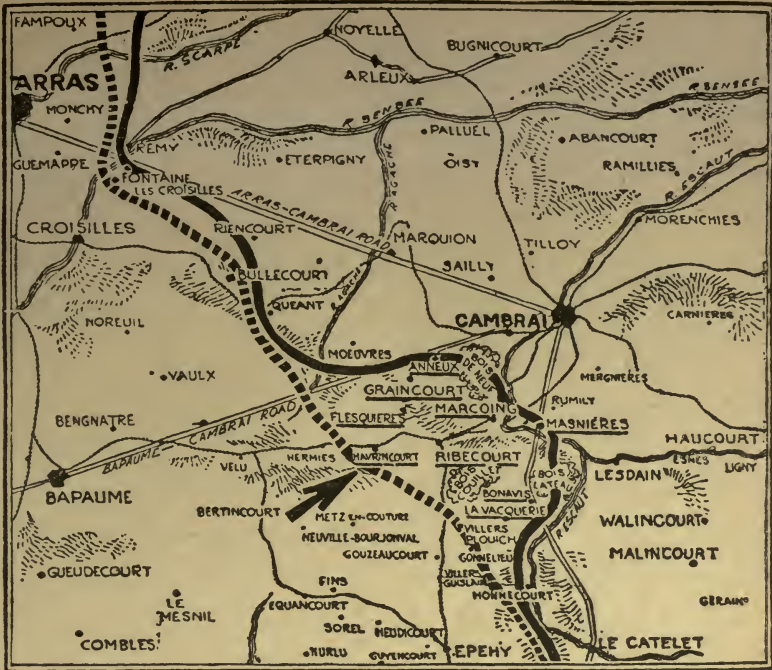
sequence of the events between Sept. 18 and Oct. 18 falls into a strategic line of development which at the end becomes chronological. Two events took place toward the end of last month's period of review which had a potent influence on the future: the penetration of the outer works of the Hindenburg line and the advance of the St. Mihiel salient in the week succeeding Sept. 12.

The former made possible (1) the development of the attack against Cambrai, (2) the move against Laon, and (3) a further penetration at the centre of the Hindenburg line and the advance beyond St. Quentin. When these three movements had reached a certain stage

the two great flank attacks made possible (4) the advance of the Franco-American armies in the Champagne on Sept. 26, which was a strategic corollary of the affair of St. Mihiel of a fortnight before, and finally, (5) the great movement begun in Western Belgium on Sept. 28. Let us examine the details of these events according to the foregoing numerical sequence.

I. TO CAMBRAI AND BEYOND

This sector, associated with the various battles of Arras, and particularly with the ill-fated battle for Cambrai of last November, is fed on the German side by two railways, both proceeding from Valenciennes, one to Douai and the other



WITH HORNE AND THE FIRST BRITISH ARMY ON HIS LEFT AND THE 30TH AMERICAN DIVISION ON HIS RIGHT, BYNG AND THE THIRD ARMY TOOK CAMBRAI

to Cambrai. To the Allies the natural obstructions were the Sensée Canal from Douai south and the Scheldt or Escaut Canal, which is joined by it half way between Valenciennes and Cambrai, and the artificial obstruction, the Hunding line, constructed by the Germans between the Scarpe and the Oise.

The assault made on Sept. 18 by Rawlinson's Fourth British Army and Debeney's First French against the front of the Hindenburg line, which carried the outer defenses of that line at two points northwest of St. Quentin, (at Villeret and from Pontru to Holnon,) in the British sector, was counterattacked the following day by the Germans throughout the entire extent of the Allies' advance of twenty-two miles—from Gouzeaucourt to Hinacourt—with an intense concentration both in artillery preparation and massed infantry attacks on the British sector between Gouzeaucourt and Havrincourt Wood.

This counterattack being thrown back, the circumstance, while relieving Rawlinson and Debeney, opened the way on the former's left for a further demonstra-

tion by Byng and the Third British Army. Here Moeuvres, seven miles west of Cambrai, was completely reoccupied. On Sept. 25 the 30th American Division was injected between Byng and Rawlinson and, on Sept. 27, the Americans and Byng with the First British Army under Sir Henry Horne on their left made an advance from a fourteen-mile front in the direction of Cambrai, crossing the Canal du Nord and the ramifications of the Hindenburg line at several points, capturing several villages and 6,000 prisoners. Continuing their attack the next day, they captured several towns made famous by the battle of Cambrai of last November—Marquion, Noyelles, Cantaing, and Fontaine-Notre Dame, and their prisoners were increased to 10,000, their captured guns to over 200.

On Sept. 29 the Americans with Rawlinson's left wing pressed forward on a thirty-mile front, from before St. Quentin to the Sensée Canal. In the south the British crossed the Scheldt Canal; in the north the Americans took Bellecourt and Nauroy and reached the suburbs of Cambrai. The advance upon Cambrai



WHERE THE FRENCH ARMIES OF MANGIN AND BERTHELOT CO-OPERATED NORTH OF RHEIMS WITH THE ITALIANS UNDER MORRONE

forced the Germans to evacuate the Lens coal fields on Oct. 3, and four days later an advance of Horne on a four-mile front placed the British in Oppy and Biache-St. Vaast, six miles to the southwest of Douai. At the same time Byng crossed the Scheldt Canal in the vicinity of Aubencheul-au-Bac, five miles northwest of Cambrai.

On Oct. 9 Cambrai was occupied by an advance over a thirty-mile front which covered both this city and St. Quentin. This was coincident with a German retreat from beyond Arras to beyond St. Quentin.

Henceforth the advance of the Allies east of Cambrai became identified with the St. Quentin front, although the advance east beyond Lens continued to be independent of it. Here the British on Oct. 11 made a thrust toward Douai, the Germans evacuating strong positions to the north of the Sensée River. In the two days following the British made other gains here and eastward from Lens.

On Oct. 17 the British carried the line of the Selle River on the whole front south of Le Cateau and established

themselves on the railway beyond the town, taking 3,000 prisoners. On the 18th they took Zazeuel, east of Le Cateau.

II. LAON

A year ago General Pétain attempted to reach Laon by a frontal attack northward over the Chemin des Dames and the Ailette. Foch approached it from the flanks—from the St. Gobain Forest on the west and the Berry-au-Bac-Asfeld line of the Aisne on the southeast. Its strategic value had been discounted by modern weapons; its tactical value remained immense. It was an important observation post, and was the junction of two trunk lines of supply, one from Hirson, the other from Mézières.

On the night of Sept. 19-20 the Germans made five successive counterattacks east of the Ailette and an equally vain attempt to cross the Vesle at Jonchery. Similar attacks were repulsed by Mangin on the following night. On the 28th the Fort de Malmaison fell, which placed him on the left-rear of the Chemin des Dames—the "Ladies' Road,"



MOVEMENT ON MANGIN WITH THE TENTH FRENCH ARMY AND LINE OF DEPARTURE OF SEPT. 18

which occupies a ridge running east from the Laon-Soissons highway to Craonne, buttressed by its three plateaus, fourteen miles away, overrun by Pétain from the south in October, 1917. From this line started the German drive to the Marne on May 27.

On Sept. 28-29 Mangin advanced behind the Chemin des Dames, covering the ground between it and the Ailette for a distance of two miles. On Oct. 2 between the Aisne and the Vesle he took several towns—Pouillon and Thil and the massif of St. Thierry. On his right General Berthelot co-operated with him by capturing Couroy, north of Rheims, Degoutte having meanwhile been sent north to aid the drive in Flanders, which had begun on Sept. 28.

The objective of Berthelot was obviously Berry-au-Bac, ten miles north of Rheims and five miles southeast of Craonne, thus in his turn broadening the front of the Champagne offensive, which had been begun by Gouraud and Pershing on Sept. 26. Berry-au-Bac, the great German supply exchange depot between Laon and Reims, was occupied on Oct. 7. Between this date and the 12th Mangin had occupied nearly the entire length of the Chemin des Dames and the Germans were retreating from the Craonne plateaus.

The next day the great objectives sought for on the sector between La Fère and Rheims were attained by Mangin—the St. Gobain massif after a severe fight, and the strongholds of La Fère and Laon almost without firing a shot. Thus the connecting link of advance was made with Debeney and Rawlinson on the left and with Gouraud and Pershing on the right, and the vertex of the great German salient in France was entirely obliterated. After that the advance from the Oise southeast to the Aisne was rapid.

III. BEYOND ST. QUENTIN

The front of St. Quentin had three formidable defenses. From west to east they were the Hindenburg line, with elaborate outworks, the Somme and St. Quentin Canals, and behind these waterways the southern section of the Hunding line. It was the distributing centre for

a considerable section of the German front, having a direct triple track connection with the fortress of Maubeuge, fifty miles to the northeast, near the Belgian frontier.

Rawlinson and Debeney were quick to take advantage of their penetration of the western ramifications of the Hindenburg line, made on Sept. 18. While the British made secure their reoccupation of Moeuvres and penetrated Havrincourt Wood, the French on the south went beyond Essigny-le-Grand and the Moisy Farm, five miles south of St. Quentin. On the 22d Debeney captured the woods north of Ly-Fontaine, while his patrols north of La Fère reached the Oise. From their positions east of Holnon to Hill 123, south of Holnon, and along the Ham-St. Quentin highway, via Hill 138 and Dallon height, the Germans made a determined stand behind mine fields and pitfalls as defenses against the tanks. On Sept. 24 the French gained the famous Epine de Dallon, the scene of the beginning of the defeat of the Fifth British Army on March 21. The next day the British reached Selency, only two miles west of St. Quentin. On the 30th Thorigny and Le Tronquoy, respectively three and four miles north of St. Quentin, were captured by the British, and on Oct. 1 Debeney's troops penetrated the city as far as the canal. The next day they formally took possession of the place, from which the Germans had deported the entire population of 50,000.

Henceforth operations east of St. Quentin were to be linked up with those identified with Cambrai, although not to any great extent until after the capture of that city on Oct. 9. Meanwhile, the British northeast of St. Quentin pressed on beyond Le Catelet and Beauvoir, forcing the passage of the Scheldt Canal, while to the southeast began a successful attack upon the German intrenchments of Neuville, St. Amand, and Itancourt. By the 6th the British had measurably broadened their passage over the Scheldt Canal, while the French had captured the heights southeast of Chardon-Vert.

In the great drive of the 9th, which covered the fronts of both Cambrai and

St. Quentin, the British captured scores of towns and villages and drove the Germans from their partly completed fortifications at Le Cateau, which after St. Quentin had been the headquarters of the Second German Army, and by the

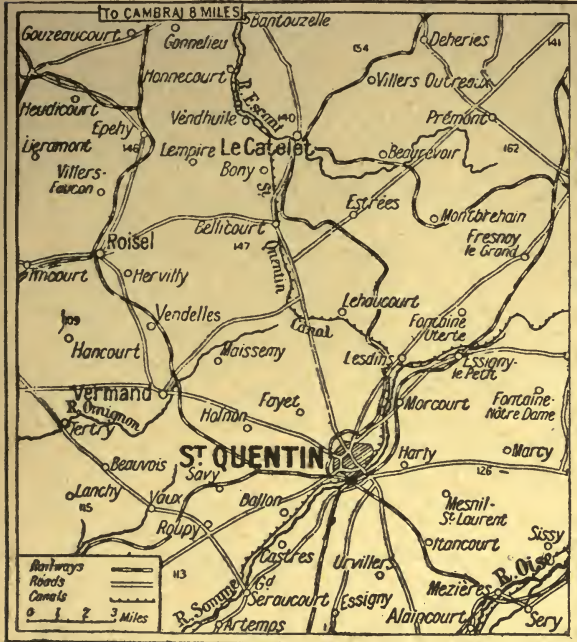
defenses. On the west there was the Aisne River, which formed an arc to the north of the front from the Argonne Forest westward, with a perpendicular of twenty miles; on the east was the Argonne, with its uneven surface and great trees. But twenty miles north of the apex of the arc of the Aisne—from Rethel, now invested by the French—is the great railway junctions of Mézières, which had connections with Lille to the northwest and still has them with Metz to the south-east.

The attack began on Sept. 26, just two days before the great Belgian-British offensive in Flanders—the French under General Gouraud from the Suippe east to the Argonne Forest, and the First American Army from the forest east to the Meuse, north of Verdun.

In the first day the French advanced from three to four miles and the Americans from five to six, taking the towns of Gercourt, Guisy, Montfaucon, Cheppy, and Verennes. The French took Servon,

which had been in the hands of the enemy since the retreat from the Marne, together with the Butte de Mesnil and Navarin Farm. By the end of the second day 10,000 prisoners had been captured. The Americans advancing down the Meuse and the Aire had captured Charpentry, Véry, Epinonville, and Ivoir, bringing them within cannon range of the Kriemhilde line of enemy defenses, which extended from Grand Pré east to Damvillers, eight miles beyond the Meuse. The French had descended the Aisne arc for a distance of two miles in the direction of Vouziers, the railway junction.

On Sept. 28 the French captured Somme-Py and the Americans made two miles down the Aire and came in contact with the Kriemhilde line where it had its bridgehead at Briculles, near the Meuse. Between Sept. 29 and 30 Gouraud, in his



PRINCIPAL FIELD OF OPERATION OF RAWLINSON WITH THE FOURTH BRITISH ARMY

10th Solesmes, ten miles east of Cambrai, had been occupied, as well as Fresies, northeast of Iwuy. On the next day, pressing their advance north of the Sensée River, the British reached the suburbs of Douai and Cuincy. The French crept up the western bank of the Oise and reached a point only twenty-five miles west of the German stronghold of Hirson, on the frontier.

On Oct. 17, Rawlinson's right wing, in close co-operation with the French Army of Debeney, north of the Oise, made an advance of two miles across the highway east of Bohain and captured Andigny-les-Fermes.

IV. CHAMPAGNE OFFENSIVE

The sector from Rheims east to the Côtes de Meuse, although lacking extensive lines of communication from the German side, had two great natural

sector, made a rapid advance, gaining positions which commanded the railway junction of Challerange and the high ground extending northwest to Machault, bringing him within five miles of Vouziers. Meanwhile the Germans were concentrating their forces along the Kriemhilde line to oppose the American First Army. Apremont was taken and held by the Americans.

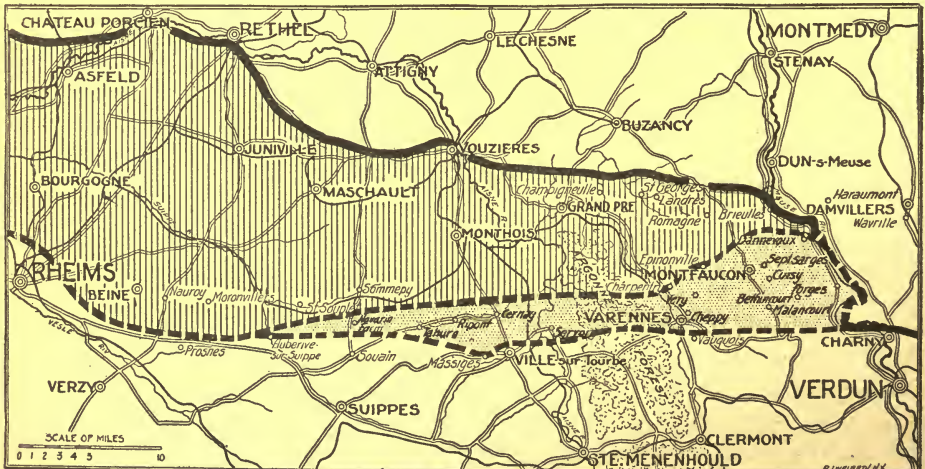
On Oct. 4 the Americans went over the Kriemhilde line, the last enemy organized line of defense south of the Belgian frontier, cutting through two Prussian Guard divisions on their way. The French in their sector evacuated Challerange, allowing the enemy to waste his artillery on it, but advanced north of Auberive and Somme-Py to the west. On the 5th the Germans made a great retirement before Gouraud's left wing over a front of twelve miles, and descended the Suipe River for a distance of three. The Americans extended their penetration of the Kriemhilde line beyond Romagne. The French instantly took advantage of the German retreat, and the next day pursued them on a broad front north and northeast of Rheims, driving the en-



PLACE OF JUNCTION OF GOURAUD'S FOURTH FRENCH ARMY AND THE FIRST AMERICAN ARMY

emy back eight miles in the direction of the Suipe, where it runs from east to west north of the Cathedral City.

On the 7th the Americans drove the Germans from the heights commanding the Aire Valley—Hills 242, 244, and 269. On the same day the taking of Berry-au-



THEATRE OF THE FRANCO-AMERICAN DRIVE BEGUN SEPT. 26

Bac by Berthelot on Gouraud's left linked up the two armies in a common advance which took Rheims out of range of the enemy's cannon for the first time since its investment in the Autumn of 1914. For three days the Americans, who had dug in on the heights of the Argonne, defended themselves against severe attacks of the enemy. By the 11th the French had taken over the entire line of the Suippe, while the Americans had begun to develop a new advance east of the Meuse. The line of contact through the northern tip of the Argonne Forest ran west and east.

On Oct. 12 it was officially announced that in sixteen days the Fourth French Army had taken thirty-six towns and villages, 21,567 prisoners, and 600 guns. The next day it took Vouziers and reached the great curve of the Aisne at its most northern point between Château-Porcien and Rethel.

On Oct. 15 the First American Army went beyond St. Juvin, stormed the defenses of St. Georges, and took Hill 299. It gained complete supremacy of the air from the northern course of the Aisne to the Meuse. It further expanded its positions on the right bank of the latter.

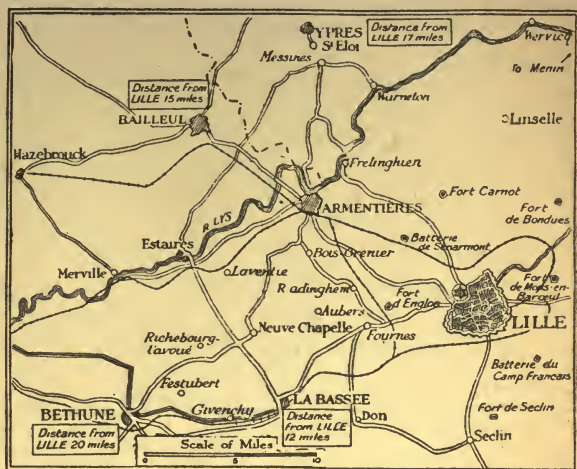
On Oct. 16 the Americans occupied the important strategic point of Grand Pré, on the northern bank of the Aire, at the vertex of the Argonne Forest. The next day they took the defenses of Romagne, which gave them complete control over the Côte de Chatillon and consolidated their positions beyond the Kriemhilde line. Meanwhile, the French west of Grand Pré had captured Notre Dame de Liesse and had advanced toward Rethel as far as the village of Acy-Romance. Violent counterattacks were made against the divisions of General Guillaumat on the road from St. Germainmont to Gerzicourt.

On the 18th the French crossed the Aisne near Vouziers. The Americans by

a surprise attack captured Bantheville, north of Romagne, and Talma Farm, northwest of Grand Pré.

V. FLANDERS

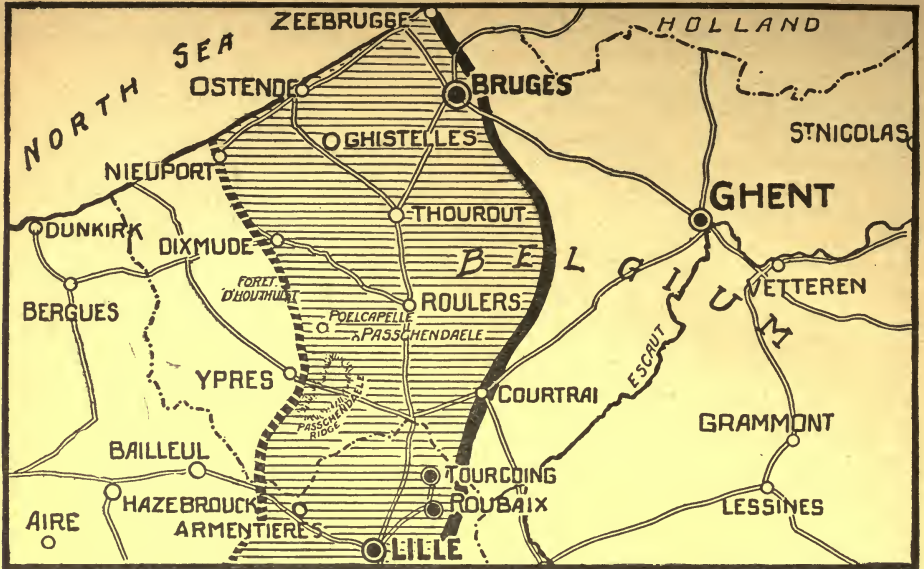
As the month closes the front from



SCENE OF BIRDWOOD'S OPERATIONS WITH REHABILITATED FIFTH ARMY. ON HIS LEFT IS PLUMER WITH THE SECOND, ON HIS RIGHT HORNE WITH THE FIRST.

Lens to the sea is the great theatre of interest. Here the German retreat is being conducted on a vast scale, with the evacuation of towns left practically intact. The retreat followed an attack under the personal direction of King Albert. In the first week the enemy lost 12,000 prisoners and 130 guns. This number was doubled by Oct. 15.

On Sept. 28, while the British fleet bombarded the coastal defenses and points of communication from Nieuport to Zeebrugge on the North Sea, the Belgian Army, under King Albert, and the Second British Army, under General Plumer, went over the German lines on a ten-mile front between Dixmude and Passchendaele Ridge, north of Ypres. They captured the whole of the Houtulst Forest and extended their front to the line of Woumen, Pierkenshoek, Schaep, Baillie, and Broodseynde—a penetration of five miles—and captured 4,000 prisoners and an immense amount of supplies. On the following day, the Belgians took Dixmude, Zarren, Stadenberg, Passchendaele, Moorslede, and part of Westroosebeke, and reached a point



FLANDERS OPERATIONS OF KING ALBERT WITH DEGOUTTE'S FRENCH ARMY AND PLUMER'S SECOND BRITISH ARMY

two miles west of Roulers. More than 1,500 prisoners were added.

On Sept. 30, Roulers was taken by the Belgians, while the British, advancing over their old battlefield of last year, overran Passchendaele Ridge and came within two miles of the railway junction of Menin. The next day the Allies crossed the Roulers-Menin road, while the British expanded the salient to the southeast, reaching the Lys River on a four-mile front between Warneton and Wervicq.

The French Army under General Degoutte joined this sector on Oct. 2, and a great enveloping movement, with Lille as its objective, was begun, which quickly obliterated the remnants of the Lys salient developed by the Germans on April 9, as the second phase of their great offensive. On the 2d also the Belgians went beyond Roulers to the northeast, taking Hoogdele and Handzeeme, and the British captured Rolleghecapelle, between Roulers and Courtrai. Further south they made an advance astride of La Bassé Canal, threatening Lens from the northwest, and reoccupied Armentières, taken by the enemy on April 9.

For ten days there was a consoli-

dation of positions by the Allies; then, on Oct. 14, they made a furious attack from Comines to the sea in the general direction of Ghent and Courtrai.

The results were in the following days overwhelmingly apparent. There were gradually developing signs that the Germans were preparing to evacuate the Belgian coast, falling back behind the Lys, possibly behind the Scheldt. The Belgians advanced north of the line of Handzeeme-Courtemarck for a distance of eight miles. In the centre the French, under Degoutte, took the Hoogdele Plateau, while their cavalry crossed the Roulers-Thourout road and advanced toward Lichtervelde. Together with the British, under Plumer, they captured Winckelhoek and Lendelede and reached the Courtrai-Ingemunster railway.

On Oct. 16 the great retreat of the Germans from Western Belgium began under the ever-accelerating pressure of the Allies. The Belgians advanced astride the Thourout-Bruges and the Thourout-Ostend roads. The French cavalry rushing toward Thielt came to within seven miles of the Ghent-Bruges Canal. The British reached Quesnoy and captured several towns along the Lys, crossing that river east of Comines.

Further south the rehabilitated British Fifth Army, under General Birdwood, began the envelopment of the important and historical French city of Lille, which he occupied, when the Germans evacuated it, on the 17th.

On the second day of the German retreat from Western Belgium, Ostend and Zeebrugge, the German submarine bases on the coast, were evacuated, as were all the towns westward of the line—Bruges, Lophem, Thielt, Meulebeke, Courtrai, Tourcoing, Roubaix, Lille—an irregular front of over fifty miles, which since Oct. 14 had rendered over 15,000 prisoners.

EXIT BULGARIA

[See map on Page 275]

The offensive begun by the army of the Allies under the French General, Franchet d'Esperey, on Sept. 14, on the Macedonian front, was brought to a sudden close on Sept. 30 by the unconditional surrender of Bulgaria, which had opened negotiations with the allied Commander in Chief on the 28th by asking for an armistice for forty-eight hours. Henceforth the chief concern of the British Army was to see that Bulgaria kept the terms of her surrender, while that of the French, Italian, and Serbian, with their Czechoslovak and Yugoslav auxiliaries, was to clear Serbia, Montenegro, and Albania of their Teuton enemies.

By Sept. 18 the Allies had extended their line of departure beyond Monastir on the west and beyond Lake Doiran on the east, over a front of 100-odd miles. On the north, with a penetration of forty miles, they were forcing their way up the Vardar toward Uskub, Serbia, and were threatening the Bulgarian town of Strumnitza from the left bank beyond the mountain barrier. Their prisoners were averaging 5,000 a day.

The French official report on the closing operations against Bulgaria reads as follows:

By Sept. 22 the Serbians had succeeded in cutting the communications of the First Bulgarian Army, operating along the Vardar, and those of the Bulgarian Second Army and the Germans north of Monastir. Displaying extraordinary endurance, courage, and a spirit of sacrifice, all the allied forces joined in the attack on Sept. 18 against the enemy positions at Doiran,

capturing this region from important Bulgarian forces.

Beginning Sept. 21, the Italian, Greek, and French troops in the region of Monastir moved forward in their turn. On the 22d a general pursuit began. It was conducted with ardor and splendid energy.

On the 23d the Serbians and French crossed the Vardar in the direction of Krivolak. On the 24th French cavalry entered Prilep. On the 25th Ishtib and the formidable barriers to Veles were captured. The British opened up the road to Strumnitza, which they entered on Sept. 26. The same day the Serbians reached Kochana and Veles and the Italians, French, and Greeks were marching on Kichevo.

On the evening of Sept. 26 the Bulgarians asked that hostilities be suspended, announcing that they were sending plenipotentiaries.

In the course of these glorious operations, which the hurried sending of German reinforcements could not check, the allied armies took a great number of prisoners and an immense quantity of war material.

Allied aviators took a most active part and gave very great help in the fighting. They constantly sent back information to the command, and without cessation they attacked enemy troops and convoys with machine guns, causing disorder among the enemy forces and preventing them from escaping from the advancing infantry.

There were reports that Austrian and German troops were hurrying to the support of the Bulgars and that their Governments would never permit Bulgaria to withdraw from the war; nevertheless, the surrender prevailed, and the first of the new month saw the Teuton forces fighting rearguard actions in Serbia and Albania. In the latter Berat was reoccupied by Italian troops on Oct. 3, and the French diverted west from the Vardar into Montenegro. The Serbians, with a Czechoslovak division, ascended the Vardar to the Morava River, and on Oct. 13 they occupied Nish, the war capital of Serbia, thereby cutting the Orient Railway, the only rail link between Berlin and Constantinople.

In Albania, Durazzo, whose naval forces had been demolished by the allied ships, including American submarines, on Oct. 1, was occupied by Italian troops on the 13th. The next day they entered Elbasan and invested Tirana, twenty miles to the northwest.

The subsequent developments of the

campaign to free Serbia and Montenegro from enemy occupation are filled with political meaning. On Oct. 17 a French column of cavalry reached Ipek, just over the Serbo-Montenegrin frontier, sixty-five miles east of Oettingje. On the same day the Serbs, proceeding beyond Nish, diverted a column up the Serbian Morava and reached Krushevat, ten miles southwest of Stolac, where a railway and highway coming east from Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, join the Orient Railway. Serbia claims both Bosnia and Herzegovina on account of their preponderant Serb population, but to the west of Bosnia is Croatia and to the north Slavonia, two Yugoslav States which were incorporated in the Yugoslav nation proclaimed at Corfu, July 20, 1917, and subsequently expounded to the Entente at the Rome Congress of April 8-10, 1918. The Serbian invasion of these States would at once establish material communication between them and the Allies, from which hitherto they have been isolated.

CONQUEST OF HOLY LAND

[See map on Page 271.]

On Sept. 19, British and French forces in Palestine under General Allenby attacked the Turkish position on a sixteen-mile front from Rafat to the sea. The results which followed are in a military sense the most interesting in the war. They are otherwise remarkable.

Ever since he closed his campaign last April he had apparently been held up on a sixty-mile front extending from the edge of the Plain of Sharon on the sea southeast to the River Jordan. Beyond his front were the Seventh and Eighth Turkish Armies, and on his right the Fourth, which all Summer had been in hostile contest with the troops of Hussein I., King of the Arab State of Hedjaz. It is estimated that the Turkish armies had the strength of between 100,000 and 150,000 bayonets; previous accounts had placed the figure as high as 300,000, but during the Summer there had been many desertions.

There were three successive stages to Allenby's operations: The breaking of the Turkish line near the sea; the pour-

ing of his cavalry and camel corps through the breach, with the encirclement of the Seventh and Eighth Armies, and his pursuit of the refugees. At this writing he is still developing the third stage, which, by the middle of October, had carried his cavalry to Tripoli, forty-five miles north of Beirut, the capital of Syria, on the coast, and to Homs, eighty-five miles north of Damascus. He had destroyed three armies and, with the aid of the Arabs, had captured 80,000 prisoners and 500 guns. The enemy Commander in Chief, the German Field Marshal, Liman von Sanders, narrowly escaped capture.

This rapid campaign, which opened the way to Aleppo, within 100 miles of which his cavalry was manoeuvring when it occupied Homs on Oct. 8, was simultaneous with an attack of Arabs against the Fourth Army, east of the Jordan. It immediately drove the Seventh and Eighth north upon Mount Ephraim and gained possession of the Tul Keram-Messudieh railway, between which and the sea the cavalry poured through.

This cavalry proceeded north along the western mounds of the Mount Ephraim range and then turned east toward the Jordan, thus placing itself in the rear of the two Turkish armies by occupying the valley between El Afule and Nazareth. The circle was completed on the 22d. Meanwhile, the army of the King of Hedjaz had attempted, but with less success, a similar manoeuvre against the Fourth Army. However, he had prevented the retreat of this army, cutting its communications north by destroying the Damascus-Medina railway at Derat, east of the Sea of Galilee.

By the 26th, while specially appointed detachments were picking off groups of prisoners south of the Haifa-El Afule-Bésan-Derat line, the patrol cavalry occupied the town on the Sea of Galilee known to the post Biblical geography as the Lake of Tiberias. East of the Jordan, Amman, on the Damascus railway, was also occupied. Finally, on Oct. 1, a strong British force and a detachment of the Arab Army took possession of the

famous city of Damascus and at once began to organize work for the cavalry further north.

A certain concentration of enemy forces remained at Aleppo, although they had been heavily drawn upon to obstruct the advance through Mesopotamia of General Marshall and the Anglo-

Indian Army. The main body of Marshall's forces was reported to be still south of Mosul on the Tigris. A 700-mile caravan trail runs to Mosul across the desert from Aleppo. Further north the Bagdad railway is in operation as far east as Ras-el-Ain, about half way to Mosul.

New Zealand's Decree on Germany's Colonial Ambitions

SIR JOSEPH WARD, Finance Minister of New Zealand, with the concurrence of Premier Hughes of Australia and W. F. Massey, the Premier of New Zealand, announced to the British Empire League at London July 16 that they had a positive mandate from their people, through resolutions passed at public meetings and unanimous declarations of the citizens, to inform the people of Great Britain that the New Zealand public would never tolerate the handing back to Germany of Samoa, New Guinea, and the Marshall Islands, the former German colonies in the Pacific Ocean. He proceeded as follows:

On one occasion Bismarck put this question to the British Government: "What parts of the Australian continent are claimed by Britain?" Do the people of the Motherland know that an attempt was made to Germanize South Australia? Have they ever heard of the "Dutch Heritage" and the "World Empire" scheme of the early eighties with its inner and outer circles, the former of which was to embrace the African coast and the latter the Australian colonies and the Falkland Islands? I recall this to show how limitless and all-pervading have been German aims and ambitions, and how that must be so again if we lapse into indifference. As long as Germany has a foothold in the Pacific she will ever stand a menace to our security and our peaceful development. German penetration in the Pacific was brought about in the early eighties during the international scramble for new territory. We out there had seen the danger for years, but it required an infinitude of patience and the acceptance of many snubs and rebuffs before the

Motherland could be induced to annex Fiji and other territories.

After recalling the action of Queensland with regard to taking formal possession of New Guinea in 1883, which was not approved by the Secretary of State for the Colonies at that time, Lord Derby, and after giving illustrations of the difficulties and complications which ensued, Sir Joseph referred to the Intercolonial Conference, which met in December, 1882, and passed the following resolution:

"The further acquisition of dominion in the Pacific south of the equator by any foreign power would be highly detrimental to the safety and well-being of the British possessions in Australasia, and injurious to the interests of the empire."

Despite that, Germany, in August, 1884, annexed part of New Guinea, and what was the attitude of the British Government then? Lord Granville was "able to assure Count Münster that her Majesty's Government had no desire to oppose the extension of German colonization in the Islands of the South Seas which are unoccupied by any civilized power. * * * The extension of some form of British authority in New Guinea will only embrace that part of the island which specially interests the Australasian colonies, without prejudice to any territorial question, beyond those limits." That might be described as effusiveness to Germany and partial surrender to the colonial point of view when it was too late.

Such was the story of the advent of Germany into the Pacific. A similar story might be told of Samoa. What he had said already was enough to justify this contention that the present attitude of New Zealand and Australia regarding the possible return of the former German colonies was no flash-in-the-pan of a hastily formed and ill-considered opinion, but was the latest and most logical outcome of a mature, well-defined, and well-reasoned policy of very long standing.

Driving the Germans From Belgium

Battles That Won Cambrai and Lille in France and Forced the Enemy Out of Flanders

By PHILIP GIBBS

The British offensive that began on Aug. 8, 1918, under Field Marshal Haig in Northeastern France and Flanders, the first phases of which were recorded in the September issue of CURRENT HISTORY, was continued with increasing success during the month ended Oct. 18. Those eventful weeks witnessed the capture of St. Quentin, Cambrai, Douai, and the important industrial cities of Lille, Roubaix, and Courtrai, while in Belgium, with the aid of the Belgian Army, the enemy was driven from Ostend, Zeebrugge, and Bruges, and was forced to retire with all speed from the whole English Channel region. The victorious allied armies, consisting of British, Belgian, French, and American units, by the middle of October were advancing at a speed that promised to drive the Germans entirely from Belgium and Northern France within a month and send them back to their last line of defense on the Meuse at the German frontier. The events of this great campaign were narrated day by day in the copyrighted cable dispatches of Philip Gibbs for THE NEW YORK TIMES and its affiliated publication, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The most striking portions of Mr. Gibbs's brilliant eyewitness descriptions are here presented in a continuous narrative, beginning with his pen picture of how Bourlon Wood fell to the Canadians on Sept. 27:

THE storm clouds had not passed just as the dawn broke, and those fields had a wild, bad look as they were dimly revealed by the rising curtain of day. Lights glimmered from the windows of huts built in these wastes and tents glowed red as the soldiers behind the lines rose and lit their lamps.

Camp fires began to burn outside the old dugouts where sandbags were whitening in the dawn. Already the airmen were outside their hangars, scenting the wind and looking to their machines for the first flight over the battlelines. The kite balloons were in battle array all across the sky, according to the swing of the line, and presently the sun rose and the clouds were dispersed by a fleet wind. Above their snowy peaks there was a lake of blue and those balloons of the British watching the drama of battle below them glistening and white.

I was not in time to see the first barrage fire, which began just at dawn without any preliminary bombardment, but it was terrific when I arrived in sight of Bourlon Wood and Moeuvres in the valley below. On the right all the guns were slogging away with rapid fire,

with the heavies—monstrous 9.2—far behind where I stood, and the field batteries well forward. The noise of their shells came rushing through the sky like great birds, beating their wings.

For miles stretching down below Ridges from Inchy and Moeuvres southward to Savincourt, I could see gun flashes and bursts of greenish smoke as lyddite shells were fired. There was a tremendous barrage of fire all about Bourlon Wood, to the left and right of it, and in the sweep across Flesquières.

PANORAMA OF BATTLE

The business of the battlefield was in full activity. Supporting troops were on the move marching in Indian file along duckboards leading to the front line or standing in groups under the shelter of sunken roads waiting for orders to get ahead. Gun limbers were crawling up many of the tracks with new stores of ammunition. Horse ambulances with canvas hoods, on which the Red Cross was painted like a flag, were being driven amazingly near to the battlelines, and bodies of the Royal



SCENE OF GERMAN RETREAT IN BELGIUM AND NORTHERN FRANCE. THE HEAVY LINE INDICATES BATTLEFRONT ON OCT. 18, 1918

Army Medical Corps were laying out new field hospitals and putting up tents in full view of Bourlon Wood, except for a fringe of bushes here and there. It was a wonderful panorama of battle.

On Sept. 29 the Belgians captured Dixmude, the first break in the German right flank, and the British continued their progress toward Cambrai. The chief struggle that day was on the Scheldt Canal, north of St. Quentin; here the Hindenburg line was again breached. Mr. Gibbs wrote:

This attack began in a dense fog.

It produced a weird effect such as I had never seen in this war. Bodies of men were moving in close array following up the first assault columns, but they could only be seen as through a glass, darkly, and no man was visible twenty paces ahead. Gun transports and batteries moved up the tracks toward the canal crossing, at Bellenglise, and as the mist shifted for a moment one saw them as ghost figures of men and beasts, and then a minute later they disappeared and one seemed in utter loneliness except for the sound of wheels

going over the rough ground and the tramp of horses' hoofs and the march of men.

Everywhere hidden in this fog were the guns. They were in sunken roads and infolds of fields and out in the open country and under cover of woods, but one could see nothing of them, not even a flash of them, but hear only their vast tumult of fire and rush of shells overhead, then something very horrible. In this darkness and noise it was as though an infernal nightmare were let loose around me. It was impossible to know one's whereabouts or gauge one's risk of hostile fire.

Immense shell craters in one patch of ground near one's position at the moment showed that the German guns had marked down this place, and that their shells had furrowed there a little while before being blind. One listened, and there was a sense of reassurance, because only rarely did one hear the whine of hostile shells or the snarl of German shrapnel. All shells but a few were going one way, and it was the British way, forward from the British guns.

STORMING THE CANAL

North of the 9th Corps, on the right of the attack, Australians and Americans stormed the canal, where a thousand yards were above the ground on their front and a thousand yards below, north and south of Bellicourt. Their left boundary was just below Vendeuville, where other English troops formed the flank and tried to bridge the canal.

The line in front of the American and Australian front was terrific in its original strength, for besides the wide canal there was a great belt of wire and many trenches. However, this morning the wire had been well cut by the British guns, and tanks were with the British to force a passage beyond and keep down machine-gun fire if they could get across.

They went across by the marvelous valor of the men, who established their bridges in spite of a heavy German barrage. This by good luck fell mostly behind them, and few of the British wounded were hurt in their desperate eagerness to keep close to their own barrage fire, the Americans being less ex-

perienced in this than the Australians, who were mostly veterans.

Notwithstanding the annihilating British bombardment, there was a fierce machine-gun fire from the enemy, and the British had hard going at first, but they broke down all resistance and, having passed to the other side of the canal, went ahead with the tanks around Bony and Bellicourt, where they had their worst fighting, and toward the next organized line of German resistance known as the Massinères-Beaurevoir line.

In these last three days, the most successful in all these years of war, we have struck the enemy a smashing and decisive blow from the sea to Verdun, and the Hindenburg line is now a farce—a farce and a tragedy which will shock the people of Germany to their hearts, because it breaks their last hopes of safety.

THE LABOR OF BATTLE

I should like to write about the courage and splendor of all our men who have the spirit of victory in their hearts and are taking all risks and daring everything with the eager desire to press on and on.

It is mighty labor, for fighting is hard work all the time, and not joyous excitement, as some folks think. It is a surge and struggle forward of hundreds of thousands of men down narrow ways choked with traffic, over fields under fire, through ruined villages into which shells are falling, or where they may fall at any second.

It is a labor of moving guns over rough ground with mules and horses that have been going for many days, so that some of them drop dead, and there is a trail of dead horses of which some have been killed by shrapnel and some by shells and some by bombs.

It is a labor of armies of men making roads through ground just captured and pushing out railway lines into deeper desolation. It is a labor of engineers and pioneers making the way of the army straight, and lastly, it is a labor of gunners and infantry hungry for sleep, firing their guns until they are red hot, then moving to fire on new targets, and, if they are infantry, marching, marching, marching in support of those ahead,

passing through them to new attacks, resisting counterattacks when they have won a battle, having no chance for rest until they in turn are leap-frogged by comrades coming up behind.

Gunner officers are hoarse with shouting orders and haggard from lack of sleep. Infantry officers snatch sleep if they can in any ditch or behind any broken wall, while shells are bursting close and their men are digging a little cover before the next advance.

It is a superhuman effort of physical strength and will power, but throughout our armies, as I have seen them during the last three days, there is a grim sense of meeting an enemy on the run and smashing him so beyond recovery that ever after this he will have to back and back before us until he is cleared out of Belgium and France.

AMERICANS IN BATTLE

In his cable letter on Sept. 30, describing the fierce fighting around Cambrai, Mr. Gibbs wrote of the American troops as follows:

One of the German surprises yesterday was to meet American troops in the attack against them on this front. It was no surprise to those who had seen them moving up day by day nearer the fighting zone, so that as the British passed them they said to each other:

"These men are out for business, and, by Jove, how well they look."

These two divisions with men of New York State and North and South Carolina and Tennessee were quartered in shell-broken village, full of history, made by English troops these four years of war, so that every ruined cottage in them is scrawled over with English and Scottish names.

The Americans had come newly to these places and had the look of new men—so fresh, so keen, so unscarred by the tragedy of war, which leaves its imprint on men's faces and gives them a certain look in the eyes not to be mistaken.

They looked very young, many of these American boys, but hard and fit, and I watched them putting up their camps and their pup tents and going up with their guns and transport to the edge of

the battlefield. They drew nearer and went further into the stricken land among the shell craters and all the wreckage of human life, and then on the first day of this new battle yesterday I saw some of them coming down with their prisoners, escorting them proudly and smiling back to the Tommies, who said: "Well done, Yanks; that's a good beginning. Keep it up."

They came marching through the white fog which veiled everything yesterday morning, and I saw their staff officers driving up the roads this side of the Scheldt Canal and the American guns and transport threading their way through the British streams of traffic.

They were keen to attack, full of confidence and enthusiasm because they believed that they would do well and help in the day of the big victory, and they led the assault on one sector of the canal by Bellicourt, where the Australians were to pass through then to the extension of the attack.

Later in the day they stormed through the German lines, secured the canal crossings, and struck on toward Gouy and Mauroy, and the only fault to find with them was the laughing criticism from veterans in the British ranks that they set the pace too hard and were too eager to get forward. That is a fault on the right side, the gift of the freshmen in this hard old university of war, where men learn to be cautious of possible snags and make very sure of the ground behind them before they tread on again.

Their courage yesterday was magnificent, and they went straight into deadly risks without shirking the hazard. They had done and learned enough in one day to call themselves veterans, for a battle like this crowds much into a few hours.

HEROIC BRITISHERS

One of the finest episodes beyond all doubt was the crossing of the canal by the Midland men of the 46th Division of Leicesters and Staffords and others whom I first met several years ago near Armentières. They had to get across the Scheldt Canal by Bellenglise, where it is eighteen yards wide and very deep.

German guns were trained upon it,

its banks bristled with machine guns, and its bridges were mined, but the Midland men went down to that gully of death, went down in a thick white fog through which there was a frightful tumult of guns as I heard them in the darkness and through which howled German shells searching for their bodies and a long tattoo of machine guns and the swish of thousands of bullets.

With life belts around their tunics and small rafts and ladders and sections of wooden bridges they went down to the edge of the canal, not knowing what comrades fell, not pausing. Some men went down the chalky banks, plunged into the almost ice-cold water and swam across under fire, and some used their rafts and built bridges.

The Midland men of the Forty-sixth streamed across and the tanks went with them to their side of the canal. In an hour or two, or less, the strongest system of defense on the western front had been broken and carried and the Hindenburg line had been made a byword forever, and the barrier upon which all German hopes had been built was behind our lines, with our men away beyond it.

The Forty-sixth Division, fanning out as it went over the whole corps front, took over 4,000 prisoners and a large number of guns, and as the men crept into the hostile ground and fought those who preferred to fight they saw the result of the forty-eight hours of bombardment which had gone before their advance, and it was an appalling sight, because of the number of dead who lay everywhere.

THE FIGHT FOR CAMBRAI

Oct. 1 was a critical day in the battle for Cambrai. The Canadians had a fierce struggle over the Scheldt Canal, which swings in a close loop around that city. Mr. Gibbs wrote:

Yesterday, under intense German fire from many guns and savage machine gunning, the Canadians had drawn back again from Blécourt and Abancourt, north of Cambrai, and it was decided by the Canadian command to cease all efforts in this direction until more guns were in position to provide a heavier barrage, behind which the troops could

make a stronger advance on the whole corps front. This was done, and this morning at 5 o'clock, after a complete reorganization of the artillery and infantry dispositions—not an easy task in the darkness and slashing rain—a new battle was begun.

The barrage fire was intense and murderous, and the enemy replied by a line of fire that also was very fierce five minutes after the Canadian guns opened their hurricane bombardment, with a creeping barrage for the men to follow.

The Canadians advanced with the greatest courage, and, in spite of this shelling and intense machine gunning at close range, were not balked of their main purpose. The 3d Canadian Division on the right did all its men had been asked to achieve, but on the left the troops were held up for a time by a terrible artillery concentration. The 4th Canadian Division had severe fighting around Cuvillers and Bantigny, but are securing their positions in that neighborhood, and the 1st Canadians apparently entered Abancourt, but had to fall back temporarily owing to a girdle of high explosives which barred their way.

IN CAMBRAI'S SUBURBS

In August and September the British captured on the western front 123,618 prisoners and 2,783 guns. In a fair day's fighting on the St. Quentin-Cambrai front, beginning with Sept. 27, they engaged and defeated thirty-six German divisions, approximately 432,000 men. Describing the battle of Oct. 2, Mr. Gibbs wrote:

The battle this morning on this southern side of Cambrai was being fought by infantry without much artillery support, as it was close fighting in the suburbs of the city, where a long street, called the Faubourg de Paris, strikes out of Cambrai into the open fields, and where every house in it is a machine-gun fort.

To the right the ridge from which our men fought this morning up to Rumilly was also quiet, though all through the night until after the new advance of ours at dawn it was on fire, with bursts of shells.

I saw the ruins of the village of Rumilly, close to a belt of slaughtered trees, and from its neighborhood there came the slashing sound of intense machine-gun fire. Across field tracks our men were marching to support their comrades in that open country, and behind them some guns of ours, big fellows who split the sky with their noise when they fire, were moving slowly forward and taking up new positions, so that for a little time they were silent.

Three of our kite balloons were amazingly far forward over Boulon Wood, staring down into the German lines and taking the risk of German shrapnel, which was bursting about them. Their observers had to take to their parachutes twice yesterday when a German fighting scout circled round them and was only driven off in the nick of time by one of our air patrols.

Away north there was also unusual quietude after the fierce bombardment lasting for two days, and here there is close fighting in the northern suburbs of Cambrai. It is here that the Canadians have been fighting in their greatest struggle against massed reserves of the enemy, who tried to bear them down by weight of numbers, by superiority of machine-gun fire, and by fierce counter-attacks forced hard by men brought fresh into this infernal struggle.

FIERCE OPPOSITION

Against the Canadians and English divisions on their left the Germans now have nine divisions reinforcing the First Guards Reserve and 18th Reserve Divisions, with thirteen marksmen detachments and artillery of thirteen divisions, and machine gun strength, giving them four light and four heavy machine guns to each camp front—a strong sweep of fire in close-range fighting.

All day yesterday there was a ceaseless and severe struggle on both sides, and after the Canadian attack in the early morning, when they gained ground at Ramillies, Cuvillers, and Blécourt and entered Morenchies and Arancourt, the Germans counterattacked again and again with almost fanatical courage.

They advanced in close formation down the valleys of Bantigny and Rail-

lencourt and were seen by Canadian observers, who called to the Canadian guns. Our artillery had human targets at short range and fired for hours with open sights.

Their shells raked the German ranks, tore gaps in them and laid out men in heaps. Others came up to take their places and struggle on to break the Canadian lines, and again the guns took them for their targets and killed large numbers of them. There was a massacre of men in those valleys and the British guns were served until they were too hot to fire, but still, under cover of sunken roads and embankment cuttings, the German infantry made their way, regardless of all losses, and forced a passage into some of the ruined villages which the Canadians had captured that morning by most resolute spirit, though many of their comrades fell, and succeeded in making some of the Canadian battalions fall back to the outskirts of those places.

All the Canadians say the number of German dead strewn about this ground is horrible to see, but they have taken this toll of the enemy not without paying a severe price themselves for the ground they still hold, and after all their days of fighting since their first glorious advance south of Amiens on Aug. 8 their present actions are a marvelous achievement.

CROSSING SCHELDT CANAL

Meanwhile, the Belgian troops, in close liaison with French and British, continued their advance in Flanders, and by Oct 2 were before Roulers, an important railroad centre, and held Houthulst Wood and Zarren, menacing the entire German right flank. On Oct. 3 the passage of the Scheldt Canal was forced by English and Irish troops at Gouy and Le Catelet and both villages were taken. The same day the Germans evacuated Lens and Armentières and were in retreat on a twenty-mile front between those two strongholds, which were occupied by the British. Mr. Gibbs wrote on Oct. 4:

Men who captured the further bank of the Scheldt Canal can take anything, and because the Germans could not hold this line they can hold no line. I went

along a great length of it today and was astounded that our men could get across with such little loss. It has steep banks 90 to 100 feet high on each side of the canal cutting high and dry by Bellenglise, but with 5 or 6 feet or more of water twenty yards wide between that village and Bellicourt. Some miles away when it goes into the tunnel it is perfectly prepared for defense with communication trenches leading from the lower ground beyond to high banks, where were machine-gun and field-gun emplacements having a perfect field of fire should any men be rash enough to advance over the ridge to the western bank. Our men were rash enough, and over the canal are bridges of planks by which they passed and in water rafts on which they floated.

The canal passes under a hill through a tunnel five miles long. There were only dead Germans in the tunnel now, and dead in such a way that the sight of them revived that gruesome story of the German Kadaver Anstalt, or corpse factory, which some time ago deceived the credulous.

It was at Bellicourt, by the entrance of the tunnel, that the Americans made their attack last Sunday and continued fighting with the Australians as their comrades for some days later. Those young American soldiers came into their first big battle full of courage and impetuous desire. Leading the advance, they broke the strongest defenses of the Hindenburg line up by Bellicourt, stormed their way across the canal to the machine guns on the other bank, and went forward that day like huntsmen in a chase that must never be forgotten. In one of the greatest battles of the war, when we crossed the Scheldt Canal and broke the last barrier of the enemy's defensive positions, it was these Americans who stormed one of the most formidable sectors of the line and overpowered the enemy.

CAPTURE OF CAMBRAI

Oct. 9.—At 4 o'clock this morning, in darkness except for the light of the stars, Canadian and English troops, pressing close from the north and south, joined hands in the chief square of Cambrai.

This morning the enemy is in retreat behind their rearguards, and the whole city of Cambrai is in our hands, but since its capture successive explosions have been going on which have practically reduced the town to ruins.

For a long distance south of Cambrai the German Army is hard in flight, blowing up bridges and burning villages, and our troops are away eastward trying to keep in touch with the enemy rearguards.

This morning I went into Cambrai. As on that day now nearly two years ago, when I went first into Bapaume on a morning of history, this entry into our newly captured town was the end of a long phase of war which had reached a victorious climax, and the journey I made up the long, straight road past Fontaine Notre Dame was full of interest and gave me a sense of drama beyond ordinary scenes of war, because to get to Cambrai our army has fought a long and hard fight since those days in November last when our men first came in sight of the city and then had to fall back again, and since last March, when, under the weight of the German onslaught, they had to retreat almost as far back as Amiens, and Cambrai seemed then a world away.

CITY OF EMPTY HOMES

But in two months to this very day they have not only fought their way back to their old front lines, but are now far into country which was never ours before, and Cambrai itself is their prize, while the enemy, broken forever in his strength, is in hard retreat beyond.

Truly, today is a glorious day for British arms, and the honor of it goes to the private soldiers and young officers of the English, Irish and Scottish, Welsh, Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, and American forces who, with untiring courage, have fought every yard of this way, have stormed the strongest lines ever made in war, and beaten down every deadly obstacle with which the enemy has tried to bar their way.

Everywhere were German signs revealing the enemy's life in this town, and one notice painted on many walls showed that the German soldiers have

their moving pictures like our men in the rest billets. But in one doorway there was posted up a notice in French, and its words dug into one's mind the human tragedy which had happened here a few weeks ago, the tragedy of the city's abandonment by the people who had their homes here and their business and their interest in life, and suddenly, at the command of the enemy, in whose grip they were, had to leave everything and go away deeper into bondage.

It was a proclamation by the German commandant of Cambrai, Gross by name, stating that in the interest of security the inhabitants of Cambrai would be evacuated to a region further removed from the war zone. They were ordered to leave on Sept. 7 and 8, and each day trains carrying 15,000 people would leave the station. Every inhabitant must have his identity and work card, and would be allowed only such baggage as could be carried on a long march. So these people could take only a few small belongings with them, and they had to leave behind all their furniture and property of any bulk to become the booty of German looters.

What touched one most was the wreckage of the smaller houses and little shops and restaurants. I looked into houses where women's sewing machines still stood on tables, as they had done their work with their babes around. Perambulators stood on thresholds, and children's dolls lay on floors as they had been dropped because of the terror that had followed the notice on the walls signed by Commandant Gross. China and glass were in cupboards and on kitchen tables unbroken, amidst a litter of clothes turned over by German soldiers searching for things to take away.

MILES OF DEVASTATION

Oct. 10.—I drove forty miles this morning, the whole depth of the British advance since Aug. 8, and every mile of it was haunted by memories of bloody fighting and every landmark of broken brickwork or dead trees or twisted iron was a place where the British troops had done heroic and deadly things.

It was when going through Arbencheul and Villers-Outreaux beyond the

Great Canal, which the British crossed one famous Sunday, and through the Beaufort line with its belts of rusty wire, which they stormed in their last big battle, that I saw fresh tracks of the strife and relics that always tell one when only a day or two have passed since the war was here.

Along that road and in the ditches on either side lay dead horses and overturned gun limbers and smashed guns. I have never seen the road so strewn with dead beasts, not even the Menin Road in Flanders. Every yard along the way shell holes had punctured the banks on either side and artillery teams, driving at a gallop toward Villers-Outreaux, had been slashed by fire. It was a way of the German retreat and a way of horror.

Villers-Outreaux was the place the Welshmen attacked in pitch darkness two nights ago, when they closed in upon the German garrison and fought their machine gunners and then stormed the village from end to end, taking many prisoners. The British side of it was damaged in the usual way by shelling and the walls were smashed to rubbish heaps, but the centre of the village, which is a large place, was hardly touched, and the buildings around its old market place were unscarred by the battle.

At Selvigny, where there are more than 500 civilians, I chatted with many of the women and children and with elderly men, who had not been taken away like all the male civilians between 16 and 60, whom the Germans had driven before them on their retreat.

These people told me many tragic things, a tragedy of small nagging things which every day in hostile hands had fretted their spirit and their pride. The Germans had robbed them of everything. In their houses they had stolen their linen and their window curtains. They had killed their fowls and then laid hands on some of the supplies, such as lard and any kind of fat.

"Were you really hungry?" I asked a woman who was packing some things into a perambulator before leaving for a safer place, and she said in French, which is better than English for this

phrase, "There was too much for death, but not enough for life."

WANTON DESTRUCTION

The curé of Selvigny, with whom I had a long talk, told me how he had saved his church from destruction. "I know they meant to destroy it," he said, "because I saw German soldiers put bombs at each corner of the tower and carry up cases of explosives into the loft. Then I saw them fix wires across the little cemetery, and I knew that unless the English came quickly my dear little church would be blown up. But tonight before they came I crept out and searched for the wires and, by good luck, found them without being seen. I cut them, and then came back feeling very joyful and yet a little afraid lest my track should be discovered."

At Selvigny, Walincourt and other villages all around the people make embroidery and tulle, and for this work have delicate and expensive machines. French inhabitants from the district of the Somme were ordered to break the machines, which their poor owners would not do, even though they died for their refusal, and this destruction was carried out before their eyes as part of the general scheme to destroy French industries. A curé took away some of the delicate parts of the machinery and hid them, but this was discovered, and he was fined 100 marks and the machinery was broken up and scattered outside his doors.

There seem to have been elaborate preparations to destroy the whole area around Caudry les Bains, Esnes, and all the towns and hamlets north and south and east of Cambrai. The British were too quick for them, and that country as far east as Le Cateau is undestroyed in their hands, and many poor people have been liberated from the enemy, including 4,000 at Bohain. So by the rapid pursuit the retreat was for a time thrown into some confusion, and the British airmen, flying low over their roads of retreat, came back sometimes with descriptions of wild stampedes.

The British tanks were after them yesterday. I saw these monsters crawl through undestroyed hamlets on the edge of the enemy's rearguard line, watched

with amazed eyes by Frenchwomen who had heard much about their power and fearful habits from German soldiers, but now saw them for the first time passing their cottage doors, leaving deep tracks behind them as they waddled down the narrow ways. Truly they look terrifying things, full of deadly menace.

SWEEPING BEYOND CAMBRAI

Oct. 11.—The great battle raging southeast of Cambrai is on a front of nearly thirty miles today, it having been extended to the north. The British are gaining everywhere. There is virtually no enemy infantry opposition.

The only resistance worth mentioning is coming from the enemy machine gunners. The bulk of the enemy artillery seems to have fled so far east of the battleground as to be out of range.

It was American troops from Tennessee and North and South Carolina who captured Vaux-Andigny and St. Souplet and the country just north and south of those towns. The Americans quickly left Vaux-Andigny behind, but on reaching the headwaters of the River Selle they encountered a heavy enemy machine-gun fire from the east bank. Hot fighting is in progress here, and the enemy is gradually being thinned out by the American fire.

Nearly 10,000 French civilians have been liberated from the Germans by the advancing British and Americans. Four thousand civilians were found in Bohain alone. They were in a pitiful condition, having been without food for three days when rescued. Tears of joy coursed down the emaciated cheeks of the liberated men and women.

The 2,500 civilians rescued from the Germans at Caudry rushed from the town as the British stormed toward it, waving their arms and cheering. The Germans had robbed them of all their belongings.

TALES OF CAPTIVES

Oct. 13.—Amid all this fighting and beyond it there is another drama of a most strange and pitiful kind. It is the tragedy of those French civilians whom our men are now meeting as they capture village after village, where these

old people and young women and children are waiting in their cellars for deliverance, hearing the approach of the battle, the louder noise of our guns, the crash of shells above the deadly rattle of machine-gun fire down their streets, and at last the cheers or tramp of our men.

On the roadside and in the villages just taken I meet these people and talk with them, and the look of them and the things they say, such tragic and passionate things, such simple and frightful things, reveal the world of agony in those human hearts, divided from us for four years by the German lines and now coming through to us as the barrier is broken.

Yesterday I met many of them on a far journey through those places which our men have just captured. On one road, crowded with our guns and transports, and amid the noise of a loud bombardment through the early morning mist, I met a group of women and girls with their children standing as though waiting for some hand of fate to help them. It was cold, and they had shawls on their heads, but shivered.

"Where are you from?" I asked, and they said, "We have just come out of Le Cateau."

The enemy was still in the outskirts of Le Cateau, and there was a little hell up there. A girl pulled her shawl from her face, and said:

"We have been in our cellars for four days without food. The bombardment began and some women were killed. The Germans wanted us to get away, but we said: 'We will wait for the English though we die.'"

The girl thrust an arm through her shawl and the emotion of all that she had seen and suffered made her white face flame.

"Oh, the dirty brutes!" she said, and then laughed with queer mirth and said:

"They are getting punished now. It was very funny a week ago. 'The English will never get to Le Cateau,' they said, and I said, 'Wait a bit.' 'They won't get Cambrai,' they said, 'because we are killing them in heaps,' but I said, 'Soon it will be your turn to die.'"

Then, a few days ago, they became scared and had a big fright. The high officers went away in a hurry and I waved my hands as they passed and said, 'It is time to go, my fine devils, eh?' Then the Commandateurs rushed off with their papers, and I laughed to see them, and then the Sergeant Major went, and the Sergeants and signalmen, and I knew the English were after them, and in our cellars when the shelling began we waited and listened and said: 'The devils have gone, and we shall be free again.'"

The girl and the women around her broke into passionate words, their breath steaming in the wet mist, and every word was a flame of hatred for the enemy in whose hands they had been for four years. And then they wept a little at the remembrance of that misery.

BOHAIN A WRECK

The approach to Bohain was sinister. There was a loud noise of gunfire close behind a thick curtain of mist. Many dead horses lay along the road, with broken guns and gun limbers. There were new shell pits on each side of the road and the Germans had blown up deep craters on the highway.

It had been an immense German junction for detrainning troops and stores, and I passed over six broad gauge lines and vast sidings. They had had ordnance stores here and ammunition dumps, but had cleared away most of their material and had blown up what they could not save, so that there was a wild litter of twisted iron and wreckage of sheds and trains.

Three men came and spoke to me, one a handsome middle-aged man with a spade beard and a distinguished way of speech, the second a little old gnome-like man of 70 or so, with a laborer's rugged face, and the third a tall man with a short black beard and high cheekbones and a queer light in his eyes. It was the man with the spade beard who spoke first and faster. He took my hand and said:

"You are an English soldier. Come and see what the Germans have done in Bohain. Go round these streets and

speak to our women. Go to our Town Hall, which cost great sums of money, and see how before they left they blew it up and burned it to the ground. Go to our factories, which were filled with machinery, by which our people earned their bread before the war, and you will see that they have left nothing, not one bar of iron, not one little wheel—nothing! nothing! Tell your soldiers and your people that the Germans are devils, bandits, brigands, pigs, and brutes, and tell them how they made your prisoners suffer, how they starved them, so that they dropped dead as they walked.”

SUFFERINGS OF PRISONERS

He pointed to a little field through a gap in the red brick houses and said: “There are graves of English soldiers who starved to death in Bohain.” He pointed to a doorway close to us and said: “Outside that house I saw one of your men drop down dead from hunger.” The two other men said the same kind of things.

A few days ago there were heart-rending scenes when 5,000 males, between the ages of 14 and 60, were sent away further into the German lines. They were assembled in the chief square, where they carried little parcels and handbags, and from their wives and mothers and children there rose loud wailing, and all the men wept as they embraced those who were dear to them, and there was agony of human hearts.

BATTLES IN FLANDERS

On Oct. 14 Belgian and French troops in close co-operation carried by assault enemy positions on a front of twelve miles between Handzaeme Canal and the Roulers-Menin road. Many villages were taken and the City of Roulers fell to the French. The same day the British advance approached Courtrai. Philip Gibbs wrote on Oct. 15:

The battle in Flanders, which began yesterday morning and is continuing today in the direction of Thourout and Courtrai, is being fought by combined Belgian, French, and British armies under the supreme command of King Albert.

The British Second Army, under Gen-

eral Sir Herbert Plumer, is on the right of this group of armies, with the Belgians on the left between Roulers and Menin, and the French in the centre around Roulers itself, which they had the honor of taking.

This international action has gained important success along the whole line of attack, and it is interesting in that the number of prisoners captured were almost exactly the same for the troops of each nation, amounting to about 4,000 yesterday, which brings them up to some 12,000 in all. The British troops also captured some 50 guns.

In describing the scenes yesterday when the British and Belgian troops marched along the same tracks and encamped side by side in the same fields of those four old Flemish battlefields and came back together along the tracks for walking wounded, I was unable to include the French soldiers in this forbidding picture of war, because they were still an official secret. But the color of their sky-blue uniforms, the long trail of their blue carts over the heights of Passchendaele, and their columns of guns, going forward to the battleline, were interwoven with the masses of Belgian infantry moving forward to their objectives and with the khaki of the English, Scottish, and Irish battalions.

After four years of war in many fields of battle they are sterner and graver looking in mass than the English soldiers, who still contrive to find a joke or two along the line of march, and they were leaner looking, more sharply cut in profile than the Belgians in their yellow helmets. But seeing them, one marveled that after all these years of sacrifice France could still put in the field such wonderful battalions, in which each man seemed picked because of his hardihood and fitness.

EVACUATION OF LILLE

Oct. 17.—The enemy has abandoned Lille and Turcoing, those great industrial towns of Northern France, which he has held so long as his trump cards in his devil's gamble of this war, and we are following him up. We have taken Lambartzede on the coast and captured Ostend. From one end of the line to the

other the German armies are in retreat from great portions of France and Belgium, and it is the landslide of all their ambitions and their military power.

Today I have seen scenes of history which many people had been dreaming through all these years, until at last they were sick with deferred hope. I have seen Belgian and French soldiers riding through liberated towns, cheered by the people who had been prisoners of war in their own houses for all these dreary years, under a hostile rule which was sometimes cruel and always hard, so that their joy now is wonderful to see, and makes something break in one's heart at the sight of it, because one understands by these women's faces, by the light in the children's eyes, and by the tears of old bearded men what this rescue means to them and what they suffered.

This regaining of Lille is the most wonderful occurrence since the combined offensive of the Allies on the western front in August last, and is the prize of many victories won by the heroism of young officers and men and by the fine strategy of Marshal Foch, whose brain has been behind all these movements of the men.

One feels that the horror of this war is lifting, and that the iron ramparts of the enemy, so strong against us year after year in spite of desperate efforts of millions of gallant men who dashed themselves against those barriers, have yielded at last and that many gates are open for our men to pass through on their way to victory.

Mr. Gibbs's account may be supplemented with this dispatch of Oct. 18 from a correspondent of the Petit Journal of Paris:

I have just witnessed the most touching spectacle of my life. The whole city, in a delirium of joy, was ready to throw itself upon us, the first to enter Lille. Tonight at 9 o'clock, near Armentières, an officer shouted to us: "Lille is taken!" We speeded our auto on the road of victory. Two miles from Lille two young girls ran out in front of our auto, crying amid sobs of joy: "They have gone! They have gone! Vivent les Anglais! Vive la France!"

We went a little further, and then a

huge shell hole obliged us to abandon our machine and proceed on foot. Two more girls, who had run out of the city to meet their deliverers the sooner, cried, while tears streamed down their cheeks, "They won't come!"

A hack appeared, and we got in, but a crowd, every member of which was weeping, seized us. One man climbed on our shoulders. Another shouted to us: "My name is Guiselin. I am City Counselor. The Germans offered me a million to betray my country. The cowards, the cowards!" and then he burst into sobbing.

Carried by the crowd, we arrived at the City Hall. Deputy Mayor Baudon stood at the door. When we entered every one rushed to embrace us. An old man, with white hair, stood with a violin at the top of the grand staircase and played the "Marseillaise." Outside the crowd seethed like a sea. We were the first messengers from the motherland.

"Speak, speak to us!" they cried. We opened the windows and told of our victory. A shout went up that filled the city. We told of the Bulgarian capitulation. Again the cheers rang out. We told of the Turkish promise to quit the war, and again the crowd cheered. Then we told them that President Wilson had refused to grant an armistice and demanded Emperor William's head. The crowd, in a frenzy, tossed everything it could lay hands on into the air.

At the prefecture the Acting Prefect, M. Regnier, embraced us, and there was a fresh outburst of cheering from the crowd. It was for Mayor Delsalle and for his son, a French officer of the Legion of Honor and wearing the War Cross. This officer, an aviator, heard at 11 o'clock that the city had been freed. He leaped into his machine, flew quickly to Lille, and landed in the Place du Théâtre. Alighting, he rushed home to his father. His was the first French uniform the liberated citizens had seen, and the sight of it increased their delirium of joy.

There remain 120,000 inhabitants in Lille. The Germans had carried off all the male population more than 14 years of age. The city is not greatly damaged, and the public buildings are intact.

From St. Quentin to the Argonne

How Mangin and Rawlinson Crushed the Keystone of the Hindenburg Line in the Champagne

WHILE the British were driving out the enemy in the north, and the Americans were breaking through on the other wing of the great salient that stretched from the channel to Switzerland, the French were smashing away at the centre between Arras and Rheims. This Champagne offensive was carried on by French and American forces on the right under Generals Mangin, Gouraud, Debeney, and Berthelot, and by British and American forces on the left under Rawlinson. Victories were gained by both groups despite great natural obstacles of terrain and weather. The most vital result was the capture of the Chemin des Dames, with the delivery of the Rheims region; at the same time Cambrai, St. Quentin, Laon, and La Fère, all strongholds of the Hindenburg line, were captured. The events on this part of the front were narrated each day by George H. Perris and Walter Duranty in their copyrighted dispatches for THE NEW YORK TIMES and its affiliated publication, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

Describing the relentless pressure against the Chemin des Dames on Sept. 22, Mr. Duranty cabled:

"When the history of the war comes to be written, full justice will be done to the work of General Mangin's army during the month of September, which the more striking operations elsewhere now tend somewhat to obscure. In fact, so gradual has been the progress and so lacking in sensational incident that were it not for the historic name of the Chemin des Dames to mark the goal of the effort, Mangin's soldiers might fancy that their advance, foot by foot, accompanied by some of the most desperate fighting of the whole war, was scarcely noticed by the rest of the world.

"Skillful manoeuvre has been the secret of this success. The German position as a whole is being patiently

turned from the southwest just as an individual post of defense or a fortified village is outflanked and carried in detail.

"It is a parallel of the operation against the equally difficult massif of Thiescourt, where Humbert's men pushed steadily round toward Lassigny, while simultaneously 'nibbling' their way forward by 'infiltration' through the heart of the massif. But against Mangin the resistance is stiffened greatly by the fact that the enemy is close to the Hindenburg defenses.

"Counterstroke after counterstroke follows every French advance. On the night of Sept. 10 the Prussian Guards attacked six times in a vain attempt to win back the important position of Laffaux. On the night of the 19th another crack division broke five times against the stubborn defense of a French unit that had just won the farm of Moisy.

"It is a pitiless struggle, with little quarter on either side, in the ravines and caverns that are features of the country. In this confined space grenades are as mortal as shells, and flamethrowers turn the underground darkness into a hell of agony and fire.

"Yet the advance is as constant as it is imperceptible to the outside world. Now the French Army is almost within reach of Malmaison, the true key to the Chemin des Dames position. And, what is hardly less important, it is doing its share in a far greater operation. That consists in 'nailing' the enemy to battle along the Hindenburg line from Arras to Rheims."

MALMAISON PLATEAU

On Sept. 29 the Malmaison front, which had been invested by a concentric movement of General Mangin's army, was abandoned by General von Carlowitz, who retreated behind the Ailette.

This made inevitable the evacuation of the Chemin des Dames. Two days previously, General Gouraud, battling east of Rheims, captured Somme-Py with more than 10,000 prisoners. Mr. Perris wrote on Sept. 27:

"Today the army disinterred itself. Like a wakened giant, it shook its stiff limbs and laughed aloud. I saw several thousand German prisoners starting on their backward journey, and even they seemed to reflect the prevalent mood. To judge by the number of smiling faces, never was there a body of soldiers more glad to be rescued from their country's service. Every considerable victory is an occasion for a general shift. The wounded and prisoners go down; the mass of the armies moves up. Old battery positions must be hastily changed for new. Old camps, old parks and dumps, old quarters of all sorts, grown odiously familiar, are light-heartedly abandoned.

"The roads are full of this movement. The barren woods, stripped and scarred with an age of deadlock warfare, are suddenly alive with color. The endless miles of chalk-walled lanes above which it was death two days ago to show one's head already look like the remains of a distant, incredible past. Some, at least, of their tenants are taking a sun bath on the open hillsides, and, indifferent to occasional arrivals, as they call German shellbursts, watch like children some passing drama of the air—a sausage balloon falling from the sky like a smoke serpent, its white silk parachute, or the breaking globes of shrapnel vapor around the enemy raider. And always the guns are going forward, and the narrow-gauge railways are bringing up fresh piles of shell boxes.

"There is little joy in war, and I must not overstrain the impression of one of its lighter intervals. That would be to forget the architects of this victory, the men who as I write are taking the wounds and pains by which alone it could be bought. For them there is no lifting of the strain. The best one can say is that sunshine and success will for them also make a difference.

"And I can testify, especially as regards their great chief, that their

boundless devotion is not forgotten. We must never forget it, is the sense of General Gouraud's most frequent and emphatic words. They are worthy of one another, these men and their large-minded, gentle, clear-willed chief."

HAND-TO-HAND FIGHTING

Regarding the withdrawal of the enemy from Malmaison, Mr. Duranty wrote Sept. 29:

"The battle continues furious on the flanks of the great salient that is the front in France. In the centre the enemy slowly withdraws from key positions like Malmaison Fort and Pinon Forest, every foot of whose ground both he and the Allies bought before with blood. While the Belgians and British are thrusting the left claw of the giant pincers forward across the Hindenburg and Wotan lines, the Franco-Americans on the right are directing even a deadlier menace against the communications of the German centre.

"The élan of Gouraud's troops has overcome counterattacks of more than a score of boche divisions hurled against them yesterday with disregard for losses which even the Germans have seldom equaled. Again and again there was desperate hand-to-hand fighting on the trench-scarred slopes of Mount Cuvelet, whose height of 500 feet commands the lower ridges east and west. Grenades soon gave out in the heat of the contest, and the combat became a mêlée wherein knives, clubbed rifles, and bayonets played the principal part.

"So confused was the struggle that machine guns did not dare to fire lest friend might share foe's destruction. At 10 o'clock this morning the attack was resumed along Gouraud's whole front, after a night spent in organizing liaisons, regrouping scattered units, and bringing up guns, food, and supplies. By 2 o'clock the heights dominating the Aisne Valley to the northeast were securely in French possession.

"Most important feature of all, the enemy seemed unable to counterattack—in the supreme hour of battle the poverty of reserves is telling fatally. His artillery fire has also weakened. The

effect of success will be equally great on the American operations east of the Argonne, for French guns command the Valley of Grand Pré, whose cleft in the trackless forests hitherto offered the enemy an easy line of communications between the right and left flanks of attack.

"Beyond it, the vital junction of Challenge is similarly dominated. Once more the historic forest of the Argonne, which Dumouriez called the French Thermopylae, is the scene of French victory over the Prussians."

FROM SOMME TO ARGONNE

On Sept. 30 the French continued their gains, advancing to within five miles of the important German base of Vouziers, and Mr. Perris wrote:

"The region of the Somme which was taken yesterday morning was fiercely defended. Two miles east of the town there is a tunnel of the Challenge railway which was blown up in 1914, but had been repaired, and was used as a store and shelter for the reserves. The enemy evidently expected to have to evacuate this big hole, for they had mined it in nine places.

"A system of trenches four miles deep had to be reduced in this neighborhood, the tanks giving valuable assistance to the infantry. Further east, the plateau of Gratreuil, with its three crests, was obstinately defended after the capture on Friday afternoon by a clever turning movement of the villages of Gratreuil and Fontaine-en-Dormois.

"Still further east, on both sides of the valley of the upper Aisne, very strong opposition has been encountered, especially in the woods which are the outlying fragments of the Argonne Forest. I went up to trenches beyond Vienne-le-Château for the first time and realized the peculiar conditions here obtaining ever since Sarraill and de Langle de Cary, in the first Autumn of the war, inflicted defeat upon the Crown Prince. The Aisne is here only a small stream, but there is much marshy ground on either side.

"A valley opens out beyond Vienne, but it is still covered by machine-gun fire from the Argonne and from the hills on the west. Mont Cuvelot and the woods

between Bouconville and Binarville were receiving a tremendous bombardment from many French batteries, thanks to which the infantry made an important advance yesterday.

"We have taken Binarville and the Allies are here only six miles from the gap of Grand Pré, between the army groups of the Crown Prince on the west and von Gallwitz on the east.

"The Northern Argonne has been throughout these years one of the most redoubtable of the boche fortresses, and its clearance without the cost of a frontal attack is one of the happiest results of the parallel Franco-American movement."

St. Quentin, the keystone of the German line of defense, was captured Oct. 1. Under that date Mr. Perris wrote:

"French troops entered St. Quentin this afternoon. Repeated explosions of great violence in the town were heard between 6 and 8 o'clock this morning. The new attack, which began at 5 o'clock last evening, brought the right of General Rawlinson's army into Levergies and enabled General Debeney to cross the Cambrai road east of Gricourt. West of St. Quentin the German trenches were very strongly held, and no ground could be won. Further south the front was slightly advanced beyond the roads from Giffecourt to Urvillers, and thence to Vendeuil on the Oise.

"The army of General Mangin is steadily clearing the south bank of the Ailette as far east as the canal reservoir, whence its front runs southeast by Ostel to the Aisne. Here a body of Italian troops has captured the village of Soupir. The recovery of the Aisne heights is thus proceeding by regular stages, but it is to be noted that this time the enemy's retreat is taking a northeasterly, not a northerly, direction, and that to protect this movement the hill block between Rheims and the Aisne is being vigorously defended.

"The marching wing of the Belgians, British, and French in the north, and the French and Americans in the south enjoy a somewhat freer development than the British and French in the centre and open more varied prospects.

"It would not be discreet to enter

upon any full discussion of these possibilities, but a glance at the map will show that General Gouraud before Montheois and Challerange, and General Pershing at Vilosnes, on the Meuse, are only about thirty miles from Sedan and Longwy, respectively, and that the shortest line from Roulers in Belgium to Vilosnes passes far behind St. Quentin and the Ailette.

"The capture of Binarville and Conde, in the Aisne Valley on his right, and of Marvaux on his centre, has greatly strengthened Gouraud's front, and the German forces northwest of Rheims may soon find themselves in a salient difficult to hold."

NEARING THE ARGONNE

On Oct. 3 the French made sweeping gains from St. Quentin eastward to the Argonne region, further relieving Rheims, and capturing Challerange, with 2,800 prisoners. Mr. Duranty thus described the operations:

"The best troops of the German Army had been accumulated for the defense—Guards, Jaegers, and other units that had distinguished themselves throughout the war. The French emphasize the good quality of the prisoners, both from a military viewpoint and physically, and as regards equipment. Their orders were uncompromising to the highest degree. Thus the 200th Jaeger Division, whose defense is still being maintained in Fourmilier Wood and on the Hill of Notre Dame des Champs, north of Sainte Marie, had these instructions: 'You must make a determination to hold out to the very end enter the heart and life's blood of every soldier. No inch of ground must be abandoned without immediate counterattack. It must be a point of honor for officers to force their men everywhere to resist until death.'

"This division is the flower of the army. They wear a special green uniform with insignia of edelweiss and antlers on their caps, and the letter C in memory of the Carpathians, where their record was magnificent.

"Such was the general quality of the defenders, and the abundance of reserves available permitted them immediately to replace any unit that did not seem to

come up to the standard. Thus the 15th Bavarians, who weakened, were withdrawn after one day in the line. It is worth noting that this division appears to have been less than eager to fight—an ominous symptom of the state of mind of the Bavarians, whereof other instances have occurred recently.

"Despite all the Germans could do, Gouraud's men have penetrated far into the second battle zone on the centre and right of the front, where a threat toward the vital point of Vouziers is most dangerous. Challerange fell yesterday, and the French are now attacking the village of Mouron on the northern side of the Grand Pré defile, which is thus closed to the enemy. To pass the Argonne their railroad communication must now traverse the valley of Quatre Champs, some ten miles to the north. Further west, Orfeuil was occupied this morning, which facilitates operations against the hills north of Ste. Marie.

"And the victory is being won at a cost so light that it would be deemed incredible if I could state the figures. Never do Gouraud or his subordinates forget that manoeuvre is the key to success, and always a flanking wood or other vital point of the defense positions is smashed by artillery before the infantry is sent forward."

FALL OF RHEIMS SALIENT

Under date of Oct. 8 Mr. Perris wrote:

"The dogged pressure and manoeuvring skill of General Berthelot on the west and of General Gouraud on the east have had a sudden and dramatic result. The four-year-old German salient before Rheims has burst. Von Mudra has abandoned the whole pocket, thirty miles wide and eight miles deep, and has fled to the line of the small Rivers Suipe and Arnes, pursued closely by French cavalry and infantry. Those fearsome citadels, Brimont and Nogent l'Abbesse, and the Moronvillers Hills have fallen without the need to fire a shot. Thousands of prisoners and many guns have been taken. French soldiers are in a state of high enthusiasm, and one has the sense of the corresponding collapse into despair, if not actual panic, on the other side. This was the strongest part of

the Crown Prince's line—a bad day, indeed, for the Hohenzollerns. It is a pure triumph of good generalship and indomitable pluck.

"On Thursday General Gouraud's army had carried by assault the second main defensive system of von Einem's neighboring front, running from Mont Blanc north of Somme-Py, by the Medeah Farm, past the villages of Orfeuil, Liry, and Monthois, and including Challerange. On the left of this the battle was splendidly sustained by the American division which first distinguished itself in Belleau Wood, near Château-Thierry. On Friday the attack was extended to the west. Here the German engineers had expended all their ingenuity in fortifying the height of Notre Dame des Champs, beyond Ste. Marie-a-Py building successive tiers of pillboxes by which the whole valley was enfiladed. The position, however, was turned by the northwest, and when it had been cleared out a rapid advance was made to the northwest, St. Souplet being captured, and five miles further north St. Etienne, in the Arnes Valley. Autry Station was taken, lost, and finally recovered.

"During the evening the push on the left was strengthened by the occupation of Vaudevincourt and Dontrien, villages lying on the Suippe at the foot of the Moronvillers plateau. At the same time General Berthelot's army on the other side of the Rheims salient had reached Bermericourt and had begun to throw bridges over the Aisne-Marne Canal eastward. After the collection of 2,500 prisoners and twenty heavy cannon in its march from the Vesle it was not disposed to overestimate its adversary. Von Mudra felt the pincers closing upon him. * * *

"General Gouraud's outposts had discovered the beginning of the retreat on the east side of the mountains. It was at once followed over the foothills, and at dawn yesterday Berthelot's army pushed across the canal in force at several points.

"Nine German armies, those of Below, Marwitz, Hutier, Boehn, Carl-owitch, Eberhard, Mudra, Einem, and Gallwitz, are now in peril. It would be

rash to expect a sudden débâcle, but the development of events has been so rapid and upon such an immense scale that even that is possible."

FALL OF CAMBRAI

On Oct. 9 Cambrai was taken after being almost totally destroyed by the retreating Germans. Hardly stopping there, the armies of Mangin, Gouraud, and Debeney swept on. Mr. Duranty on Oct. 13 wrote:

"Today's news locates Gouraud's troops on the south bank of the Aisne from Vouziers, where they have established a bridgehead on the further bank, to Asfeld, west of which cavalry and automitrailleuses have thrust forward to the Laon-Rheims railroad. Further west the Fifth Army, in conjunction with Mangin's forces, has occupied more than half of the Laon massif. On Mangin's left Debeney yesterday, after a furious struggle, succeeded in crossing the Oise River and the Sambre-Oise Canal.

"In a word, the Germans are retreating from an untenable salient, but the menace of the French and British advance on its left flank is still deadly. The Germans cannot regard themselves as safe from that danger until they have reached the Valenciennes-Avesnes-Hirson-Mézières-Sedan line, almost coincident with the Franco-Belgian frontier. Even there they have no defenses to be compared in strength with the Hindenburg system or the Champagne lines that the Allies have so triumphantly broken, and during their retreat American pressure on their extreme left toward Sedan may involve them in wholesale disaster."

LAON AND LA FERE

The taking of Laon and La Fère on Oct. 14, together with the previous captures of Cambrai and St. Quentin, completed the demolishment of the key positions of the famous Hindenburg line. Mr. Perris wrote on Oct. 14:

"I have just come down the lines from Laon. The town is very little damaged, the interesting old cathedral and other public buildings being intact. But all the houses and shops left by their occupants at the beginning of the war have been completely emptied of their contents,

and the Acting Mayor gives a grievous account of the German exactions in the form of fines and taxation.

"The worst complaint of the thousands of inhabitants who have borne the enemy yoke for nearly four years, is of the system of compulsory labor to which every able-bodied adult and youth had been subjected. Even when elderly men accompany them as the war lords were going shooting in the neighborhood they made the girls beaters.

"General Mangin had a great reception when he entered the town, children wearing tricolor ribbons and waving extemporized flags, and old folk laughing and crying in their joy at being delivered. The German retreat may be measured by the fact that General Mangin's artillery moved up twelve miles in the thirty-six hours."

Mr. Perris's summary of the situation was as follows on Oct. 16:

"Marshal Foch continues his general pressure, which is accentuated now on one part of the front, now on the other. He has proved markedly superior to Ludendorff. His methods give the enemy no breathing time to strengthen his threatened points. The consequence of this succession of German defeats, added to the knowledge that Germany cannot hope for victory, has produced discouragement, if not demoralization, which is certainly a leading factor in the situation, and may be more serious than one can prove.

"By the end of last week there remained behind the German front as a general reserve no more than thirty divisions, half of which had only just been withdrawn from the fighting line for reconstruction, and only a dozen were rested. These jaded troops had to face a host constantly recruited by the American arrivals and perfectly confident of the result.

"Army orders taken on the battlefield show that strikes, bad feeling, and the army's demand for men have resulted in a decline of manufactures, and that both guns and munitions are lacking. The field artillery has been reduced by several hundred batteries, and the heavy batteries have been reduced from four to three divisions.

"In three months of the allied offensive we have captured on the western front more than 4,600 cannon, and, including the wear and tear, the loss must be 5,000 pieces, which is a third of the German artillery on the western front, and a quarter of the whole. It may be doubted whether the enemy has half as many airplanes as the Allies, and in many other directions he is badly handicapped. When to these elements of numbers and material, leadership and morale, it is added that Germany has no longer an ally to count upon, is no longer sure of victory, and that her spirit and unity are broken, it will be seen that her position is desperate."



The Battle for Argonne Forest

How the American First Army Drove the Germans From
a Vital Stronghold by Desperate Fighting

By EDWIN L. JAMES

The First American Army launched an attack Sept. 26, 1918, between the Meuse and Aisne Rivers, directly east of Rheims, on a front of twenty miles. The chief objective was to clear the Argonne Forest and reach the high plain beyond, which would clear the way for an advance toward Sedan and the German frontier. The task involved the penetration of the Kriemhilde line, one of the chief defensive works of the German front. An advance in this sector menaced the only transportation lines by which the Germans could withdraw, except through Belgium. The supreme importance of protecting these lines was apparent to the German command, and here were concentrated the Prussian Guards and the flower of the army, with instructions to resist to the death. The American Army confronted the task with indomitable determination and skillful strategy. For three weeks they maintained a furious assault, and on Oct. 17 they stood before the shattered German front, with the Argonne Forest and the main strategic points beyond it safely in their hands. Edwin L. James described this advance in daily cable letters to THE NEW YORK TIMES, which were copyrighted for its affiliated publication, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, and are herewith given:

S EPT. 26, 1918.—The brunt of the attack in the centre fell to the corps commanded by Major Gen. Hunter Liggett. Troops from Kansas, Pennsylvania, and Missouri stormed, despite the stubborn resistance of the Prussian Guard, the towns of Varennes, Montblainville, Vauquois, and Cheppy. The tanks did stout work at Varennes. Our airplanes had full supremacy. Tonight the troops are pressing forward beyond the old German defense line. Malancourt, Bethincourt, Montfaucon, and Dannevoux have been taken, with 5,000 prisoners the first day.

This second effort of America's First Army came just two weeks after the beginning of the successful stroke at the St. Mihiel salient. There is little doubt that General Foch and General Pershing surprised the German command. It is known that the enemy expected the attack on the St. Mihiel sector and had rushed new troops there.

At 11:30 o'clock last night our artillery began heavy work east of the Meuse, and this was followed by strong raids. Meanwhile, at 2:30 this morning, the artillery work for our real attack began,

and was followed just three hours later by the start of the infantry.

Our young soldiers left the trenches, scarred by four years of war, and started north over the war-rocked No Man's Land on an enterprise which had proved so costly to other allied efforts. A few hundred yards took them into the first line of the Hindenburg series of defenses. This was taken at 7 o'clock. By 9 o'clock the second line had been taken, and by noon our troops had passed the whole Hindenburg line ahead of schedule.

FIGHTING PRUSSIAN GUARD

Sept. 27.—The villages of Charpentry, Véry, Epinonville, and Ivoiry were taken by the First American Army today, showing a handsome gain for the day's fighting against heavy and fresh German forces.

Late counterattacks in force were made against our troops, but netted the Germans no gains worth having. The heaviest of these counterattacks fell on troops commanded by General Cameron. These units hail from Ohio, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, Oregon, Washington, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana. Many

of them, although in battle for the first time, successfully withstood savage counterattacks by Prussian Guard troops late in the afternoon. We have taken more than 100 guns. The prisoners so far counted total 8,000.

The American advance today precipitated engagements of great intensity. Our fighters met the sternest kind of resistance from some of the best soldiers of the German Army. Two-thirds of the advancing line is composed of American soldiers from the Meuse westward to the left of the Argonne Forest, with the French Army fighting northward along the rest of the line, the whole movement covering more than half the front from north of Rheims to north of Verdun.

This morning the Germans threw in at least four divisions against the Americans, and they have brought up within twenty-four hours several times that number to oppose our further advance. Despite all this we made satisfactory progress, hitting strategic points along the Danneveux-Montfaucon line and pushing in strong forces.

During the first twenty-four hours of the attack the American First Army, moving like clockwork on a schedule, drove back the German line for almost a uniform depth from the Meuse to the Aisne, for some distances as great as fifteen kilometers, but averaging about ten. According to its schedule, the French Fourth Army pushed its front over the Hindenburg line to an extreme depth of six kilometers.

The American attack was made with a great concentration of guns and airplanes. Our ample supply of guns enabled us to gas far-back locations, where the Germans were reported concentrating. The hardest problem for the tanks was the masonry work of the Hindenburg line, which often rose sharply several feet above the level of the ground. Then, too, the Germans had built stone walls, reinforced with bars of steel, across roads and streets forming part of their line. One road had four of these walls in half a kilometer. We blasted them away after the doughboys had climbed over them.

Then there were the traps which the

Germans had built. They had hollowed huge holes in the roads and covered them neatly with a few inches of surfacing. Tanks running over them simply sank out of sight. We had rather good luck avoiding these, and when a tank fell into one, two big trucks were hitched to it and pulled it out.

NETWORK OF TRENCHES

It is difficult for one who has not seen the sight to imagine the quantity of barbed wire used and the extent of the burrowing the two armies have done opposite each other in four years. It seemed that there was wire enough to circle the globe several times, and that if all the trenches in the Aire Valley alone were put end to end they would reach New York. There are big trenches, little trenches, communicating trenches, simple ditches, and trenches fitted with palatial dugouts and electric lights. One German command had running water and framed pictures on the walls.

One of the most interesting places taken is Vauquois, where the Germans had added to the existing caves until they had tunnels which reached away back under the hill north of the town. I am told that the aggregate length of all these tunnels is forty kilometers. Here were kept men and supplies. A captured document showed that the Germans were ordered to hold this place at all costs.

Against the best efforts of crack German troops we made important gains. Perhaps 200,000 fresh troops have arrived back of the German line. Today we pierced several points of this line running through Montfaucon and Donnevoux, the Germans falling back after stubborn resistance.

In the Forest of Argonne the Americans today met many machine-gun nests in all possible places of protection. Our boys did great work against the line, and their spirit is shown by the fact that 230 of these gunners were marched back as prisoners, all carrying their weapons, which the American guards forced them to pile in front of their division headquarters. Those who did not bring guns brought American wounded.

By the side of General Pershing, in command of the First American Army,

Secretary of War Baker watched the development of the battle yesterday. He expressed the greatest enthusiasm over the achievements of Young America at war.

THE KRIEMHILDE STELLUNG

Sept. 29.—After a three days' struggle through mile after mile of seemingly insuperable barriers, constituting the Germans' formidable defense of masonry, steel, wire and pitfalls, the First American Army today is fighting on in the rain to the fourth and last line of those defenses known as Kriemhilde Stellung. I have spent the day exploring a part of what beyond doubt is the greatest piece of military defense work the world ever saw. There is nothing to compare to it, because there never was anything like it. For instance, in Argonne Forest the Americans had to cut their way through a zone of barbed wire two and a half miles, through wire nailed to trees through the forest and reaching sometimes ten feet high. This wire ran in every direction and often was hidden in the underbrush. Other underbrush held hidden entrapments and ordinary trench wire. In this two-and-a-half-mile zone there were innumerable trenches, forming three distinct systems, and between them and over them everywhere there was barbed wire. The communication trenches ran beneath this wire.

Turn your attention to the all-night fighting in the Argonne Forest and realize what our men are going through. It is raining and there is inky darkness. The boche is shelling heavily and pouring gas into all the valleys. Our men must travel on the hills. Those hills are being raked by thousands of German 77s.

The Americans in the advance hit the barbed wire. Rifles are slung across shoulders and pliers are pulled out. Busily our men cut wire after wire. The noise they make brings the nasty rat-atat of a Hun machine gun from a tree on the other side of the wire. Then another and another, and twenty machine guns are going.

Their aim is poor, and their flashes give our rifles a chance. Our doughboys pile through that wire fence and through the underbrush and stack up against an-

other fence ten feet further on. The range has been telephoned back to the boche batteries and shells begin to fall all around.

They cut that barbed wire and then stumble on to concealed wire entanglements covered with brush. They climb these. All the time, from the dark, German snipers and machine gun men, always with time enough to fall back, are taking their toll. Now our line comes upon a broad trench with more wire. In the dark our boys leap across it; some fall into it. Others get over at the first attempt and pull out their pliers to cut more wires.

All this time it is raining and cold, very cold. The inky blackness there in the forest is broken by streams of fire from machine guns and the intermittent flash of some German sniper, seeming to taunt the youthful Americans struggling against such devilish odds.

TASK FOR STOUT HEARTS

It takes stout hearts, it takes real men to stand this. But it was over two and a half miles of this sort of terrain that one American division tore its way through the Argonne Forest. This was the worst part. Further on the wire was less frequent, and our men in the Argonne, having crashed through the Bois d'Apremont, are now reaching a zone where the roads are good, and the advance is easier.

Since the French tried vainly to take it in 1915 the Germans had used the Argonne Forest as a rest area—a sort of recreation ground for their war-worn troops, and had built such defenses as they thought would defy all attempts frontally. For three years the Argonne has been a kind of pleasure resort for boche fighters. It is worth years of any one's life to see what they had built there on the pretty wooded slopes and through tangles of verdant beauty.

There were underground palaces with electric illumination and with hotel ranges to cook for the officers. On a slope just a mile back of the front line there is an enormous cave fronting north. Its front was built of brownstone, on which had been chased pillars and other carvings. Above its big portals was the

word "Offizierhaus," and above that an enormous iron cross. In this club there were a large dining hall and perhaps ten rooms. The inside was lined with concrete and wooden floors had been laid. At the dining table were mahogany chairs, filched from some nearby French château. Over the General's place hung an electric call bell, and electric lights were strung down the middle of the table. It represented the luxury of war. This was just one of hundreds and hundreds of these dug-in and scientifically made dwelling places.

The whole world has heard of the trenches of the Hindenburg line. I had often heard them spoken of as being made of concrete. I would call them masonry. Out in front would be small trenches for the outpost, connecting backward with the first main trench. This was no trench of mud-covered walls and duck boards, yielding into slimy mud under the step. These trenches are lined with cement, with cement floors, along each side of which ran a little drainage ditch.

Each watching soldier had a steel and concrete post with steps leading to it. Nothing could be more complete. Connecting this trench to others in the rear ran communicating trenches of cement, covered with iron roofing and camouflaged and leading back to the officers' underground residences and the men's quarters. Further back were other underground houses for supplies and ammunition, and so on.

AMERICAN AIRMEN

Two weeks ago, when the First American Army struck the blow at the St. Mihiel salient, five-sevenths of the airmen who were working with the army were other than American. But in the present effort of the First American Army between the Meuse and the Aisne we are using only American airmen. Fighters, observers, pilots, bombers—all are American. It is the first operation of American troops in which this has been true.

Of course the greater part of the airplanes which those aviators are using are not American made, but more of our

planes are arriving every week from the United States.

Not only are the airmen of the First American Army taking care of our front between the Meuse and the Aisne, but they are also caring for the front from the Meuse to the Moselle at the same time. They are doing the job excellently. We have air supremacy in all parts of the battlefront, and for the first six hours of the fight not one enemy plane got over the American line. In three days, despite the prevailing bad weather, the American aviators downed sixty German airplanes and twelve observation balloons.

Day bombing is very dangerous work, because it takes the airplanes far back of the lines in full visibility, and these planes are less quick than the enemy's present machines. This fact led yesterday to what perhaps was one of the biggest single air combats of the war. To a series of points north of Verdun were sent thirty-four bombing fours. They were attacked by thirty-six Fokkers in battle formation. Under skillful leadership our planes kept a solid formation, and in returning accounted for seven Fokkers. Five of our aircraft did not get back.

WHAT NEW YORKERS DID

The fighting on Sept. 29 and 30 and on Oct. 1 and 2 was furious. The Germans resisted to the death, and the battleline swayed to and fro in the Argonne Forest, yet each day ended with some slight gains for the Americans. On Oct. 2 General Pershing reported that within the week the Americans had taken 120 guns of all calibres, 750 trench mortars, 300 machine guns, 100 tank guns and thousands of artillery shells and hundreds of thousands of rounds of small arms ammunition. Mr. James wrote:

Oct. 1.—After three days' stubborn resistance against the unfaltering pressure of the American First Army the Germans tonight are withdrawing their advanced elements on the left of our Aisne-Meuse sector, pulling their troops northward in the vicinity of the Argonne Forest toward the Kriemhilde positions.

The troops which have done such

valiant fighting in the Argonne Forest, overcoming the four-year-old German defenses, believed by the boche to be impregnable, are New York troops. They come from Manhattan, Brooklyn, the Bronx, Long Island, and Westchester mostly. These youngsters were trained at Camp Upton and have fought with the spirit of seasoned veterans under most difficult weather conditions.

When they started against the Hindenburg line they had to cut their way through two and a half miles of barbed wire defenses against German machine gun, rifle, and artillery fire as well as gas.

The Germans have some excellent fighters in this sector—men with iron nerve. Yesterday morning a company of about a hundred men found an unguarded path through the woods and actually went through the American line and attacked our advance troops from behind. About the same time advancing troops came up behind the Germans, trapping them. As a result of the fight we brought back sixty of the hundred as prisoners, most of the others being killed. The physical condition of the German soldiers is excellent. As a class their bodily stamina is such as can stand more suffering than our American soldiers.

KRIEMHILDE LINE BROKEN

Oct. 4.—The Americans are astride the Germans' Kriemhilde line, the last organized defense system between them and the border of Belgium. After a day of terrific fighting, following an attack at 5:30 o'clock this morning, the First American Army drove back the Germans to a line two kilometers north of Binarville and Fleville and north of Gesne to Brioules. Two Prussian Guard divisions were cut to pieces, one being taken out of the battle entirely.

All day the Germans made the strongest sort of defense, with absolute disregard for their losses. In the Argonne Forest they hurriedly felled trees, wired them, and placed machine guns before our advancing troops. Against the concerted efforts of the German troops, Wisconsin, Illinois, Western Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia forces and

regular troops, under Major Gen. Bullard, drove the enemy back into the Bois de Forest.

We are on the Kriemhilde line for some distance. The defense system on which the Germans have been working feverishly since our attack of Sept. 26 is now deeply bitten into. Breaking this line means that the fighting north of it will be with the opposing forces on equal terms, and the Germans no longer will have the advantage of organized positions, fortified with steel and masonry lines and intricate wire defenses.

DESPERATE FIGHTING

On Oct. 4 General Pershing reported the resumption of the attack on the Meuse and important advances by the forces under Major Gen. R. L. Bullard, consisting of troops from Illinois, Wisconsin, Western Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, and regulars. Mr. James thus described the German counterattacks:

Oct. 5.—The German high command, by means of new troops, artillery, and additional aerial forces, threw terrific resistance against the First American Army on the Argonne-Meuse front today. Desperate efforts to drive our men back down on the Aire Valley failed with heavy losses to the Germans.

The enemy have a deep salient in the Argonne Forest, which is protecting their heavy concentration in the woods and hills in the vicinity, and show their intention to pay almost any price to hold their Argonne stronghold.

Our troops found themselves today up against strong machine-gun nests well organized in the trench positions on the left, which form part of the Kriemhilde line, on which our right rests. Repeated German counterattacks nowhere won anything.

Today's artillery activity on the part of the Germans was the heaviest since our attack started. Ours was also heavy. On top of the hill on which the ruins of Montfaucon perch I watched the artillery and machine-gun duel this afternoon. The air was filled with German shells, and more than an equal number of ours returning. The German attack on our line three miles ahead could be

seen clearly. One could hear the rat-tat-tat of dozens of machine guns going at the same time.

The air activity was most intense all day, both Americans and Germans venturing far over one another's lines and precipitating scores of combats. The German aviators were very daring. Our day bombers did extensive work.

Today's fighting showed that the Germans had concentrated their artillery and airplanes on the front of the First American Army. Starting at an early hour this morning, the German heavies shelled our roads and villages, paying special attention to the roads out of Montfaucon, Nantillois, Cierges, the Bois de Septarges, and Bois de Forges. This artillery fire was well directed by heavy swarms of airplanes, which came over our lines in large aggregations, sometimes as many as thirty machines in a group.

Since Sept. 28, by a stubborn, expensive effort, the Germans in the Meuse-Aisne area had held the Americans pretty much on the line reached in the first two days' attack, which started on the 26th. By throwing in heavy divisions supported by a concentration of artillery back of the Kriemhilde line they had interposed a human wall against our advance north of Montfaucon and against the Aire Valley, as well as in the Argonne Forest. In addition to this, a number of violent counterattacks were made against the First Army.

All this effort was to protect a vital position, the pivot point of the eastern wing of the great salient forming the Germans' western front. Against this heaviest sort of fighting the Americans hold their own, and, having gotten up their artillery and built roads for supplies, this morning they slammed ahead again to put the boche across the last organized defense line before our troops this side of the French border. Our progress all day was slow, but with the methodical sureness of a well-oiled machine.

ENEMY'S SHOCK TROOPS

Oct. 6.—The fighting since early this morning is characterized as perhaps the bitterest the Americans have yet seen. It is grueling, soul-trying fighting, with

the heroics and sensationalism taken out. The best troops Germany has have been hurled without success against our lines. These shock troops are working independently of the heavy concentration of other troops that are blocking our advance with the heaviest concentration of machine guns war has seen.

An official report says that on one stretch of the front the Germans have a machine gun for every five yards of the line. The German concentration of artillery also is ponderous, the guns being grouped in masses in a zone two and a half miles deep. The short front between the Argonne and the Meuse is the one most vital to the whole line. An advance by the Americans to any great depth would imperil the whole east wing of the German salient stretching from the sea to the Moselle River.

The nature of the infantry fighting in this sector is marked by advances by our troops until the line becomes dented by being held up by German machine guns in sheltered places. As our advance troops move ahead these spiteful weapons open up, and then ensues a bloody contest for the reduction of the nests. This occurs and reoccurs from hour to hour.

Our front from the Argonne to the Meuse is ablaze and the sky is lighted up by the constant glow from hundreds and hundreds of guns on both sides, speaking without cessation in one of the bitterest battles of the world war.

FIGHT FOR HILL 240

We have had bitter fighting for possession of Hill 240 in the Aire Valley, and tonight we hold it securely despite strong attempts by the Germans to regain the height. Hill 269, northeast of Hill 240, was reached during the afternoon.

German forces fought with might and main to save Hill 240 from falling into the hands of the Americans on Friday, the 4th. Even when the Americans commanded the east, west, and south slopes of the height the enemy attempted to send up reinforcements from the north.

This hill is an important observation point, commanding positions for miles over the plateau west of the Meuse. It is shaped like an inverted cup. On the

north slope were the German artillery emplacements, the hill being honeycombed with dugouts. This area resembles an Indian village of Arizona. Each dugout entrance was found to be protected by earthworks strengthened with great wooden and steel props.

On the summit of the hill and among the clutters of shell-shattered stone farmhouses were nests of machine guns. On the southern slope the Germans had erected a steel tower, in which they had installed powerful telescopes. This tower was used when the instruments could not be used on the ground during heavy artillery firing.

Throughout the 4th the Americans fought for possession of the hill. The last German machine gunners did not surrender until toward evening. As the Americans advanced toward the height they divided their forces so that they flanked it on both sides.

After clearing Boyon Wood, the Americans pressed on, despite torrents of machine gun bullets that were turned against them by the concealed enemy. Several times the Americans thought the last German had been accounted for, when the machine gun fire was reopened. Then the American artillery was called upon, and the summit and sides of the hill were subjected to an intense bombardment. American riflemen and machine gunners, from positions to the west, south, and east, aided materially in the fight until the last German fled over the top of the hill.

In the course of the battle German ammunition wagons attempted to reach the enemy forces, but they were caught by the rifle fire, many horses and drivers being killed and the rest being compelled to retreat. German machine gunners tried to protect the wagons, but they were smothered by the American fire.

Americans who were in the fight assert that on one occasion the Germans on top of the hill raised the white flag, but when the Americans started forward the enemy's guns reopened fire. The Americans fell back, and a redoubled rifle and artillery fire was opened on the position of the enemy. Soon after-

ward Hill 240 fell to the American attackers.

OTHER HEIGHTS CAPTURED

Oct. 7.—After a day of bitter fighting they have driven the Germans from the heights west of the Aire Valley and are commanding the Argonne Forest from our line to the end of the jungle at Grand Pré. These heights include Hills 242, 244, and 269, on the crests of which our troops have dug in. This is the best advance we have made against the Argonne stronghold since the drive of the First American Army started on the morning of Sept. 26.

Our attack this morning was started by the troops on the line from Fleville, five kilometers southward, the troops moving due west. A short time after this attack started, at 6:30, the troops holding the line through the forest attacked northward. We used little artillery preparation, but put down heavy barrages ahead of our men.

This fire, while doing considerable damage to the Germans' communications, did not succeed in cutting the wire, because the thick woods deflected the shells to a great extent. The heavy wire entanglements had to be cut by the advancing infantry. Tanks, of course, could not be used to attack the forest.

Our attack was aided by a heavy mist, which enabled us to get upon the German positions before being seen. This precipitated a large amount of hand-to-hand fighting. The mist later developed into a cold rain, which still continues.

It is impossible to exaggerate the difficulties of the task of taking the Argonne Forest, so long regarded as impregnable. The Germans have thousands of steel and concrete positions bristling with machine guns, innumerable trenches running in all directions through the jungles, and many funnel-shaped traps commanded by nests of machine guns. They are fighting with desperation against the Americans, who are determined to wrest their highly prized stronghold from them.

Today's victory gives us an immediate advantage in the possession of the commanding heights west of the Aire Valley and aids observation, which is most diffi-

cult in the tangle of woods and jungle. Most of the hills are tortured bare of all trees and vegetation, but in the ravines and valleys thick woods give excellent shelter to friend and enemy.

APPROACHING GRAND PRÉ

Oct. 9.—The battle today has given us all of the Argonne Forest except the imperilled salient, which is still in German hands.

We have taken the important heights just south of the village of Marcq, and from thence the line runs tonight westward to where our forces join the French at Lancon. Today the French advancing toward Grand Pré have taken Lancon and Grand Ham and have reached Senue.

Attacking against divisions freshly thrown in, the Americans pushed through the Kriemhilde line today between Cunel and Romagne, after bitter fighting, in which artillery played an important part. East of the Meuse we held the positions won yesterday, despite violent attacks by the Germans this morning, and we have advanced our line to Sivry and into Chaune Wood. Two thousand prisoners were taken today. In the Argonne we advanced upward from the north end of Apremont Wood and westward from a line before Cornay.

The machine-gun fighting was very heavy. Our troops went forward this morning in a heavy fog, which proved a big help. The reports show we are chewing bit by bit the German position in the northern end of the Argonne Forest. The fighting is as bloody and difficult as any the war has seen. It should put an end to the present talk about German morale. Their machine gunners fight generally until they are killed and effect a formidable barrier to any advance. The nature of the terrain gives excellent positions for machine gun defense.

Despite the protection of the ravines, hills, and woods being to their advantage, the German losses have in the two days in the Argonne been terrific. The losses in dead are particularly high, and the situation makes it difficult for the Germans to get out their wounded.

Surrounded in a fastness of the Argonne Forest three days, a target all the while for German artillery and ma-

chine guns, without food for the last thirty-six hours, a battalion of American soldiers has been rescued in an attack led by Lieut. Col. Gene Houghton of Racine.

The story of these men is one of the classics of the war. On Friday night, (Sept. 27,) participating in an attack on German positions deep in the forest, they had to advance in single file. Pushing on against stern opposition they gained their objectives to find at dawn Saturday Germans not only in front of them but behind and on both sides.

Their position was three kilometers northeast of Binerville, on the western edge of the Argonne Forest. The Germans had found an opening on their left and, using a trench, filtered in fully a thousand men behind our battalion out there. In trenches on both sides the enemy installed many machine guns and went about corraling what they regarded as their sure prey.

On Saturday morning other Americans discovered the plight of their comrades, who were from seven companies and numbered 463 men. The French on our left attacked at the same time in an effort to release the Americans. The attack failed, but as it developed probably saved the Americans because it divided the German attack on them from the south.

On Sunday three more attempts were made to reach them, and all failed. On that day fourteen airplane missions were undertaken in their behalf, dropping two tons of food and considerable ammunition for the sequestered men. Pigeons were also dropped by parachute, so that messages could be sent back. Our aviators could not see anything of the missing men.

Knowing Monday morning that the food of the soldiers was about gone, the Americans set about a fresh attempt to rescue them. Our attack on the forest from the east helped in a determined effort made from the south and late that night the troops broke through and reached the exhausted but still determined band. More than three-fourths of them were safe.

When the men had been for a long time without food and almost wholly

without ammunition, and when many were weak from exhaustion, but not one despairing, an American who had been taken prisoner by the Germans suddenly appeared at the little camp surrounded in the valley.

The man had been sent blindfolded from the German headquarters with a typewritten note to Major Whittlesey, reading:

"Americans, you are surrounded on all sides. Surrender in the name of humanity. You will be well treated."

Major Whittlesey did not hesitate a fraction of a second.

"Go to hell!" he shouted. Then he read the note to those around him, and his men, despite their weariness and hunger, and in imminent danger every moment, cheered so loudly that the Germans heard them from their observation posts. Major Whittlesey is a nephew of Charles W. Whittlesey, a lawyer, of New York City.

ARGONNE FOREST CLEARED

In the capture of nearly all of the Argonne Forest, the American troops have effected one of the notable achievements of the world war. It is by far the biggest thing our troops have yet done. In a word, they have taken what was regarded so long as an impregnable position and one for the possession of which hundreds of thousands of men have died in the last four years and two months.

The Argonne Forest is about fifty kilometers long, extending from Grand Pré on the north to Thiaucourt on the south. Before our attack on Sept. 26 the line crossed the forest about twenty kilometers south of Grand Pré through Chatade Wood. The Americans had been told that the Argonne Forest could not be taken frontally, and so, when our drive started, the plan was to advance up the Aire Valley on the east and up the Aisne Valley on the west of the forest, pinching it out.

The story of how they did it is one of the most stirring of the war. Across the forest, which hides a series of hills and ravines and dense jungles, ran the famed Hindenburg line, four kilometers deep, with trenches by the hundreds and with lines of wire at short intervals for a

depth of two and a half miles. The rocks and trees and holes formed shelters for thousands of machine guns. The road had been mined or blown up. Artillery could not be used with effect. The Germans were protected by uncounted pill-boxes, dugouts, and ready-made positions, running always to the southern side of the crests of the hills, and on these hills the most of our advance was made. The Germans had every cross-trail and road under the exact range of guns further back. It was a veritable hell through which the boys from New York were ordered to go, and they went.

It was a case of cutting a path through the wire and filtering through single file. This gave the Germans a chance which they took advantage of a number of times to get around behind the Americans and engage in bitter hand-to-hand fighting. On and on our boys worked their way through Gruerie Wood and into Apremont Wood. This progress was made during the first two days. For eight days our progress was piecemeal until Sunday, ten days after we had started, our real success began as the boche gave way before our never-ceasing pressure. It is the biggest victory that General Pershing has yet won.

IMPORTANCE OF RESULTS

The Americans pressed forward on Oct. 11 and 12, gaining important new ground beyond the Argonne Forest. On the 13th, 14th, and 15th they drove their wedge deeper into the Kriemhilde line, taking important positions beyond. Mr. James wrote:

Oct. 15.—There are graveyards everywhere, German graveyards from which one might imagine the countless thousands whom Prussian militarism has sent to their graves are watching silently the loss of what they died to gain.

A tribute should be paid to the hardihood of the American boys fighting this battle, one of the bitterest of the war. Most of them never lived, much less spent days and nights outdoors, in such climate, for which there is no counterpart in America. Rain and rain, nothing but rain, day after day, penetrating cold all the time, and no shelter except holes in the ground and pup tents.

But in the rain and cold with fires taboo the American spirit is holding fast and the doughboys are figuring that they can stand it, because the boche has to. To break up the Kriemhilde Stellung is the job given the Americans to do and they are going to do it.

How great is the importance attached by the Germans to holding back the Americans is shown in a recent order of General von der Marwitz, Commander in Chief of the Fifth Army, which has reached American intelligence officers. The order reads:

It is on the unconquerable resistance of the Verdun front that depends the fate of a great part of the western front, perhaps even of our nation. The Fatherland must rest assured that every commander and every man realizes the greatness of his mission and that he will do his duty to the very end. If they do this, the enemy's attack will, as heretofore, break against our firm will to hold.

Oct. 16.—Grand Pré was captured today by the American troops. East of this not inconsiderable town we drove our wedge deeper across the Aire River

into the edge of the Bois des Loges, reaching a line two miles north of Chevières. Meanwhile the French on the left pushed their line forward west of Grand Pré.

Grand Pré is an important defense point before the Kriemhilde line, and was held by the Germans against repeated attacks by the Americans for three days. It is a junction point for railways that feed the enemy. The Germans continue a determined effort to hold back the Americans, and are succeeding in making the advance painful and slow.

When we attacked on Sept. 26 between the Aisne and the Meuse, the Germans had four divisions in line on this battle-front. Since then they have had thirteen whole divisions and the equipment of two more divisions, making a total of fifteen extra divisions, of which eight were fresh and two were rushed from the Champagne front, despite important progress being made there by the French Fourth Army. The reinforcement has been four divisions to each division in the line when our drive began.

The Taking of St. Mihiel Salient

Immensity of the Operation

A correspondent of The Chicago Tribune summarized the preparations of the First American Army for the capture of the St. Mihiel salient and the results obtained as follows:

IN order to take 152 square miles of territory and seventy-two villages, captured in the crushing of the St. Mihiel salient, the American Army first had to evolve preparations on colossal lines, because the actual action brought into the plan hundreds of elements, all of which had to co-ordinate smoothly. The figures given are estimates made by officers directly in touch with the operations.

First, we issued 100,000 detail maps covering in minutest detail the character of the terrain of the St. Mihiel salient, including natural defenses, and telling how each was manned and by what enemy units. These maps were corrected in some instances as late as the day before the battle opened, and were sup-

plemented by 40,000 photographs. These were for the guidance of the artillery and infantry, and were scattered among the officers of the whole army a few hours before the zero hour.

Five thousand miles of wire was laid in the St. Mihiel salient and on its borders before the attack, and immediately after the Americans advanced 6,000 telephone instruments were connected with these wires throughout the battle zone.

When the battle opened on the morning of Sept. 12, 1918, trucks started northward at a speed of seven miles an hour, unreeling wires across No Man's Land until they reached points where the reels had to be carried by Signal Corps men afoot.

Such work made it possible for Ameri-

can officers whose troops had flanked the foe's trenches to telephone back, informing the artillery of the exact location of the enemy trenches and in a few minutes bringing a deluge of metal on the boche.

Telephone squads carried these lines up to the fighting front on Thursday morning and soon in the triangular battle ground there was a telephone system in operation that would have been adequate to handle the telephone business of a city of 100,000, and it was going at top efficiency. The branch lines were connected with the main axis, which was established through the middle of the salient. Ten thousand men were busily engaged in operating the system. Many of the phone exchanges were on wheels. Several thousand carrier pigeons supplemented the Signal Corps.

We captured a tremendous quantity of German signal supplies, 500 miles of German wire, many switchboards, one radio truck, and numerous batteries.

In the midst of the battle other Signal Corps men took more than 10,000 feet of movie film depicting war scenes and many thousands of photographs.

Extensive hospital facilities were arranged, including thirty-five hospital trains, 16,000 beds in the advanced areas, and 55,000 others further back. Happily, less than 10 per cent. of the hospital facilities were needed, and therefore our surgeons and nurses were

enabled to give the finest care to our wounded and sick, and every attention to the German wounded.

In the course of the operation our guns fired approximately 1,500,000 shells. Forty-eight hundred trucks carried men and supplies into the lines. They were assisted by miles of American railroads of standard and narrow gauge, and the cars were pulled by engines marked "U. S. A."

In addition to restoring this big territory to France with an unprecedentedly small force the Americans liberated two railroads and a canal from the menace of the boche artillery. We took 15,188 prisoners and the following spoils: One hundred and eleven guns, including twenty-five of large calibre and seventy-eight Austrian 77s; forty-two trench mortars, two hundred machine guns, thirteen trucks, including an ambulance; thirty box cars, four locomotives, five caissons, forty wagons, and thirty-six narrow-gauge cars.

The quantity of captured munitions is still unestimated, but one spot alone yielded 4,000 shells for 77s and 350,000 rounds of rifle cartridges. Twelve thousand hand grenades were found in one place. Four ammunition dumps were taken. Large quantities of food, clothing, trinkets and many documents bring up a total which makes our first venture as an individual unit assume characteristic American proportions.

Devastation of Evacuated Regions

The Germans continued to ruin and devastate all towns evacuated up to the middle of October, when President Wilson's mention of such acts as obstacles to peace, coupled with the French Chamber's formal notification that Germany would have to pay for the restoration of all cities thus wantonly burned, was followed by a sudden change of policy. The German newspapers on the evening of Oct. 17 published an official notification that the German Army command had "brought military measures into accord with the steps taken for the conclusion of peace," and that the German

armies had received orders to cease all devastation "unless absolutely forced to follow this course by the military situation for defensive reasons." Accordingly, when Lille, Roubaix, Tournai, and other cities in France and Belgium were evacuated they were spared.

But before this change occurred Cambrai, Douai, Laon, Lens, and other cities were looted and burned. Noyon was wantonly destroyed with explosives fired by electric devices after its evacuation. The same thing was repeated on a scale a hundredfold greater in the Aisne region.

The pillage of Laon was progressive. It began with the arrival of the first troops, who looted every house and building that was not inhabited at the time. Later on, the pillage extended to houses that were inhabited. It reached its height on the departure of the general staff of the German Army commanded by General von Heeringen. With the staff disappeared all the furniture of the City Hall. The furniture of private houses was "requisitioned" sometimes, and sometimes simply taken. Five million eight hundred thousand francs in cash (about \$1,160,000) was the sum exacted from the town, part of it under the guise of a war contribution and part as fines for different so-called infractions of the commandant's rules.

Of the 10,000 houses which constituted the garden city of Lens, formerly a workingman's paradise, not one remains standing. Every house has been deliberately razed and the gardens which surrounded most of them have been ruined for a long time to come. The mines in every case have been flooded. The pumping alone will require nearly two years. At the great Courrières mines, where one or two pits are already in course of restoration, every scrap of the surface organization, which was reputed the best in France, has been

destroyed systematically to the last limits.

Measures were taken two or three years ago to begin the work of restoration immediately after the Germans were driven out. Even in view of this foresight, however, it is not believed that coal production can be resumed in the Lens mine field before eighteen months or two years, and even then only a very small proportion of the former output will be obtainable. Experts report that at least five years will be required before the pits can be brought back to their normal output.

The mines in the Lens and Douai districts before the war produced 12,000,000 tons of coal a year. All these mines were kept working during the whole period the Germans occupied the localities concerned, and an enormous quantity of coal was extracted by them. Step by step as the Allies advanced, however, the mines were systematically ruined. In order to prevent use being made of the mines which the Allies wrenched from the enemy the Germans made each mine an enormous tank into which all the surface water overhead was carefully directed. The work of rehabilitating the French mines has been taken in hand by a specially created Government department.

The Part the Pigeons Played

ONE of the most important factors of the defense in the Eastern Champagne on July 15, 1918, was the smooth working of the Information Service under the German bombardment. Each pillbox fort in the covering zone was supplied with a crate of carrier pigeons, and the birds carried back news of every movement of the enemy and every phase of the fight to the command posts. One officer commander, with experience of intelligence work, interrogated German

prisoners who were brought into his pillbox as they arrived, and sent back the information derived from the bewildered Germans by pigeon post almost as quickly as it could have been telegraphed.

In another case the garrison of a pillbox sent back by pigeon a request that artillery should immediately open on the ground around their stronghold, taking no thought for their own safety, as the Germans were about to surround them.



Pushing War Activities at Home

New Draft Involving Nearly 13,000,000 Men Doubles the Size of the United States Army

[PERIOD OF SEPT. 18 TO OCT. 18, 1918]

PURSUANT to the United States Government's plan to have approximately 5,000,000 men under arms before the Summer of 1919, the third draft registration, embracing all male citizens between the ages of 18 and 45, inclusive, took place throughout the country on Sept. 12, 1918, as recorded in detail in the preceding issue of CURRENT HISTORY. Provost Marshal General Crowder had estimated that about 12,780,000 should be the number of new registrants if all the men between 18 and 21 years and 32 and 45 years, inclusive, responded to the call under the Selective Service act. The actual total, as announced a month later, was 12,966,594, or more than 186,000 in excess of the estimate. With the men previously registered under the first and second drafts this made a grand total of 23,456,021 registered since the country entered the war.

Youths who had not yet completed their nineteenth year were placed in a separate group to be called last into service, and questionnaires were promptly dispatched to youths of 19 and 20, and to men of 32 to 36, inclusive, preparatory to sending them to cantonments for training as soon as possible after the draft.

On Sept. 30 the drawing to decide the order in which the registrants should be called into service took place at Washington in the same room of the Senate Office Building where the first draft had been held. President Wilson, blindfolded with a cloth taken from the covering of one of the chairs used at the signing of the Declaration of Independence, drew the first number amid cheers from the onlookers. The capsule that he drew bore the number 322, which meant that each man who happened to have this number opposite his name in the local registration lists throughout

the country would be the first to be called to the colors there in his class.

The drawing of the rest of the 17,000 key numbers went on continuously for the next twenty hours, when Provost Marshal General Crowder took the last



PRESIDENT WILSON, BLINDFOLDED, ABOUT TO DRAW THE FIRST CAPSULE FROM THE JAR THAT DETERMINED THE FORTUNES OF 13,000,000 MEN.

capsule from the big bowl. Thus ended the drafting of a grand total of more than 23,000,000 potential soldiers, including the 9,000,000 or more in the first draft, July 20, 1917, and the 1,000,000 youths in the second draft who had reached the age of 21 by June 5, 1918.

The third draft differed from its predecessors in that it allowed enlarged opportunities for exemption. Men under the earlier drafts had to offer their own claims for exemption. At the time of the third draft, in view of the increasing labor shortage, the Government invited employers to file claims in behalf of em-

ployes engaged in essential industries, with the assurance that such claims would be seriously considered, even though the registrant himself might decline to claim exemption. It was announced that each of the 156 district draft boards would have the assistance of a Board of Industrial Advisers in deciding questions of exemption; the latter board was to consist of three members, one appointed by the Department of Labor, one by the Department of Agriculture, the third by the District Board itself. In large districts, such as New York and Chicago, the number of advisers would be increased.

The "master list" of 17,000 draft numbers, after being carefully rechecked by the military authorities at Washington, was printed in a 68-page pamphlet and mailed on Oct. 5 to the more than 4,500 local exemption boards in the United States. With the lists went instructions as to the method to be used in classifying registrants, so that no difficulty should be encountered in fixing the order in which men of Class 1—aged 19 to 36 years, inclusive—were to be called to the training camps. Many men had already presented themselves for examination, waiving exemption, and preparations were well under way to have the camps partly filled by the end of October.

SPANISH INFLUENZA

During September and October, however, an epidemic of the disease known as Spanish influenza gained increasing headway throughout the country, especially in the training camps, where its frequent complication with pneumonia caused many fatalities. On Oct. 11, for instance, the influenza cases reported to the Surgeon General numbered 12,024, pneumonia cases 2,824, and deaths 892. The figures each day for several weeks were similarly large. At the date named the total number of influenza cases at camps since the beginning of the epidemic had reached 223,000; pneumonia cases, 27,907, and deaths, 8,335. By Oct. 17 the deaths in army and navy camps had exceeded 11,000.

In view of these facts General Crowder canceled the calls for the entrainment

between Oct. 7 and 11 of 142,000 men who had been inducted into service under previous drafts, while the calling of the men of the new draft to the cantonments was temporarily suspended. Meanwhile, the epidemic swept the whole country, causing the closing of schools, churches, theatres, and seriously handicapping business in all the larger cities. Illinois had 300,000 cases on Oct. 16, Pennsylvania 300,000, Virginia 200,000, and other States reported similar figures. The War Department announced, however, that there would be no pause in the transportation of troops overseas.

COST OF ENLARGED ARMY

A bill officially designated as "the first Appropriation bill for the fiscal year ending June 1, 1919," was introduced in the House of Representatives on Oct. 16. It carried a total of cash and authorizations of \$6,645,755,666, of which \$6,152,062,704 was for the army, \$107,217,778 for the navy, and \$86,475,183 for civil service, including \$70,000,000 to pay dependents of soldiers. The total of the estimates was \$8,886,131,651. This amount was sought in addition to \$17,500,000,000 provided by the annual Army bill and the Fortifications bill. It will bring the total of appropriations and authorizations for the year up to \$36,000,000,000.

The following statement was made by General March, Chief of Staff, concerning the forces for whose support, equipment, and transportation these great sums are designed:

We propose to have 4,850,000 men, involving eighty divisions in France and eighteen divisions at home. The estimated status of the army on Sept. 17 shows that there are in the United States 1,422,768 men; there are in France, or on the high seas, en route to France, 1,708,437 men; there are in Siberia, our island possessions, and elsewhere, including the Panama garrison and Alaska garrison, 69,958 men. This gives us for the entire American Army, as well as it can be estimated today, 3,201,162 men. That does not include marines, but the number of marines turned over to the army in France or embarked for there is 19,821.

In drawing up the military program, we have determined, first, the maximum number of troops we propose to use abroad, and then the number of troops necessary to hold in the United States to

feed into those divisions. We have determined that number abroad at eighty divisions.

The scheme that has been worked out for the whole fiscal year of the number of divisions per month that will have to be obtained in order to keep the machine going corresponds quite closely to the number of troops that we are sending abroad each month. For instance, in July we shipped six divisions abroad. As those six divisions went, carrying 300,000 men, we got from General Crowder 300,000 more men to take their places. In August the same thing happened.

General March announced on Oct. 11 that 1,900,000 American troops had been transported to Europe, and on Oct. 19 he told a Senate committee that the number sent abroad had passed the 2,000,000 mark.

INTERESTING DETAILS

General Crowder stated on Oct. 16 that of the 2,750,000 men who would have to be called to maintain the program of ninety-eight divisions, 50 per cent. would come from the 19 to 36 class, leaving 1,350,000 to be supplied by the 37 to 45 and 18 to 19 classes. The immensity of the military program is indicated in detached items, such as General Crowder's announcement that motor cycles with side cars were to be constructed to carry 233,000 fighting men; that the army aviation program contemplated training 30,000 aviators, of whom 8,390 were already in France and 6,210 in this country. It was stated that there would be a total of 450 flying squadrons, that 329 balloons had been produced to date, that thirty-nine balloon companies were already organized, and that there were enough balloons ready to equip 162 companies.

An indication of the scope of the supply problem is seen in the fact that at one French port 147 warehouses have been built, each 500 feet in length. At this place the working force includes 13,000 engineer troops, 7,000 stevedores, 8,000 civilian laborers, 1,000 German prisoners and 1,000 infantry, in all 30,000 men carrying on American activities at this one port. The five main French ports have a capacity for unloading 30,000 tons of army goods every day, or an average of about thirty pounds per man for every American soldier in France.

Food Administrator Hoover stated, Sept. 21, that in the year ending July 1, 1919, it would be necessary to ship abroad for the American Army and the allied and neutral nations 17,550,000 tons of meats, fats, breadstuffs, sugar and feed grains. This total, he said, represented 5,730,000 tons more than were shipped in the year ended July 1, 1918, and would require continued self-denial on the part of the American people.

FOURTH LIBERTY LOAN

The Fourth Liberty Loan campaign—for the floating of \$6,000,000,000 in war bonds bearing 4½ per cent. interest—began Sept. 28 and ended Oct. 19. The loan was the largest in history; the subscriptions fell somewhat below the estimated rate of progress during the earlier weeks of the campaign, but a whirlwind effort at the end brought the total to a figure well above the desired \$6,000,000,000.

The campaign was marked by interesting incidents in every city. Some of those in New York may be recorded as typical. President Wilson visited New York on "Liberty Day," Oct. 12, and marched at the head of a great parade. Fifth Avenue was decorated with flags to an extent unprecedented and was temporarily rechristened the "Avenue of the Allies," under which name it gave the title to a memorable poem by Alfred Noyes.

Later President Wilson autographed the subscriptions made at a New York theatre, where \$750,000 was raised. Miss Geraldine Farrar, an opera star, sang \$2,000,000 out of the pockets of those present at a dinner. Mr. Schwab at another dinner raised \$52,000,000. A young girl climbed a ladder of fifty rungs in Wall Street, each rung counting for a subscription for a \$50 bond. A large sum was realized at a young folks' gathering, where the star part was played by a small dog, who snarled violently at every mention of the Kaiser. Douglas Fairbanks flew from Washington to New York in a Curtiss biplane, with a 16-cent stamp on a tag in his buttonhole to indicate that he was third class mail matter, and sold \$2,000,000 in bonds at the journey's end. The five New York Borough

Presidents assembled on Oct. 18 at the Altar of Liberty in Madison Square to await the coming of homing pigeons, the

order of whose finish was to decide the way in which the officials should subscribe \$260,000 to the loan.

United States the Greatest Insurance Company

The War Risk Insurance Bureau is now carrying a total of soldiers' insurance greater than the combined risks of the twenty largest insurance companies in the world. By Sept. 1, 1918, the insurance on the lives of soldiers and sailors issued by the Government amounted to twenty billions of dollars. This was more than one-half the total of all other insurance on lives in the United States.

The limit of insurance that the men are permitted to take is \$10,000. At the outset, the Government estimated that not more than half the men entitled to it would take out insurance. It was thought also that the policies would not average more than \$2,000 each. Both of these forecasts were incorrect; 80 per cent. have taken out policies, and the average policy is for \$8,200.

The enlisted man with family is required to allot one-half his pay, or \$15 per month, to his family. The Government adds \$15 per month to this for the wife and \$7.50 for each child up to a total of \$50 per month. At the time of the summary on which these statements are based 780,000 checks were being sent out monthly. In June disbursements amounted to \$21,000,000.

The policy's value is based on the American Experience Tables of Mortality at 3½ per cent. interest, without expense loading, the Government paying the expenses. The \$10,000 policy entitles

the beneficiary to \$57.50 per month for twenty years; a total of \$13,800.

It is planned to arrange for commutation of these monthly payments and the discharge, in whole or in part, by a lump payment whose present value will equal that of the twenty years of monthly payments.

The law creating the War Risk Bureau was passed in October, 1917. The rate established makes the insurance of the soldier or sailor at 30 years of age about \$8 per annum per \$1,000. The rate, under the same conditions, that was fixed on by the insurance companies when they were negotiating with the Government was \$37.50. In the Government view this was far too high, and was based on an excessive estimate of deaths that would occur in the service. Hence the decision of the Government to undertake the work itself.

One advantage expected to result from national insurance is a reduction in pensions to be paid after the war. The high-water mark in civil war pensions was reached forty years after the end of the war. It is proposed under the present plan to make the insurance indemnities take the place of pensions, with the advantage over the latter of giving the beneficiary the bulk of his money at the start, when he presumably needs it most. This is not to say that a pension plan in some form may not be later established. On that point the Government has not pronounced a decision.



Prince Maximilian's Peace Drive

Text of the New German Chancellor's Correspondence With President Wilson

PRESIDENT WILSON'S Metropolitan Opera House speech in New York on Sept. 27, 1918, which will be found in full on Pages 251-254 of this magazine, became the basis of a new attempt on the part of the Central Powers to secure a negotiated peace. Continued German reverses on the western front and the collapse of Bulgaria in the Balkans had greatly increased the desire of the Kaiser to conclude some kind of peace before meeting irretrievable disaster in France and Belgium. Information reaching Washington through diplomatic channels indicated that Field Marshal von Hindenburg himself, confronted with lack of ammunition as well as of man power, was the chief force behind the demand for a new Chancellor and a new peace drive, despite the failure of the one attempted a month before through Austria-Hungary.

Prince Maximilian of Baden succeeded Count von Hertling as Imperial Chancellor on Sept. 30, and proceeded at once, in conjunction with Austria-Hungary and Turkey, to launch the new movement for peace negotiations. He was ready to make greater concessions than Germany had ever offered before. On the night of Oct. 4-5 he sent to President Wilson, through the Swiss Government, the following note:

The German Government requests the President of the United States to take in hand the restoration of peace, acquaint all the belligerent States with this request, and invite them to send plenipotentiaries for the purpose of opening negotiations.

It accepts the program set forth by the President of the United States in his message to Congress on Jan. 8, and in his later pronouncements, especially his speech of Sept. 27, as a basis for peace negotiations.

With a view to avoiding further bloodshed, the German Government requests the immediate conclusion of an armistice on land and water and in the air.

TEXT OF REICHSTAG SPEECH

The foregoing note was followed on

Oct. 5 with an important speech before the German Reichstag, in which the new Chancellor outlined his peace policy. The text of this address, as cabled by The Associated Press, is as follows:

In accordance with the Imperial decree of Sept. 30, the German Empire has undergone a basic alteration of its political leadership. As successor to Count George F. von Hertling, whose services in behalf of the Fatherland deserve the highest acknowledgment, I have been summoned by the Emperor to lead the new Government. In accordance with the Governmental method now introduced, I submit to the Reichstag, publicly and without delay, the principles upon which I propose to conduct the grave responsibilities of the office.

These principles were firmly established by the agreement of the Federated Governments and the leaders of the majority parties in this honorable House before I decided to assume the duties of Chancellor. They contain, therefore, not only my own confession of political faith, but that of an overwhelming portion of the German peoples' representatives—that is, of the German Nation—which has constituted the Reichstag on the basis of a general, equal, and secret franchise, and according to their will. Only the fact that I know the conviction and will of the majority of the people are back of me has given me strength to take upon myself conduct of the empire's affairs in this hard and earnest time in which we are living.

One man's shoulders would be too weak to carry alone the tremendous responsibility which falls upon the Government at present. Only if the people take active part, in the broadest sense of the word, in deciding their destinies; in other words, if responsibility also extends to the majority of their freely elected political leaders, can the leading statesman confidently assume his part of the responsibility in the service of folk and Fatherland.

My resolve to do this has been especially lightened for me by the fact that prominent leaders of the laboring class have found a way in the new Government to the highest offices of the empire. I see therein a sure guarantee that the new Government will be supported by the firm confidence of the broad masses of the people, without whose true support the whole undertaking would be condemned to fail-

ure in advance. Hence, what I say today is not only in my own name and those of my official helpers, but in the name of the German people.

PROGRAM OF NEW GOVERNMENT

The program of the majority parties, upon which I take my stand, contains, first, an acceptance of the answer of the former Imperial Government to Pope Benedict's note of Aug. 1, 1916, and an unconditional acceptance of the Reichstag resolution of July 19, the same year. It further declares willingness to join a general league of nations based on the foundation of equal rights for all, both strong and weak.

It considers the solution of the Belgian question to lie in the complete rehabilitation (wiederherstellung) of Belgium, particularly of its independence and territorial integrity. An effort shall also be made to reach an understanding on the question of indemnity.

The program will not permit the peace treaties hitherto concluded to be a hindrance to the conclusion of a general peace.

Its particular aim is that popular representative bodies shall be formed immediately on a broad basis in the Baltic provinces, in Lithuania, and Poland. We will promote the realization of necessary preliminary conditions therefor without delay by the introduction of civilian rule. All these lands shall regulate their Constitutions and their relations with neighboring peoples without external interference.

In the matter of international policies I have taken a clear stand through the manner in which the formation of the Government was brought about. Upon my motion, leaders of the majority parties were summoned for direct advice. It was my conviction, gentlemen, that unity of imperial leadership should be assured, but not through mere schismatic party allegiance by the different members of the Government. I considered almost still more important the unity of ideas. I proceeded from this viewpoint, and have, in making my selections, laid greatest weight on the fact that the members of the new Imperial Government stand on a basis of a just peace of justice, regardless of the war situation, and that they have openly declared this to be their standpoint at the time when we stood at the height of our military successes.

I am convinced that the manner in which imperial leadership is now constituted, with the co-operation of the Reichstag, is not something ephemeral, and that when peace comes a Government cannot again be formed which does not find support in the Reichstag and does not draw its leaders therefrom.

The war has conducted us beyond the old multifarious and disrupted party life, which made it so difficult to put into execution a uniform and decisive political wish. The formation of a majority means the formation of a political will, and an indisputable result of the war has been that in Germany, for the first time, great parties have joined together in a firm, harmonious program and have thus come into position to determine for themselves the fate of the people.

ALTERATION OF CONSTITUTION

This thought will never die. This development will never be retracted, and I trust, so long as Germany's fate is ringed about by dangers, those sections of the people outside the majority parties and whose representatives do not belong to the Government will put aside all that separates us and will give the Fatherland what is the Fatherland's.

This development necessitates an alteration of our Constitution's provisions along the lines of the imperial decree of Sept. 30, which shall make it possible that these members of the Reichstag who entered the Government will retain their seats in the Reichstag. A bill to this end has been submitted to the Federal States and will immediately be made the subject of their consideration and decision.

Gentlemen, let us remember the words spoken by the Emperor on Aug. 4, 1914, which I permitted myself to paraphrase last December at Karlsruhe: "There are, in fact, parties, but they are all German parties."

Political developments in Prussia, the principal German Federal State, must proceed in the spirit of these words of the Emperor, and the message of the King of Prussia promising the democratic franchise must be fulfilled quickly and completely. I do not doubt, also, that those Federal States which still lag behind in the development of their constitutional conditions will resolutely follow Prussia's example.

For the present, as the example of all belligerent States demonstrates, the extraordinary powers which a condition of siege compels cannot be dispensed with, but close relations between the military and civilian authorities must be established which will make it possible that in all not purely military questions, and hence especially as to censorship and right of assemblage, the attitude of the civilian executive authorities shall make itself heard and that final decision shall be placed under the Chancellor's responsibility.

To this end, the order of the Emperor will be sent to the military commanders. With Sept. 30, the day of the decree, began a new epoch in Germany's internal history. The internal policy whose basic

principles are therein laid down is of deciding importance on the question of peace or war.

The striking force which the Government has in its strivings for peace depends on whether it has behind it the united, firm, and unshakable will of the people. Only when our enemies feel that the German people stand united back of their chosen leaders—then only can words become deeds.

PROTECTION OF LABOR

At the peace negotiations the German Government will use its efforts to the end that the treaties shall contain provisions concerning the protection of labor and insurance of laborers, which provisions shall oblige the treaty-making States to institute in their respective lands within a prescribed time a minimum of similar, or at least equally, efficient institutions for the security of life and health, as for the care of laborers in case of illness, accident, or invalidism.

Of direct importance are the conclusions which the Government in the brief span of its existence has been able to draw from the situation in which it finds itself and to apply practically to the situation. More than four years of bloodiest struggle against a world of numerically superior enemies are behind us, years full of the hardest battles and most painful sacrifices. Nevertheless, we are of strong heart and full of confident faith in our strength, resolved to bear still heavier sacrifices for our honor and freedom and for the happiness of our posterity, if it cannot be otherwise.

We remember with deep and warm gratitude our brave troops, who, under splendid leadership, have accomplished almost superhuman deeds throughout the whole war and whose past deeds are a sure guarantee that the fate of us all will also in future be in good and dependable hands in their keeping. For months a continuous, terrible, and murderous battle has been raging in the west. Thanks to the incomparable heroism of our army, which will live as an immortal, glorious page in the history of the German people for all times, the front is unbroken.

This proud consciousness permits us to look to the future with confidence. But, just because we are inspired by this feeling and the conviction that it is also our duty to make certain that the bloody struggle be not protracted for a single day beyond the moment when the close of the war seems possible to us which does not affect our honor, I have, therefore, not waited until today to take a step to further the idea of peace.

Supported by the consent of all duly authorized persons in the empire, and by consent of all our allies acting in concert with us, I sent on the night of Oct. 4-5,

through the mediation of Switzerland, a note to the President of the United States, in which I requested him to take up the bringing about of peace and to communicate to this end with all the belligerent States.

NEW GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS

The note will reach Washington today or tomorrow. It is directed to the President of the United States because he, in his message to Congress Jan. 8, 1918, and in his later proclamations, particularly in his New York speech of Sept. 27, proposed a program for a general peace which we can accept as a basis for negotiations.

I have taken this step not only for the salvation of Germany and its allies, but of all humanity, which has been suffering for years through the war.

I have taken it also because I believe the thoughts regarding the future well-being of the nation which were proclaimed by Mr. Wilson are in accord with the general ideas cherished by the new German Government and with it the overwhelming majority of our people.

So far as I am personally concerned, in earlier speeches to other assemblages, my hearers will testify that the conception which I hold of a future peace has undergone no change since I was intrusted with the leadership of the empire's affairs.

I see, hence, no distinction whatever between the national and international mandates of duty in respect of peace. For me the deciding factor is solely that all participants shall with equal honesty acknowledge these mandates as binding and respect them, as is the case with me and with the other members of our new Government. And so, with an inner peace, which my clear conscience as a man and as a servant of the people gives me, and which rests at the same time upon firm faith in this great and true people, this people capable of every devotion, and upon their glorious armed power, I await the outcome of the first action which I have taken as the leading statesman of the empire.

Whatever this outcome may be, I know it will find Germany firmly resolved and united either for an upright peace which rejects every selfish violation of the rights of others or for a closing of the struggle for life and death to which our people would be forced without our own fault if the answer to our note of the powers opposed to us should be dictated by a will to destroy us.

I do not despair over the thought that this second alternative may come. I know the greatness of the mighty powers yet possessed by our people, and I know that the incontrovertible conviction that they were only fighting for our life as a nation would double these powers.

I hope, however, for the sake of all mankind that the President of the United States will receive our offer as we mean it. Then the door would be opened to a speedy, honorable peace of justice and reconciliation for us, as well as for our opponents.

On the same day Prince Maximilian sent a telegram to Baron Burian, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, saying: "The glorious deeds of our armies, and the determination of our peoples to defend themselves in loyal co-operation with their Governments, will, with God's help, lead us to an honorable peace." Baron Burian replied that all his thoughts and efforts were "in loyal co-operation with the Imperial German Government, directed toward bringing the blessing of an honorable peace as soon as possible to our admirable armies and peoples."

AUSTRIA'S EXPLANATION

An elucidation of the peace efforts of the Central Powers, intended for the people of Austria-Hungary, appeared in the Vienna newspapers of Oct. 6, with the explanation that the article emanated from "well-informed circles." Its evidently official origin and its rapid sketch of past peace efforts entitle it to a place in the record of the subject. It reads as follows:

It is first to be emphasized that this step by Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Germany is not to be regarded as a decision taken suddenly under the stress of military events. It constitutes rather, in the history of our peace policy, the last link in the chain of logical and continual evolution, regard being paid at the same time to the latest internal political developments in Germany.

As is known, the point of departure of our peace policy was Baron Burian's note of December, 1916. The step then taken was of a very vague character. The conditions were not described, but only indicated in broad outlines.

In the course of the development the conditions have become crystallized. During February, March, and April expressions regarding a general and just peace without annexations or compensations came into currency.

Subsequently the idea of establishing an international court of arbitration and a reduction of armament was discussed, and, further, the principle of freedom of the seas was proclaimed, and, finally, the principle was set forth that economic

wars and economic oppression after the war must be prevented. Out of these guiding principles has arisen the present program.

All these points, it will be recalled, were accepted by Count Czernin, (former Austrian Foreign Minister,) in speeches and interviews, as a suitable basis for peace negotiations, and finally received the approval also of the German Reichstag, so that uniformity in the conception of the allies (Teutonic) thereby found expression.

Then followed the peace note of Pope Benedict, whose proposals and fundamental ideas were accepted by us as forming an acceptable basis. Only President Wilson, in his note of Jan. 8, 1918, in his fourteen points made proposals and proclaimed principles which substantially accorded with the program of the Central Powers.

Count Czernin and Count von Hertling described President Wilson's proposals, apart from a reserve regarding certain points, as a suitable basis for peace. The Austro-Hungarian delegations and the German Reichstag have described their attitude toward these proposals in a similar manner. It should be noted also that it was always President Wilson who occupied himself with a concrete peace program, while the Entente adhered to its intentions of conquest. Then came Baron Burian's last proposal for a preliminary discussion by the belligerent powers.

NEW HOPE OF PEACE

The proposal was rejected by President Wilson, not, however, with the intention of cutting off peace discussion, because in his speech of Sept. 27 he again reverted to it and in an objective manner set forth the necessity of a just peace—a peace that would not be one-sided, but just to both sides, and thus fulfill the principle of high justice to all.

At this moment of the proclamation of this principle of equal justice for all parties it became clear that it was possible in this manner to come near to attaining peace, because the principle of the elimination of any one-sided preference provides for the solution of a group of difficult questions.

In the consideration of the further circumstance that owing to the internal political change in Germany certain difficulties were cleared out of the way, it became clear that a uniform decision of the Central Powers regarding peace could be affected. On this day of the new German Government's entering office we are in a position to undertake a step which reaches as far back as the beginning of 1917.

This step was not born of the events of the moment but continually had won its

way through in the course of a natural development.

In the circumstances we expect our step will lead to rapprochement and discussion. At the same time in expressing this hope we do not know how the Entente and President Wilson will view this step. It is, however, politically justified on the ground alone that President Wilson represents sole power and is not politically bound to the Entente.

In a formal manner it is also pointed out that our step is not to be interpreted as a request for mediation. This is out of the question, as only a neutral could act as mediator. We approach President Wilson because the points formulated by him represent a basis on which we could negotiate.

Our step will assuredly be regarded generally as one of great historic moment. In the note it is expressed with full clearness that the much-calumniated Central Powers are pursuing no imperialistic policy, and, moreover, their conditions are in full accord with their program of defense.

Should our proposal not be accepted, then our opponents will have to undertake full responsibility. The note is presented separately because the allies (Teutonic) are represented in America by protecting States—we by Sweden, Germany by Switzerland.

The note at this moment has already been handed to the American Ministers at Stockholm and Berne.

In Berlin excited crowds on the evening of Oct. 6 tore from the hands of newsdealers special editions of the newspapers containing the speech of Prince Maximilian amid shouts of "Peace has come!" "Peace at last!" A note of doubt and warning against overconfidence, however, pervaded a large section of the German press, apart from the Pan German irreconcilables. President Wilson's New York speech of Sept. 27, hitherto ignored by the German press, appeared in full in Berlin newspapers of Oct. 5, and everything was done by the Government to centre attention and responsibility upon the President in the matter.

PRESIDENT'S FIRST REPLY

Replying to the note of Prince Maximilian, President Wilson sent the following through the Swiss Chargé d'Affaires to the German Chancellor:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, D. C., Oct. 8, 1918.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge,

on behalf of the President, your note of Oct. 6, inclosing a communication from the German Government to the President, and I am instructed by the President to request you to make the following communication to the Imperial German Chancellor:

"Before making reply to the request of the Imperial German Government, and in order that that reply shall be as candid and straightforward as the momentous interests involved require, the President of the United States deems it necessary to assure himself of the exact meaning of the note of the Imperial Chancellor. Does the Imperial Chancellor mean that the Imperial German Government accepts the terms laid down by the President in his address to the Congress of the United States on the 8th of January last and in subsequent addresses, and that its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon the practical details of their application?

"The President feels bound to say with regard to the suggestion of an armistice that he would not feel at liberty to propose a cessation of arms to the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated against the Central Powers so long as the armies of those powers are upon their soil. The good faith of any discussion would manifestly depend upon the consent of the Central Powers immediately to withdraw their forces everywhere from invaded territory.

"The President also feels that he is justified in asking whether the Imperial Chancellor is speaking merely for the constituted authorities of the empire who have so far conducted the war. He deems the answer to these questions vital from every point of view."

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my high consideration.

ROBERT LANSING.

To Mr. Frederick Oederlin, Chargé d'Affaires of Switzerland, ad interim in charge of German interests in the United States.

This reply, being of an unexpected nature, caused a vast variety of comments on both sides of the Atlantic. Mingled sentiments of approval and of disappointment that the President had refrained from abruptly rejecting the German overtures were expressed at Washington and elsewhere, but the prevailing view was one of willingness to await results. In England the press comment was overwhelmingly favorable. In France the note was regarded as a clever diplomatic move, placing the task of a difficult reply upon the German Government.

GERMANY'S FIRST REPLY

The response of the German Government to President Wilson's queries bore the signature of Dr. W. S. Solf, the Colonial Secretary, who had been appointed Imperial Foreign Secretary on Oct. 6. His message, wirelessly from Nauen, picked up in France and cabled to Washington, appeared in the newspapers of the United States on the 13th, though the official text, coming through diplomatic channels, did not reach Washington until the next day. It employed the phrase "German Government" instead of "Imperial German Government" throughout its text, which follows:

BERLIN, Oct. 12, 1918.

In reply to the questions of the President of the United States of America, the German Government hereby declares:

The German Government has accepted the terms laid down by President Wilson in his address of Jan. 8 and in his subsequent addresses on the foundation of a permanent peace of justice. Consequently its object in entering into discussion would be only to agree upon practical details of the application of these terms. The German Government believes that the Governments of the powers associated with the Government of the United States also take the position taken by President Wilson in his address.

The German Government, in accordance with the Austro-Hungarian Government, for the purpose of bringing about an armistice, declares itself ready to comply with the proposition of the President in regard to evacuation. The German Government suggests that the President may occasion the meeting of a mixed commission for making the necessary arrangements concerning the evacuation.

The present German Government, which has undertaken the responsibility for this step toward peace, has been formed by conferences and in agreement with the great majority of the Reichstag. The Chancellor, supported in all his actions by the will of this majority, speaks in the name of the German Government and of the German people.

(Signed) SOLF,
State Secretary of Foreign Office.

Comment in Berlin and Vienna was reported to be unanimous in expressing the view that the German Chancellor's note was an unselfish peace offer, in which Germany, undefeated, was willing to sacrifice her military advantage over the Allies for the good of humanity. The

German people generally leaped to the conclusion that the offer would be accepted. The excitement was said to be extraordinary. An Amsterdam dispatch to a London paper declared: "People in 'Berlin are kissing one another in the 'streets, though they are perfect strangers, and shouting peace congratulations 'to each other. The only words heard 'anywhere in Germany are 'Peace at 'last.'"

PRESIDENT'S SECOND REPLY

The interval between the first and second notes of the President was marked by fresh devastations in France and by new submarine atrocities, notably the sinking of the British mail steamer *Leinster*, with the loss of hundreds of lives of noncombatants, including more than a hundred women and children. These events helped to shape his second reply, which was addressed to the Swiss Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, and which read as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, Oct. 14, 1918.

Sir: In reply to the communication of the German Government, dated the 12th inst., which you handed me today, I have the honor to request you to transmit the following answers:

The unqualified acceptance by the present German Government and by a large majority of the German Reichstag of the terms laid down by the President of the United States of America in his address to the Congress of the United States on the 8th of January, 1918, and in his subsequent addresses justifies the President in making a frank and direct statement of his decision with regard to the communications of the German Government of the 8th and 12th of October, 1918.

It must be clearly understood that the process of evacuation and the conditions of an armistice are matters which must be left to the judgment and advice of the military advisers of the Government of the United States and the allied Governments, and the President feels it his duty to say that no arrangement can be accepted by the Government of the United States which does not provide absolutely satisfactory safeguards and guarantees of the maintenance of the present military supremacy of the armies of the United States and of the Allies in the field. He feels confident that he can safely assume that this will also be the judgment and decision of the allied Governments.

The President feels that it is also his

duty to add that neither the Government of the United States nor, he is quite sure, the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated as a belligerent will consent to consider an armistice so long as the armed forces of Germany continue the illegal and inhuman practices which they persist in.

At the very time that the German Government approaches the Government of the United States with proposals of peace its submarines are engaged in sinking passenger ships at sea, and not the ships alone, but the very boats in which their passengers and crews seek to make their way to safety; and in their present enforced withdrawal from Flanders and France the German armies are pursuing a course of wanton destruction which has always been regarded as in direct violation of the rules and practices of civilized warfare. Cities and villages, if not destroyed, are being stripped of all they contain, not only, but often of their very inhabitants. The nations associated against Germany cannot be expected to agree to a cessation of arms while acts of inhumanity, spoliation, and desolation are being continued which they justly look upon with horror and with burning hearts.

It is necessary also, in order that there may be no possibility of misunderstanding, that the President should very solemnly call the attention of the Government of Germany to the language and plain intent of one of the terms of peace which the German Government has now accepted. It is contained in the address of the President delivered at Mount Vernon on the Fourth of July last. It is as follows:

"The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at least its reduction to virtual impotency."

The power which has hitherto controlled the German Nation is of the sort here described. It is within the choice of the German Nation to alter it. The President's words, just quoted, naturally constitute a condition precedent to peace, if peace is to come by the action of the German people themselves. The President feels bound to say that the whole process of peace will, in his judgment, depend upon the definiteness and the satisfactory character of the guarantees which can be given in this fundamental matter. It is indispensable that the Governments associated against Germany should know beyond a peradventure with whom they are dealing.

The President will make a separate reply to the Royal and Imperial Government of Austria-Hungary.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

Mr. Frederick Oederlin, Chargé d'Affaires of Switzerland, ad interim in charge of German interests in the United States.

APPROVED BY THE ALLIES

This answer was regarded with universal approval by the allied nations. Senators and Representatives at Washington, irrespective of party, expressed themselves as in thorough accord with the note. Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, ranking Republican of the Foreign Relations Committee, who had voiced serious doubts as to the wisdom of the first reply, expressed relief at the explicit and uncompromising attitude of the second. "The President's last clause," he said, "in which he in substance declines to carry on any discussions with the German Government, is eminently satisfactory, and will, I am sure, bring a great sense of relief to the American people, who, I am certain, desire an unconditional surrender won by the armies in the field." Senator Hitchcock, Democrat, who is Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, expressed similar views, and Senator Reed of Missouri said of the note:

It is in accord with the universal voice of America and with the demands of humanity throughout the world. It is an unequivocal demand that the Hohenzollerns shall get out. That means, of course, the destruction of the military autocracy of Germany, and with it, necessarily, would go the House of Hapsburg.

England hailed the reply as exactly suited to the situation. Winston Spencer Churchill, Minister of Munitions, declared in a speech at Manchester that President Wilson's "stern and formidable answer to Germany" would be wholeheartedly indorsed by all the allied countries. The London press comment was unanimously favorable. The same was true of the Paris press, which dwelt especially upon the diplomatic effects of the incident in the German Empire itself. The Paris Temps said:

It will not consolidate the authority of the Prussian Staff nor the personal prestige of the Kaiser, nor the popularity of the dynasty or imperial régime. The directors of Germany sought public debate.

They have it. The first result is that they appear in the eyes of their people, gasping for peace, as the principal obstacles to peace.

The President's second reply had the effect of a cold douche upon Germany. The German newspapers were divided in their comment, some voicing anger and defiance, others seeing hope of peace despite the wording of the note. A tendency toward some kind of acceptance of its terms, notably by the semi-official organs, was evident. The North German Gazette's comment was typical; it said that the answer to the American note would naturally require a thorough discussion, but that the German Government would be led by a spirit of conciliation even now, being animated by the wish to end the bloodshed and to make its decision in consideration of the wishes of the German people.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY'S NOTE

The text of Austria-Hungary's note proposing an armistice and peace negotiations on similar grounds to those proffered by Germany was made public Oct. 19, 1918, along with President Wilson's rejection of the proposal. The Austrian note, which was transmitted through the Swedish Legation, was as follows:

*Legation of Sweden, Washington, D. C.,
Oct. 7, 1918:*

[Translation.]

Excellency: By order of my Government I have the honor confidentially to transmit herewith to you the following communication of the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary to the President of the United States of America:

"The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which has waged war always and solely as a defensive war, and repeatedly given documentary evidence of its readiness to stop the shedding of blood and to arrive at a just and honorable peace, hereby addresses itself to his Lordship, the President of the United States of America, and offers to conclude with him and his allies an armistice on every front on land, at sea, and in the air, and to enter immediately upon negotiations for a peace for which the fourteen points in the message of President Wilson to Congress on Jan. 8, 1918, and the four points contained in President Wilson's address of Feb. 12, 1918, should serve as a foundation, and in which the viewpoints declared by President Wil-

son in his address of Sept. 27, 1918, will also be taken into account."

Be pleased to accept, &c.,

W. A. F. EKENGREN.

His Excellency, Mr. Robert Lansing, Secretary of State of the United States, Washington.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY

The text of the reply handed to the Swedish Minister was as follows:

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 7th inst., in which you transmit a communication of the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary to the President. I am now instructed by the President to request you to be good enough through your Government to convey to the Imperial and Royal Government the following reply:

"The President deems it his duty to say to the Austro-Hungarian Government that he cannot entertain the present suggestions of that Government because of certain events of utmost importance, which, occurring since the delivery of his address of the 8th of January last, have necessarily altered the attitude and responsibility of the Government of the United States.

"Among the fourteen terms of peace which the President formulated at that time occurred the following:

"(X) The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development."

"Since that sentence was written and uttered to the Congress of the United States, the Government of the United States has recognized that a state of belligerency exists between the Czechoslovaks and the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires, and that the Czechoslovak National Council is a de facto belligerent Government, clothed with proper authority to direct the military and political affairs of the Czechoslovaks. It has also recognized in the fullest manner the justice of the nationalistic aspirations of the Jugoslavs for freedom.

"The President is therefore no longer at liberty to accept the mere 'autonomy' of these peoples as a basis of peace, but is obliged to insist that they and not he shall be the judges of what action on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government will satisfy their aspirations and their conception of their rights and destiny as members of the family of nations."

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

ROBERT LANSING.

A third note from Germany was on its way to Washington when these pages went to press.

The Kaiser's Exhortations

While the German Cabinet was undergoing reorganization and the German armies were suffering daily reverses Kaiser Wilhelm was attempting to stir the nation to new efforts for victory. Addressing the soldiers at Rufach, Alsace, late in September—before Bulgaria's surrender—he said:

Neither the French nor the Americans will break through our front in Alsace-Lorraine. We shall defend with the last drop of our blood these provinces which belong to us and which the Almighty has intrusted to us to administer as His stewards, and we shall keep them for the benefit of their inhabitants and the glory of God. Our faithful allies are with us in this. The last drop of blood of every Austrian and Hungarian soldier, the last drop of blood of every Bulgarian and Turkish soldier, will be shed before our enemies wrest from us land which belongs to Germany. Our enemies can not and will not succeed. We are under Divine protection.

On Sept. 30, 1918, the Kaiser sent the following telegram to the Westphalian Patriotic Society:

Germany is decided to utilize all force to fight this enforced defensive war until a victorious end is secured and the Fatherland protected for all time against foreign oppression. A glance at the magnificent successes of our heroic sons and their able leaders ought to protect the German people, even in the changeable fortunes of war, against unworthy discouragement and unjustified doubt.

In a message to the Fatherland Party, Oct. 1, he said:

I have the confident hope that the whole German people in these most serious times will resolutely gather around me and give their blood and wealth until the last breath for the defense of the Fatherland against the shameful enemy plans. Such a unanimous resolve to exist will and must, with God's help, succeed in breaking the enemy's will to war, and secure for the Fatherland the peace it is worthy of among the peoples of the world.

Responding to a demand for the establishment of a dictatorship in Germany, Herr von Berg, chief of Emperor William's civilian cabinet, sent the following reply to the citizens of Hanover on Oct. 3:

His Majesty confidently expects in the present times that the entire German

people will unanimously and trustfully support the Kaiser and the empire, and with its competent labors pursue only one aim, staking its blood and treasure to free the Fatherland from threatening dangers.

The following proclamation to the German Army and Navy was issued by the German Emperor on Oct. 6:

For months past the enemy, with enormous exertions and almost without pause in the fighting, has stormed against your lines. In weeks of the struggle, often without repose, you have had to persevere and resist a numerically far superior enemy. Therein lies the greatness of the task which has been set for you and which you are fulfilling. Troops of all the German States are doing their part and are heroically defending the Fatherland on foreign soil. Hard is the task.

My navy is holding its own against the united enemy naval forces and is unwaveringly supporting the army in its difficult struggle.

The eyes of those at home rest with pride and admiration on the deeds of the army and navy. I express to you the thanks of myself and the Fatherland.

The collapse of the Macedonian front has occurred in the midst of the hardest struggle. In accord with our allies, I have resolved once more to offer peace to the enemy, but I will only extend my hand for an honorable peace. We owe that to the heroes who have laid down their lives for the Fatherland, and we make that our duty to our children.

Whether arms will be lowered still is a question. Until then we must not slacken. We must, as hitherto, exert all our strength tirelessly to hold our ground against the onslaught of our enemies.

The hour is grave, but, trusting in your strength and in God's gracious help, we feel ourselves to be strong enough to defend our beloved Fatherland.

WILHELM.

Emperor William was quoted by the Cologne Gazette on Oct. 10 as having said to the German Industrial Association, in answer to its vow of confidence:

The hour is grave! We are fighting for the future of the Fatherland and for the protection of the soil of the homeland. To that end we need the united action of the intellectual, moral, and economic powers of Germany. On the co-operation of those powers our invincibility rests. The will for defense must bind all separate views and separate wishes into one great unity of conception. God grant us something of the spirit of the war of liberation.

President Wilson's Peace Program

Text of Address Delivered in Metropolitan
Opera House, New York, Sept. 27, 1918

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS: I am not here to promote the loan. That will be done—ably and enthusiastically done—by the hundreds of thousands of loyal and tireless men and women who have undertaken to present it to you and to our fellow-citizens throughout the country; and I have not the least doubt of their complete success, for I know their spirit and the spirit of the country. My confidence is confirmed, too, by the thoughtful and experienced co-operation of the bankers here and everywhere, who are lending their invaluable aid and guidance. I have come, rather, to seek an opportunity to present to you some thoughts which I trust will serve to give you, in perhaps fuller measure than before, a vivid sense of the great issues involved, in order that you may appreciate and accept with added enthusiasm the grave significance of the duty of supporting the Government by your men and your means to the utmost point of sacrifice and self-denial. No man or woman who has really taken in what this war means can hesitate to give to the very limit of what they have; and it is my mission here tonight to try to make it clear once more what the war really means. You will need no other stimulation or reminder of your duty.

At every turn of the war we gain a fresh consciousness of what we mean to accomplish by it. When our hope and expectation are most excited we think more definitely than before of the issues that hang upon it and of the purposes which must be realized by means of it. For it has positive and well-defined purposes which we did not determine and which we cannot alter. No statesman or assembly created them; no statesman or assembly can alter them. They have arisen out of the very nature and circumstances of the war. The most that statesmen or assemblies can do is to carry them out or be false to them. They

were perhaps not clear at the outset; but they are clear now. The war has lasted more than four years and the whole world has been drawn into it. The common will of mankind has been substituted for the particular purposes of individual States. Individual statesmen may have started the conflict, but neither they nor their opponents can stop it as they please. It has become a peoples' war, and peoples of all sorts and races, of every degree of power and variety of fortune, are involved in its sweeping processes of change and settlement. We came into it when its character had become fully defined and it was plain that no nation could stand apart or be indifferent to its outcome. Its challenge drove to the heart of everything we cared for and lived for. The voice of the war had become clear and gripped our hearts. Our brothers from many lands, as well as our own murdered dead under the sea, were calling to us, and we responded, fiercely and of course.

ISSUES OF THE WAR

The air was clear about us. We saw things in their full, convincing proportions as they were; and we have seen them with steady eyes and unchanging comprehension ever since. We accepted the issues of the war as facts, not as any group of men either here or elsewhere had defined them, and we can accept no outcome which does not squarely meet and settle them. Those issues are these:

Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force?

Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose and interest?

Shall peoples be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by

arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice?

Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?

Shall the assertion of right be hazardous and by casual alliance or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?

No man, no group of men, chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They are the issues of it; and they must be settled—by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interests, but definitely and once for all and with a full and unequivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest.

This is what we mean when we speak of a permanent peace, if we speak sincerely, intelligently, and with a real knowledge and comprehension of the matter we deal with.

We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the Governments of the Central Empires, because we have dealt with them already and have seen them deal with other Governments that were parties to this struggle, at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest. They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We cannot "come to terms" with them. They have made it impossible. The German people must by this time be fully aware that we cannot accept the word of those who forced this war upon us. We do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language of agreement.

JUSTICE IMPERATIVE

It is of capital importance that we should also be explicitly agreed that no peace shall be obtained by any kind of compromise or abatement of the principles we have avowed as the principles for which we are fighting. There should exist no doubt about that. I am, therefore, going to take the liberty of speak-

ing with the utmost frankness about the practical implications that are involved in it. If it be in deed and in truth the common object of the Governments associated against Germany and of the nations whom they govern, as I believe it to be, to achieve by the coming settlements a secure and lasting peace, it will be necessary that all who sit down at the peace table shall come ready and willing to pay the price, the only price, that will procure it; and ready and willing, also, to create in some virile fashion the only instrumentality by which it can be made certain that the agreements of the peace will be honored and fulfilled.

That price is impartial justice in every item of the settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed; and not only impartial justice, but also the satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with. That indispensable instrumentality is a League of Nations formed under covenants that will be efficacious. Without such an instrumentality, by which the peace of the world can be guaranteed, peace will rest in part upon the word of outlaws, and only upon that word. For Germany will have to redeem her character, not by what happens at the peace table, but by what follows.

And, as I see it, the constitution of that League of Nations and the clear definition of its objects must be a part, in a sense the most essential part, of the peace settlement itself. It cannot be formed now. If formed now, it would be merely a new alliance confined to the nations associated against a common enemy. It is not likely that it could be formed after the settlement. It is necessary to guarantee the peace; and the peace cannot be guaranteed as an afterthought. The reason, to speak in plain terms again, why it must be guaranteed is that there will be parties to the peace whose promises have proved untrustworthy, and means must be found in connection with the peace settlement itself to remove that source of insecurity. It would be folly to leave the guarantee to the subsequent voluntary action of the Governments we have seen destroy Russia and deceive Rumania.

A PRACTICAL PROGRAM

But these general terms do not disclose the whole matter. Some details are needed to make them sound less like a thesis and more like a practical program. These, then, are some of the particulars, and I state them with the greater confidence because I can state them authoritatively as representing this Government's interpretation of its own duty with regard to peace:

First, the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned;

Second, no special or separate interest of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all;

Third, there can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations;

Fourth, and more specifically, there can be no special, selfish economic combinations within the league and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control;

Fifth, all international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world.

Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war. It would be an insincere as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite and binding terms.

The confidence with which I venture to speak for our people in these matters does not spring from our traditions merely and the well-known principles of international action which we have always professed and followed. In the

same sentence in which I say that the United States will enter into no special arrangements or understandings with particular nations let me say also that the United States is prepared to assume its full share of responsibility for the maintenance of the common covenants and understandings upon which peace must henceforth rest. We still read Washington's immortal warning against "entangling alliances" with full comprehension and an answering purpose. But only special and limited alliances entangle; and we recognize and accept the duty of a new day in which we are permitted to hope for a general alliance which will avoid entanglements and clear the air of the world for common understandings and the maintenance of common rights.

I have made this analysis of the international situation which the war has created, not, of course, because I doubted whether the leaders of the great nations and peoples with whom we are associated were of the same mind and entertained a like purpose, but because the air every now and again gets darkened by mists and groundless doubtings and mischievous perversions of counsel and it is necessary once and again to sweep all the irresponsible talk about peace intrigues and weakening morale and doubtful purpose on the part of those in authority utterly, and if need be unceremoniously, aside and say things in the plainest words that can be found, even when it is only to say over again what has been said before, quite as plainly if in less unvarnished terms.

As I have said, neither I nor any other man in Governmental authority created or gave form to the issues of this war. I have simply responded to them with such vision as I could command. But I have responded gladly and with a resolution that has grown warmer and more confident as the issues have grown clearer and clearer. It is now plain that they are issues which no man can pervert unless it be willfully. I am bound to fight for them, and happy to fight for them, as time and circumstance have revealed them to me as to all the world. Our enthusiasm for them grows more

and more irresistible as they stand out in more and more vivid and unmistakable outline.

And the forces that fight for them draw into closer and closer array, organize their millions into more and more unconquerable might, as they become more and more distinct to the thought and purpose of the peoples engaged. It is the peculiarity of this great war that while statesmen have seemed to cast about for definitions of their purpose and have sometimes seemed to shift their ground and their point of view, the thought of the mass of men, whom statesmen are supposed to instruct and lead, has grown more and more unclouded, more and more certain of what it is that they are fighting for. National purposes have fallen more and more into the background and the common purpose of enlightened mankind has taken their place. The counsels of plain men have become on all hands more simple and straightforward and more unified than the counsels of sophisticated men of affairs, who still retain the impression that they are playing a game of power and playing for high stakes. That is why I have said that this is a peoples' war, not a statesmen's. Statesmen must follow the clarified common thought or be broken.

ISSUES MUST BE CLEAR

I take that to be the significance of the fact that assemblies and associations of many kinds made up of plain workaday people have demanded, almost every time they came together, and are still demanding, that the leaders of their Governments declare to them plainly what it is, exactly what it is, that they are seeking in this war, and what they think the items of the final settlement should be. They are not yet satisfied with what they have been told. They still seem to fear that they are getting what they ask for only in statesmen's terms—only in the terms of territorial arrangements and divisions of power, and not in terms of broad-voiced justice and mercy and peace and the satis-

faction of those deep-seated longings of oppressed and distracted men and women and enslaved peoples that seem to them the only things worth fighting a war for that engulfs the world. Perhaps statesmen have not always recognized this changed aspect of the whole world of policy and action. Perhaps they have not always spoken in direct reply to the questions asked because they did not know how searching those questions were and what sort of answers they demanded.

But I, for one, am glad to attempt the answer again and again, in the hope that I may make it clearer and clearer that my one thought is to satisfy those who struggle in the ranks and are, perhaps above all others, entitled to a reply whose meaning no one can have any excuse for misunderstanding, if he understands the language in which it is spoken or can get some one to translate it correctly into his own. And I believe that the leaders of the Governments with which we are associated will speak, as they have occasion, as plainly as I have tried to speak. I hope that they will feel free to say whether they think that I am in any degree mistaken in my interpretation of the issues involved or in my purpose with regard to the means by which a satisfactory settlement of those issues may be obtained. Unity of purpose and of counsel are as imperatively necessary in this war as was unity of command in the battlefield; and with perfect unity of purpose and counsel will come assurance of complete victory. It can be had in no other way. "Peace drives" can be effectively neutralized and silenced only by showing that every victory of the nations associated against Germany brings the nations nearer the sort of peace which will bring security and reassurance to all peoples and make the recurrence of another such struggle of pitiless force and bloodshed forever impossible, and that nothing else can. Germany is constantly intimating the "terms" she will accept; and always finds that the world does not want terms. It wishes the final triumph of justice and fair dealing.

Submarine Depredations

Total Sinkings in Four Years 21,404,913 Tons—
Decreased Totals for Current Month

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1918]

DURING the period from August, 1914, to September, 1918, German submarines sank 7,157,088 deadweight tons of shipping in excess of the tonnage turned out in that period by the allied and neutral nations. That total does not represent the depletion of the fleets at the command of the allied and neutral nations, however, as 3,795,000 deadweight tons of enemy ships were seized in the meantime. Actually, the allied and neutral nations on Sept. 1, 1918, had only 3,362,088 less tons of shipping in operation than in August, 1914.

These details of the shipping situation were issued by the United States Shipping Board along with figures to show that, with American and allied yards under full headway, Europe's danger of being starved by the German submarine was apparently at an end. The United States has taken the lead of all nations in shipbuilding, and it is expected that within a few months more the submarine losses will have been overcome.

In all, the allied and neutral nations have lost 21,404,913 deadweight tons of shipping since the beginning of the war, showing that Germany has maintained an average destruction of about 445,000 deadweight tons monthly. During the latter months, however, the sinkings have fallen considerably below the average, and allied construction passed destruction for the first time in May last.

The losses of the allied and neutral shipping in August, 1918, amounted to 327,676 gross tonnage, of which 176,401 was British and 151,275 allied and neutral, as compared with the adjusted figures for July of 323,772, and 182,524 and 141,248, respectively. British losses from all causes during August were 10,887 tons higher than in June, which was the lowest month since the introduction of unrestricted submarine warfare.

An official statement of the United States Shipping Board, issued Sept. 21, 1918, sets forth the following facts:

STATUS OF WORLD TONNAGE, SEPT. 1, 1918 (Germany and Austria excluded)

	Deadweight Tons.
Total losses (allied and neutral) August, 1914-Sept. 1, 1918.....	21,404,913
Total construction (allied and neutral) August, 1914-Sept. 1, 1918.....	14,247,825
Total enemy tonnage captured (to end of 1917).....	3,795,000
Excess of losses over gains.....	3,362,088
Estimated normal increase in world's tonnage if war had not occurred (based on rate of increase, 1905-1914).....	14,700,000
Net deficit due to war.....	18,062,088

In August, deliveries to the Shipping Board and other seagoing construction in the United States for private parties passed allied and neutral destruction for that month. The figures:

	Gross (Actual) Tons.
Deliveries to the Shipping Board.....	244,121
Other construction over 1,000 gross.....	16,918
Total	261,039
Losses (allied and neutral).....	250,400
America alone surpassed losses for month by.....	1,630

NOTE.—World's merchant tonnage, as of June 30, 1914, totaled 49,089,552 gross tons, or, roughly, 73,634,328 deadweight tons. (Lloyd's Register.)

The rapid progress American shipbuilding has made in the first year of the present Shipping Board is shown by the following table of launchings:

Date.	Composite		Steel		Contract		Requisitional		Total	
	Wood Ships.		Ships.		Ships.		Steel Ships.			
	Dead-		Dead-		Dead-		Dead-			
	Num-ber.	weight Tons.	Num-ber.	weight Tons.	Num-ber.	weight Tons.	Num-ber.	weight Tons.		
August, 1917.....	..	....	..	....	..	....	16	127,055	16	127,055
September, 1917.....	..	....	..	....	..	....	12	61,930	12	61,930
October, 1917.....	..	....	..	....	..	....	19	131,126	19	131,126
November, 1917.....	..	....	..	....	1	8,800	19	135,805	20	144,605
December, 1917.....	2	7,500	..	....	2	17,600	21	134,730	25	159,830
January, 1918.....	..	....	..	....	1	8,800	15	103,700	16	112,500
February, 1918.....	4	14,500	1	4,000	3	21,150	23	132,200	31	171,850
March, 1918.....	10	36,000	1	4,000	6	51,650	27	167,266	44	258,916
April, 1918.....	16	55,500	1	4,000	7	45,850	22	119,880	46	225,230
May, 1918.....	30	108,200	2	7,500	14	85,025	28	164,530	74	365,255
June, 1918.....	22	78,700	1	3,500	13	74,300	13	77,050	49	233,550
July, 1918.....	53	187,700	3	11,000	35	218,725	33	216,986	124	634,411
August, 1918.....	33	111,350	4	14,500	48	176,400	13	88,730	98	390,980
Total.....	170	599,450	13	48,500	130	708,300	261	1,660,988	574	3,017,238

A world's record was established in September, when seventy-four vessels built in this country were completed and turned over to the United States Shipping Board. The addition to America's merchant marine tonnage amounted to 369,330, whereas the previous high-water mark in deliveries of completed vessels was reached in August, when 339,313 deadweight tons of new shipping were turned over by the builders.

September deliveries from American shipyards greatly exceeded deliveries from British yards in the same month. The British deliveries, as cabled to Chairman Hurley of the Shipping Board by Consul General Skinner in London, amounted to 231,635 tons. Thus the American and British tonnage totals 600,965.

LOSSES OF NEUTRALS

Figures compiled in Holland and reaching Washington Sept. 23 show the losses that the Dutch Nation has suffered from submarine depredations from the beginning of the war to the end of 1917. In this period 217 Dutch ships were sunk with a loss of 693 lives. The number of Dutch merchant ships sunk in 1917 alone is sixty-one, of a gross capacity of 91,017 registered tons; that of fishing vessels, fifty. One hundred and four lives were lost on merchant ships and 142 on fishing craft, leaving 133 widows, 389 children, 25 mothers, 10 fathers, 8 mothers-in-law, 8 fathers-in-law, and 1

grandfather unprovided for. Besides, 20 sailors were wounded, and 1,345 lost all their belongings. The vessels were fired at without warning, and in most cases the crews were left to take their chances in the open boats, irrespective of the weather conditions or of the distance from land. Crews taken captive to Germany were kept imprisoned for weeks, with insufficient food and bedding. Any goods plundered remain unpaid for.

Norway lost eight vessels in September, with an aggregate tonnage of 11,943. Six sailors were drowned.

The Italian Navy reports increasing success in combating German and Austrian submarines in the Mediterranean. In 1917 Italy's losses in tonnage on one occasion reached as high a figure as seventeen ships a month, but now these losses have been reduced to two ships a month.

Negotiations between Madrid and Berlin resulted in an agreement by Germany to allow Spain to replace Spanish ships sunk by submarines with German ships interned for the duration of the war, but exacted pay for the use of these vessels. Further, the offer applies only to ships sunk outside of the German prohibited zone, within which Germany reserves the right to sink vessels without compensation.

THE MONTH'S TRAGEDIES

While the German Government was making strenuous efforts for peace its

submarines continued to work with their most ruthless methods. The month brought an increased number of sinkings of troopships, but the act that most deeply exasperated the Allies was the torpedoing of the British mail steamer *Leinster*, Oct. 10, in the Irish Sea. This wholly civilian vessel, carrying 687 passengers and a crew of 70 men, was struck down without warning in a very rough sea, sinking in fifteen minutes, and 480 persons perished, including 135 women and children. This act was regarded as in the same class with the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and its effect was reflected in President Wilson's stern note of Oct. 14.

Other important losses included that of the British transport *Missanabie*, sunk by a torpedo off the Irish coast Sept. 9. The ship sank in seven minutes, with a loss of fifty lives. On Sept. 12 the British steamer *Galway Castle*, on her way to South Africa, was torpedoed and sunk with a loss of 189 lives. On the night of Oct. 4 the *Hirano Maru*, a Japanese liner, was sunk by a submarine off the Irish coast and only 29 out of the 320 persons on board were saved.

The Mallory Line freighter *San Saba* was sunk by a floating mine off *Barne-gat* Oct. 4. Only four of her crew of thirty-seven are known to have been saved.

The American steamer *Buena Ventura*, on her way from Bordeaux to a Spanish port, was torpedoed and sunk Sept. 16, with a loss of twenty-five lives.

The United States steamer *Tampa*, while on convoy service, was lost with all on board, 118, through a submarine attack off the English coast on Sept. 26.

HELPLESS MEN SHELLED

Typical brutality marked the torpedoing Sept. 30 of the *Ticonderoga*, formerly the German steamship *Camilla Rickmers*, causing the death of 11 naval officers and 102 enlisted men. The *Ticonderoga*, east bound, was handicapped by bad coal, and engine trouble developed and she fell behind the other vessels. She was discovered by a U-boat at daybreak in longitude 37 west, about 1,700 miles from the American coast. The first the men

on board knew that they had fallen prey to an undersea boat was when a torpedo struck their vessel. It did not hit a vital spot, however, and the Captain crowded on steam in hopes of getting away. The gun crews went to their stations. Said one survivor who told the story:

Our guns did not fire more than five or six shots, so quickly did the shells from the submarine strike down both guns and their crews. The forward gun was shot away nearly at once, as the submarine was not more than a mile away and kept coming nearer, and the after gun and its crew were as quickly done for. The men went to the boats, but it was no use, as the flying shrapnel was spraying the decks and men fell by scores either killed or badly wounded.

All of the eight boats were riddled with the flying fragments of shell with the exception of one, and this, the only one fit to put over, was filled with men. Some of these were killed as they attempted to lower themselves over the ship's side. One raft also was got away and all the time the Hun commander did not slacken his shellfire.

Finally, in desperation, one man overboard swam to the side of the submarine, which was less than a quarter of a mile away firing almost point blank at us, and hailed an officer, asking him in God's name to stop. The Lieutenant who answered pointed a revolver at him, saying that if he did not swim back he would shoot him.

When our boat had only seventeen in it we were ordered alongside and made to tie up, while the shelling of the dead and dying on the sinking ship kept up. Questions were put to the leader of our boat which he refused to answer, and suddenly the submarine submerged, and only the parting of the rope with which we were tied fast to the U-boat prevented our going down with it.

Several collisions exacted a heavy toll in lives. Seven men were lost when the United States freighter *Westgate*, of 5,800 tons, was sunk Oct. 7 in a collision with the steamer *American*, 500 miles off the Atlantic Coast. The United States destroyer *Shaw* collided with a British vessel in British waters, Oct. 9, and fifteen of her men were killed, although she succeeded in reaching port under her own steam.

Much graver was the loss, Oct. 11, of the American transport *Otranto*, through a collision in the British Channel with the P. and O. liner *Kashmir*. The latter

crashed into the transport, bow on, during a furious storm, and the Otranto sank in a few minutes. Splendid heroism was shown by the soldiers and crew, and discipline never faltered. The British destroyer Mounsey did gallant work in rescue, but of the 700 American soldiers on board 365 were lost.

Vice Admiral Sims, speaking in London Oct. 10, said that the average number of enemy submarines operating against merchant ships and transports across the Atlantic was about eight or nine, but that sometimes it ran up to

twelve or thirteen. That was all the submarines the enemy could keep out at a time, he declared.

Around the British Isles, Vice Admiral Sims said, there were about 3,000 anti-submarine craft in operation day and night. Of American craft there were 160, or 3 per cent. of the total, and it was about the same in the Mediterranean. There were about 5,000 anti-submarine craft in the open sea, cutting out mines, escorting troopships and merchant vessels, and making it possible for the Allies to win the war.

Fate of 150 U-Boats Officially Attested

British Admiralty Statement

The British Admiralty on Sept. 6, 1918, made public the following statement:

ALTHOUGH it is not intended to adopt the practice of giving proof of official utterances of his Majesty's Ministers, it has been thought desirable to give the names of the commanding officers of 150 German submarines which have been disposed of, in order to substantiate to the world the statement made by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on Aug. 7, and denied in the German papers, that "at least 150 of these ocean pests had been destroyed." The statement includes no officers commanding the Austrian submarines, of which a number have been destroyed, and does not exhaust the list of German submarines put out of action.

The fate of the officers is given, and it will be seen that the majority (116) are dead; twenty-seven are prisoners of war, six are interned in neutral countries where they took refuge, and one succeeded in returning to Germany.

[The chief official ranks in the following list are Kapitänleutnant—Captain Lieutenant; Oberleutnant—First Lieutenant.]

Albrecht, Kurt, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
Albrecht, Werner, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
Amberger, Gustav, (Kapitänlt.,) prisoner.
Amberger, Wilhelm, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
Arnold, Alfred, (Oberlt. z.S.,) prisoner.
Bachmann, Günther, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
Barten, Wilhelm, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.

Bauck, W., (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
Bauer, Cäsar, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
Bender, Waldemar, (Kapitänlt.,) This officer was not lost when his submarine sank, and he succeeded in returning to Germany.

Berckheim, Egewolf Freiherr von, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.

Berger, Gerhardt, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.

Bernis, Kurt, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.

Branscheld, Albert, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.

Braud, Charles, (Oberlt. z.S.—Res.,) dead.

Breyer, Herbert, (Oberlt. z.S.,) prisoner.

Buch, Gustav, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.

Degetau, Hans, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.

Dieckmann, Victor, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.

Ditfurth, Benno von, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.

Edeling, Karl, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.

Ehrenthaut, Otto, (Oberlt. z. S.) dead.

Eltester, Max, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.

Feddersen, Adolf, (Lt. z.S.—Res.,) dead.

Flrcks, Wilhelm Freiherr von, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.

Fischer, Karl-Hanno, (Lt. z.S.,) dead.

Fröhner, Eberhardt, (Lt. z.S.,) dead.

Fürbringee, Gerhardt, (Kapitänlt.,) prisoner.

Furbringer, Werner, (Kapitänlt.,) prisoner.

Galster, Hans, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.

Gebeschus, Rudolf, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.

Gercke, Hermann, (Korv. Kapitän.,) dead.

Gerlach, Helmut, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.

Gerth, Georg, (Kapitänlt.,) prisoner.

Glimpf, Herman, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.

Graeff, Ernst, (Kapitänlt.,) prisoner.

Gregor, Fritz, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.

Gross, Karl, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.

Günther, Paul, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.

Güntzel, Ludwig, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.

Gunzel, Erich, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.

Haag, Georg, (Lt. z.S.,) dead.

Hansen, Klaus, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.

Hartmann, Richard, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.

Hecht, Erich, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.

Heinke, Curt, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Heller, Bruno, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Hennig, Heinrich von, (Kapitänlt.,) prisoner.
 Heydebreck, Karsten von, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Hirzel, Alfred, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Hoppe, Bruno, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Hufnagel, Hans, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Keyserlingk, Harald von, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Kiel, Wilhelm, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Kiesewetter, Wilhelm, (Kapitänlt.—Res.,) interned.
 Klatt, Alfred, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Kolbe, Walther, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 König, Georg, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Korsch, Hans Paul, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Kratzsch, Paul, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Frech, Günther, (Kapitänlt.,) prisoner.
 Kreysern, Günther, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Kroll, Karl, (Korv. Kapitän,) dead.
 Küstner, Heinrich, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Lafrenz, Claus P., (Kapitänlt.,) prisoner.
 Launburg, Otto, (Oberlt. z.S.,) prisoner.
 Lemmer, Johannes, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Lepsius, Reinhold, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Lillienstern, Rühle von, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Lorenz, Helmut, (Oberlt. z.S.,) interned.
 Lorenz, Herman, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Löwe, Werner, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Lühe, Vico von der, (Oberlt. z.S.,) prisoner.
 Menzel, Bernhard, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Metz, Arthur, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Metzger, Heinrich, (Kapitänlt.,) interned.
 Mey, Karl, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Mildenstein, Christian, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Moecke, Fritz, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Mohrbutter, Ulrich, (Oberlt. z.S.,) prisoner.
 Moraht, Robert, (Kapitänlt.,) prisoner.
 Mühlau, Helmut, (Kapitänlt.,) prisoner.
 Muhle, Gerhardt, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Müller, Hans Albrecht, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Neumann, Friedrich, (Oberlt. z.S.,) prisoner.
 Niemer, Hans, (Oberlt. z.S.,) interned.
 Niemeyer, Georg, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Nitzsche, Alfred, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Noodt, Erich, (Oberlt. z.S.,) prisoner.
 Petz, Willy, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Platsch, Erich, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Pohle, Richard, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Prinz, Athalwin, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Pustkuchen, Herbert, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Reichenbach, Gottfried, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Reimarus, Georg, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Remy, Johannes, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Röhr, Walther, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Rosenow, Ernst, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Rücker, Claus, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Rumpel, Walther, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Saltzwedel, Rudolf, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Sebelin, Erwin, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Sueffer, Rudolf, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Schmettow, Graf M. von, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Schmidt, Georg, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.

Schmidt, Siegfried, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Schmidt, Walther G., (Oberlt. z.S.,) interned.
 Schmitz, Max, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Schmitz, Walther, (Oberlt. z.S.,) prisoner.
 Schneider, Rudolf, (Kapitänlt.,) dead. This was the officer who torpedoed the steamship Arabic on Aug. 19, 1915.



THE PARTS SHADED WITH HORIZONTAL LINES INDICATE BRITISH MINE BARRIERS, WHICH PROTECT THE NORTH SEA FROM GERMAN DEPREDATIONS

Schultz, Theodor, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Schurmann, Paul, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Schwartz, Ferdinand, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Schweinitz und Krain, Graf von, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Schwieger, (Kapitänlt.,) dead. This was the officer who, whilst in U-20, torpedoed the Lusitania on May 7, 1915. U-20 was lost on the Danish coast in November, 1916, but Kapitänlt. Schwieger survived to bring disaster to another submarine, U-38, which was lost with all hands in September, 1917.
 Sittenfeld, Erich, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Smiths, Wilhelm, (Oberlt. z.S.,) prisoner.
 Soergel, Hans, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Sprenger, (Kapitänlt.,) prisoner.
 Steckelberg, Oscar, (Oberlt. z.S.,) interned.
 Stein zu Lausnitz, Freiherr von, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Steindorff, Ernst, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Stenzler, Heinrich, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Stosberg, Arthur, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Stoss, Alfred, (Kapitänlt.,) prisoner.
 Stöter, Karl, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Stuhr, Fritz, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Suchodoletz, Ferdinand v., (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Tebbenjohanns, Kurt, (Kapitänlt.,) prisoner.

Träger, Friedrich, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Utke, Kurt, (Oberlt. z.S.,) prisoner.
 Valentiner, Hans, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Voigt, Ernst, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Wachendorff, Siegfried, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.

Wacker, Karl, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.

Wagenfuhr, Paul, (Kapitänlt.,) dead. This was the officer who sank the steamship Belgian Prince on July 31, 1917, and so barbarously drowned forty of the crew whom he had ordered to line up on the submarine's deck. The submarine (U-44) was sunk with all hands about a fortnight after this outrage.

Walther, Franz, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Weddigen, Otto, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Wegener, Bernhard, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Weisbach, Erwin, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Weisbach, Raimund, (Kapitänlt.,) prisoner.
 Wendlandt, Hans H., (Oberlt. z.S.,) prisoner.

Wenninger, Ralph, (Kapitänlt.,) prisoner.
 Wigankow, Günther, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.
 Wilcke, Erich, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Wilhelms, Ernst, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Willich, Kurt, (Kapitänlt.,) dead.
 Wutsdorff, Hans Oskar, (Oberlt. z.S.,) prisoner.

Zerboni di Sposetti, Werner von, (Oberlt. z.S.,) dead.

SENATOR THOMPSON'S FIGURES

Further light on the subject of German submarines was given on Sept. 18 by Senator William H. Thompson of Kansas in a speech in which he told the Senate:

The submarine is no longer a serious menace to transportation across the seas. It is, of course, an annoyance and a great hindrance, and as long as there is a single submarine in the waters of the sea every effort must be made by the allied powers to destroy it, for it is an outlaw and must not exist. The truth is that Germany never had more than 320 submarines all told, including all construction before and since the war.

We have positive knowledge of the destruc-

tion of more than one-half of these submarines, and we also know that it is practically impossible for Germany to keep in operation more than 10 per cent. of those remaining. It is therefore reduced to a negligible quantity so far as its ultimate effect upon the result of the war is concerned.

I saw a reliable statement in France to the effect that there is one ship of some character leaving the eastern shores of America for the war zone every six minutes, and it is only a few vessels which are ever torpedoed, estimated at about 1 per cent. This is less than the loss by storm and accident in the earlier days of transportation and is not much greater than such loss now. We must bear in mind that we read only of the ships which have been torpedoed and see but little account of the hundreds of ships which pass over the ocean safely and undisturbed. Three hundred thousand soldiers are conveyed across the Atlantic every thirty days, and an average of about 500,000 tons of freight carried to the French coast. There are warehouses in only one of the many ports of France with a capacity of over 2,000,000 tons.

It is to the navy that this credit for the destruction of this outlaw seagoing craft is due. The navy is and has been the backbone of this war, the same as it has been of almost every great war in history. Without the allied navy the submarine would have perhaps accomplished its nefarious purpose in starving the European allies and in preventing them from securing the necessary munitions of war to defend themselves. It has utterly failed in this respect. The Allies are amply supplied with food, and there are provisions enough on hand now, if every ship should be sunk, to last the Allies and armies for months. The destroyer is the ship which has brought Germany to her knees in submarine warfare and will keep her there. We have not enough destroyers, and it is for this reason we are obliged in this great transportation problem to run risks which would not be taken under ordinary conditions. If every ship was escorted by a sufficient number of destroyers I doubt if there would be a single ship of any consequence sunk, except by the merest accident.



Library Facilities for Our Soldiers

By FLORENCE A. HUXLEY

[MANAGING EDITOR, THE LIBRARY JOURNAL]

HUNDREDS of thousands of American soldiers in France who two years ago could not have told what the letters "A. L. A." stood for now speak enthusiastically of the work of the American Library Association in promoting their interest in books and helping them to win the war. Before America entered the war the libraries of the country had been busy gathering literature on the countries involved and data on the issues at stake, and in general had tried to help the American people to an intelligent understanding of its great import. The library buildings were being used as meeting places for the Red Cross chapters and for the numerous other organizations devoted to relief work of various kinds. But when America came forward to take her rightful place with the other allies, the librarians felt that there was a broader service for them to render. In May, 1917, Walter L. Brown, librarian of the Buffalo Public Library and President of the American Library Association, appointed a committee "to assemble the various suggestions that had been made and to bring them before the association with some sense of proportion, possibly with recommendations as to which might be most practical and most helpful to the Government." This preliminary committee comprised: Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, Chairman; Arthur E. Bostwick, Librarian of the St. Louis Public Library; R. R. Bowker, editor of *The Library Journal*; Gratia Countryman, Librarian, Minneapolis Public Library; M. S. Dudgeon, Secretary, Wisconsin Library Commission; Alice S. Tyler, Director, Western Reserve Library School, and J. I. Wyer, Jr., State Librarian of New York.

At the annual conference of the A. L. A. in Louisville in June, 1917, this committee made its report. It recommended that a War Service Committee of seven

be appointed by the President of the association, with power to appoint sub-committees or auxiliary committees as needed, and that arrangements be made for the possible erection, equipment, and maintenance, under the auspices of the association, of district library buildings in each of the sixteen main cantonments then under construction. The report was adopted as read, and a special committee was appointed, consisting ultimately of the following personnel: J. I. Wyer, Jr., Chairman; Gratia Countryman, E. H. Anderson, Director of the New York Public Library; Frank P. Hill, Librarian of the Brooklyn Public Library; Electra C. Doren of the Dayton Public Library; William H. Brett of the Cleveland Public Library, and Charles Belden of the Massachusetts State Library, (now Librarian of the Boston Public Library.)

BOOKS FOR CANTONMENTS

The position of this committee was still more firmly established by authority conferred by the Federal Government in a letter from the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities, more familiarly known as the Fosdick Commission. This letter, dated June 28, 1917, asked that the American Library Association assume responsibility for providing adequate library facilities in the thirty-two cantonments and National Guard camps expected to be opened by Sept. 1. Here, in less than a week, was a doubling of the work which the association had tentatively suggested. The opportunity was eagerly seized, however, and at a meeting of the A. L. A. Executive Board in August the War Service Committee was given full authority to solicit funds with which to proceed with the work of supplying books to all soldiers and sailors in this country and abroad, and to enter upon active work at once.

In October, 1917, Dr. Herbert Putnam

was made General Director, and the work was consolidated at the Library of Congress, where permanent headquarters have since been maintained. Prior to his appointment, working through subcommittees and with almost no money, the War Service Committee during the Summer months had yet been able, with the generous help of Edward L. Tilton, a New York architect, to perfect plans for library buildings and their equipment; arrange with publishers for liberal discounts on books purchased; prepare and print a suggested list of titles for camp libraries; organize a book campaign which resulted in the collection and shipment of many thousands of books to camps, often far in advance of the arrival of any librarian or A. L. A. representative; establish collecting and sorting stations in New York, Chicago, and a dozen other populous centres; inaugurate a personnel roster, send a few volunteer librarians to camps, where they were housed in Y. M. C. A. buildings pending the erection of separate library buildings, and, finally, organize its first campaign for funds.

FORTY-THREE CAMP LIBRARIES

This campaign was launched in September under the Chairmanship of Dr. Frank P. Hill. The original time set for its culmination was the week of Sept. 24, but in many places it was continued to a later date. When this War Finance Committee finally closed its account on Jan. 19, 1918, the sum of \$1,570,386.44 had been received in cash, and additional subscriptions had been reported, but not received, which would bring the grand total up to \$1,727,554.25. This sum included a grant of \$320,000 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, for the erection of thirty-two library buildings at an estimated average cost of \$10,000 each.

By January most of these thirty-two buildings had been erected and put into use, together with another at Camp Perry, identical in plan, the gift of an anonymous friend. Today there are forty-three large camp libraries in operation on this side of the water—forty-one of them in separate buildings. Every Y. M. C. A. and K. of C. hut, every Y.

W. C. A. hostess house, every Jewish Welfare Board building, every Salvation Army house, may have its branch of the nearest camp library, with anywhere from 500 to 2,000 books. There are at the time of writing—though the figures will be far exceeded before publication—1,547 such stations in operation, under the careful supervision of the camp librarian, exactly as the branches and stations of any city library are administered.

In addition, 315 small military camps and posts (52 of them aviation camps, including schools and repair depots) have been equipped with book collections, under the general charge of traveling library supervisors; 138 naval and 26 marine stations, and 242 vessels have been supplied with libraries; and 143 hospitals and Red Cross houses have been provided with books. This hospital service is a very important and rapidly growing phase of the work, and is being developed at a pace that keeps the association a little breathless. Special hospital librarians are being appointed in every camp, as well as in the base and deportation hospitals. Books are taken to the men in every ward by the librarian in charge, who stops to chat at each bedside, trying to find just the right book for every individual case.

In the administration of all the camp libraries and stations more than 250 trained librarians have already been engaged. Many of them have been volunteers; others have been given leaves of absence and their salaries continued by their home libraries. Where such an arrangement is impossible, the association has paid them \$1,200 and their living expenses, or rather less than the pay a Second Lieutenant receives. As much as possible has the fund of the association been conserved for books and necessary administrative expenses.

WHAT THE SOLDIERS READ

The average camp library building is about 40 by 100 or 120 feet, and contains from 15,000 to 30,000 volumes. The arrangement of book shelves varies slightly in the different camps, but in general they are placed so as to form attractive alcoves, where comfortable

Windsor chairs invite the men to stop and read. In the evenings and the hours when the men have leisure, every chair will be full and men will be seen standing all about the long room, book in hand, absorbed in story or study.

When the library was still in process of formation it was assumed that fiction would be the main demand, and that the men would read chiefly for recreation. In general this has not been found to be the case. Given the choice between a first-rate novel and a book on his branch of military service or on the business in which he was interested before entering the army, in about seven cases out of ten the soldier leaves the novel on the shelf. As a result of this unanticipated demand for serious books the association has already been obliged to purchase over 600,000 technical books on a wide range of subjects. Fiction has been supplied in generous quantities by the public, both in the early book campaign and in the later nation-wide appeal which was made in March, when over 3,000,000 books were supplied—over 500,000 contributed in New York City alone.

The appreciation of the men has been unexpected and overwhelming. There were many skeptics in the early days who said that the average soldier would not have either time or inclination to read. They had failed to take into account the fact that our men are not average soldiers. The young man of today has learned that he must read to succeed in his business, whatever his line may be.

CHIEF LINES OF INTEREST

Typical questions asked and answered in a day run about as follows:

Who is the Sultan of Turkey?

How many months in the year is the Baltic navigable?

Is Alan Seeger American or English?

How much space in a line of march is required for a motor cycle?

Is there such a place as hell—and is there a Princess of hell?

What day of the week was July 4, 1915?

*The librarian in charge of service on the Mexican border, on a single visit to Eagle Pass, received requests for books on the following subjects—not at all an

unusual list: The metric system; algebra; chemistry of gunpowder; Spanish dictionaries, readers, and grammars; army paper work; machine guns; Italian books; Speakers, (readings and recitations;) lettering; geometries; Haweis—"Music and Morals"; gas engines; Bernhardt—"Great Britain, Germany's Vassal"; geography of the Philippine Islands.

Many of the books read show that the men are making after-the-war preparations. Very few plan to make the army or navy their permanent profession, and they use their leisure time, and their hours of convalescence in the hospitals, to fit themselves for better jobs in peace times. Books on business practice, advertising, cost accounting, farming, electricity, are always in demand.

For the men in isolated camps or outposts boxes of fifty volumes are prepared and forwarded, with a message that if the box does not contain material on subjects of particular interest to that group of men, a letter of request is all that is necessary to bring the desired volume to the reader. "The book you need when you want it," is the slogan of the A. L. A. War Service, and if the association does not have in its own stores the exact volume requested, it undertakes to get it either by purchase or by borrowing from some nearby public library.

BOOKS FOR NAVAL MEN

The work overseas has grown apace. With the service in this country established early in 1918, Dr. M. L. Raney, Librarian of Johns Hopkins University, was sent to Europe to survey the field there and discover the best means of carrying the A. L. A. service to our rapidly growing army on foreign soil. Arrived in England, his first duty was to call on Admiral Sims. He found him rather cold to the idea of library service for the army and navy. The battleships all had libraries, said Admiral Sims, and the chief naval base had a fine club house with an excellent library. However, he gave Dr. Raney a pass to all naval stations under his command. Armed with this, Dr. Raney crossed to Paris, where at the Naval Headquarters

the library idea was hailed with delight. They passed him on to an Admiral on active convoy duty along the coast of France, and every man he met on board the ships was equally enthusiastic. He found men preparing to take Annapolis examinations, but lacking textbooks. Cables were called into service and in a surprisingly short time the necessary books had been forwarded from America and were in the hands of the men. That settled the service to the navy. Admiral Sims became an ardent propagandist for the A. L. A., and asked for libraries everywhere, in naval bases, aviation fields, mine-sweeping bases—even, said Dr. Raney in his report of this work, "on his pet battleships that, in February, would never, never need us."

Following the success of his mission with the navy Dr. Raney proceeded to the general headquarters of the army. Armed with approving letters from Major J. H. Perkins, Commissioner for Europe for the Red Cross, and from E. C. Perkins, chief of the Y. M. C. A. of the A. E. F., Dr. Raney laid the whole plan of the A. L. A. before General Pershing in a single document. Two days later (on Feb. 22, 1918—significant date) he received the official indorsement of the plan, including the allotment of fifty ship tons per month free cargo space for the transportation of reading matter, and the duty of receiving the books was added to the tasks of the chief Quartermaster of the A. E. F. The latter at once caused a proper warehouse to be erected for their handling at one of the great debarkation ports, without cost to the association. Since that time 1,030,458 books have been shipped overseas.

THE WORK IN FRANCE

Dr. Raney returned to this country early in the Spring and, while retaining direction of the work, was succeeded in the active service overseas by Burton E. Stevenson, the novelist and librarian, who organized the first and one of the most successful camp libraries at Camp Sherman, Chillicothe, Ohio. At headquarters in Paris Mr. Stevenson, with Mrs. Stevenson as assistant, began pre-

paring collections of books to forward to the various units, large and small, of the American Army. On July 4 a cablegram announced to the members of the association then assembled in annual conference at Saratoga that the day had been celebrated by placing collections of books on every one of the American hospital trains in France.

In August, permanent headquarters were set up at 10 Rue de l'Elysée, in a magnificent building that until fifteen years ago was the residence of the Papal Nuncio to France. "Here," Mr. Stevenson writes, "I am planning to set up a real American public library which will act as a reservoir and central distributing point for the whole of France. What I am trying to do is to institute, in the principal camps, a system somewhat similar to that which we started in the camps in America, by which the boys may look toward our Paris headquarters for advice and assistance. * * * The work is of the most inspiring kind and the demand for books on the part of our men is almost unbelievably great."

This means that in France, and later also in England, as in this country, every permanent camp and school will have its own separate building, with branches in all the huts of the various welfare organizations, and traveling libraries for the men in the smaller units, right up to the front-line trenches. Permission has recently been received from the Army Post Office to forward volumes requested by individual readers under a franking privilege from the reservoir collections set up at Paris and Gievres. This means that any officer or enlisted man can get any book he wants, and return it when he is finished, without cost. A room in the Hotel Méditerranée, which is army department headquarters in Paris, has been set aside for the special purpose of handling these franked books.

LIBRARIES ABSOLUTELY FREE

Against the advice of some, the association has been insisting on the idea of absolutely free service to the soldier and sailor, and their faith has been justified. Above every case of books in every

station overseas is a card on which is printed this message from the Commander in Chief:

These books come to us overseas from home. To read them is a privilege. To restore them promptly unabused a duty.
(Signed) JOHN J. PERSHING.

Another poster in all branch libraries reads as follows:

These books are loaned on the honor system. If you fail, it fails. America is far away, tonnage scarce, and books precious. Play square with the other fellow; he has played square with you.

Besides the fifty tons cargo space allotted for books each month, every transport that goes over carries a collection of several hundred volumes for the use of the men on shipboard. These books are shipped in specially constructed boxes, which have a centre shelf and can be set up and used as bookcases as soon as opened. Each box holds about seventy volumes, of which about ten are usually of a technical nature, the rest being a selected lot of fiction and biography. These boxes are in charge of the Y. M. C. A. secretaries who sail on each transport, and who see that the books are repacked and forwarded after the ship reaches port.

Magazines also are being sent across. Special arrangements have been made with publishers so that remainders of each month's issue are sent over in bulk. Over 5,000,000 of the so-called Burleson magazines have already been distributed in this country through the agency of the American Library Association, going to camp reading rooms, barracks, outposts, hospitals, troop trains, and wherever reading matter is desired.

When there have been shortages of books there have always been the magazines to fall back on, and in many cases they have furnished the only information on the many new subjects of the day—topics still too new to have gotten into book form.

GROWTH OF LIBRARY SERVICE

For the year 1919 greatly increased service has been planned. In the United War Work Campaign of November, 1918, now at hand, the American Library Association hopes to secure at least \$3,500,000. The budget which has been prepared and adopted for the expenditure of this sum has some interesting items. They include the construction of twelve large and ten smaller library buildings in overseas camps, together with the rental of five other buildings, besides the Paris and London headquarters; the addition of ten large and ten smaller buildings to those in use in this country, as well as extensive alterations in the ones already in use; the expenditure of more than \$1,500,000 in the purchase of additional books and magazines for which there is a crying need, and \$1,000,000 in the maintenance and equipment of the service. Items which are little considered, such as the provision of shipping cases for the 2,500,000 volumes which it is planned to send overseas during the next twelve months, will cost at least \$75,000. A much larger sum than the one specified could be used advantageously for the purchase of books. The variety of demands grows daily as the possibilities of the book in the winning of the war are realized more and more by officers and men alike in the service.

The Government Takes Over the Nation's Colleges

THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-NINE colleges and universities taken over by the Government!

That was the revolutionary war measure adopted on Oct. 1, 1918, by the Federal authorities of the United States with regard to our higher institutions

for academic training. The step was not mandatory but voluntary on the part of the schools included in the scheme; but scarcely a college from the Atlantic to the Pacific refused to respond to the appeal of the War Department. Loyalty demanded acceptance

of the program, and 150,000 young men entered college to become soldiers, not scholars.

On campuses—now known by the sterner name of military reservations—they marched forth in military alignment to enroll for the newer tasks of learning how to fight. At the same moment—12 o'clock by Eastern time—the student soldiers throughout the land took the oath of allegiance to the American flag, which was raised in every college simultaneously from ocean to ocean; they listened to messages from President Wilson, General Pershing, and other high officials; then passed, still in civilian clothes, for their first parade in review before the officers of the new army posts. Collectively they had become a regular military unit, the Student Army Training Corps, each man under orders and entitled to a soldier's pay.

In every college these new recruits were addressed by eminent civilians or soldiers, and listened to this message from President Wilson, their Commander in Chief:

The step you have taken is a most magnificent one. By it you have ceased to be merely individuals, each seeking to perfect himself to win his own place in the world, and have become comrades in the common cause of making the world a better place to live in. You have joined yourselves to the entire manhood of the country and pledged, as did your forefathers, "your lives, your fortunes, and your sacred honor" to the freedom of humanity.

The enterprise upon which you have embarked is a hazardous and difficult one. This is not a war of words; this is not a scholastic struggle. It is a war of ideals, yet fought with all the devices of science and with the power of machine. To succeed you must not only be inspired by the ideals for which this country stands, but you must also be masters of the technique with which the battle is fought. You must not only be thrilled with zeal for the common welfare, but you must also be master of the weapons of today.

There can be no doubt of the issue. The spirit that is revealed and the manner in which America has responded to the call are indomitable. I have no doubt that you, too, will use your utmost strength to maintain that spirit and to carry it forward to the final victory that will certainly be ours.

WAR DEPARTMENT'S OFFER

The plan for this revolutionary step was laid before the colleges in a circular letter and statement sent out on Aug. 28 by Colonel Robert I. Rees of the General Staff at Washington. The statement outlined the method by which every college student was to be voluntarily inducted into the Student Army Training Corps, becoming "a soldier in the United States Army, uniformed, subject to military discipline, and with the pay of a private." The War Department undertook to furnish officers, uniforms, rifles, and equipment, and to assign the students to military duty, after a few months, either at an officers' training camp or in some technical school, or in a regular army cantonment with troops as a private, according to the degree of aptitude shown on the college campus.

At the same time a circular letter to the Presidents of colleges arranged for a contract under which the Government became responsible for the expense of the housing, subsistence, and instruction of the students. The preliminary arrangement contained this provision, among others:

The per diem rate of \$1 for subsistence and housing is to govern temporarily, pending examination of the conditions in the individual institution and a careful working out of the costs involved. The amount so fixed is calculated from the experience of this committee during the last five months in contracting with over 100 collegiate institutions for the housing and subsistence of over 100,000 soldiers in the National Army Training Detachment. This experience indicates that the average cost of housing is 15 to 20 cents per day; subsistence, (army ration or equivalent,) 70 to 80 cents per day. The tuition charge is based on the regular per diem tuition charge of the institution in the year 1917-18.

A permanent contract was arranged later under these governing principles:

The basis of payment will be reimbursement for actual and necessary costs to the institutions for the services rendered to the Government in the maintenance and instruction of the soldiers with the stated limitation as to cost of instruction. Contract price will be arrived at by agreement after careful study of the conditions in each case, in conference with authorities of the institution.

The War Department will have au-

thority to specify and control the courses of instruction to be given by the institution.

The entity and power for usefulness of the institutions will be safeguarded so that when the contract ends the institutions shall be in condition to resume their functions of general education.

The teaching force will be preserved so far as practicable, and this matter so treated that its members shall feel that in changing to the special intensive work desired by the Government they are rendering a vital and greatly needed service.

The Government will ask from the institutions a specific service; that is, the housing, subsistence, and instruction along specified lines of a certain number of student soldiers. There will be no interference with the freedom of the institution in conducting other courses in the usual way.

The contract will be for a fixed term, probably nine months, subject to renewal for a further period on reasonable notice, on terms to be agreed upon and subject to cancellation on similar terms.

STUDENTS TO BE OFFICERS

Why this intensive military training in our colleges for the period of the war? The answer is, to develop officers for handling the growing army. We have at present approximately 1,900,000 men in France. About 900,000 are on the fighting line. The United States Government plans to select 3,000,000 men by the new draft law, including those between the ages of 18 and 45. It hopes to have an army of 5,000,000 men, trained, equipped, and in the field by the opening of the Spring campaign. Such a number will make it possible to put 4,000,000 men on the front, with 1,000,000 behind the lines.

In round numbers, it requires 200,000 officers to handle an army of 5,000,000 men. Sixty thousand officers are now greatly needed, especially Second Lieutenants. These officers are to be developed in our colleges during this academic year, so far as acceptable leaders can be found.

Experience has taught that, as a class, college men make the best officers. Eighty per cent. of the officers of the army today are college graduates, many of them having been trained at West Point. While there are a goodly number of our ablest officers who came up from the ranks, or stepped out of business or professional life into official military

position, after a brief period of training, without having ever studied in college, still, college men are and always will be the army's major source of officer supply. The reasons are apparent: The college man possesses a more or less trained mind. The knowledge of mathematics required of an army officer he has already in some measure. The writing of a military order clearly and accurately is not difficult for him by reason of his knowledge in language. Moreover, his mind, because it is trained, is more to be relied on in a sudden call for quick decision.

The Government started its program of encouraging intensive military drill in American colleges in the Spring of 1918. The plan at that time was to divide the country into three districts, east, central and west, with headquarters for army tactics at Plattsburg Post, N. Y.; Fort Sheridan, Ill., and Presidio, San Francisco, Cal. Provision was made for the colored college men at Howard University, Washington, D. C. The colleges and universities of these several districts were invited to send students to the post designated for them on the basis of ten for every one hundred students of the college body, together with one member of the Faculty for every one hundred students. Nearly all the colleges accepted the invitation.

RESULTS AT PLATTSBURG

The work of the several camps may be illustrated by a brief statement of what has been accomplished at Plattsburg during the Summer period. Preceding the larger gathering of students at this post, 2,800 students came to Plattsburg on June 3 from military colleges, in accordance with the law requiring them to spend one month every Summer in intensive military training at some assigned camp. These young men were known as the R. O. T. C., viz., Reserve Officers' Training Corps. They did so well that the commanding officer of the post asked that 25 per cent. of them remain for the task of assisting in the larger school that was to follow. Six hundred and four of the number remained, and so far as age permitted received the commission of Second Lieutenant on Sept. 16, 1918.

On July 18 students began to pour in from 187 Eastern and Southern colleges that had accepted the Government's invitation to give two months' intensive military training to 10 per cent. of the male student body. By Aug. 10 3,250 men had reported for their work. They were called S. A. T. C., viz., Student Army Training Corps. These men were organized into twenty-four companies. They labored assiduously, both in study and drill, and with marked enthusiasm and efficiency. On Sept. 3 the commanding officer said to a distinguished audience, "In six weeks we have developed here an excellent organization because we have a group of men who have trained minds." Not only have these students trained minds, but they are morally clean and physically fit. On entering the camp every young man was carefully examined by a competent physician, and in not one case was there found a trace of venereal disease. Think of it! Such men are the flower of American manhood, on whom we can confidently rely for the leadership necessary for victory.

RAPID ADVANCEMENT

Practically all the men in the camp, 20 years of age or over, received commissions at the close of the training period and went directly into the army as officers. Those under 20 returned to college, after Sept. 16, to take up the intensive program of military study and drilling of their fellow-students. Thirteen hours a week are given to such work. All students of the draft age will be inducted into the training corps, except the physically defective. The students below 18 years will be enrolled, but not inducted into the military unit. There is high authority for the statement that the students who may be returned at 20 years of age will be allowed to re-

main in college about two months, those 19 six months, and those 18 nine months before going into the army as officers. Virtually none of the men who return to college this Fall will be in school next year, should the war continue.

Thus our colleges have become little West Points for the remainder of the war. All college work is incidental to the military program. The great purpose of our educational institutions is to win the war, and to this end they have made large sacrifices. Long before the United States entered the war the students of most of our colleges and universities had begun preparations for the coming crisis. Gathered in groups, discussing current problems and listening to lectures on international relations, they naturally foresaw the storm. The universities of California, Chicago, Northwestern, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and scores of others were making ready for the fray. And when war was declared against Germany the graduates and students of our American colleges were in the van as volunteers.

On Sept. 3 and 4 eighty-seven college Presidents counseled at the Plattsburg Post as to how the college curriculum could be adjusted to the military requirement. What a revolution in academic life! Imagine if you can some dear old professor, 70 years of age, who has taught algebra, geometry, and calculus all his pedagogical days, after a certain fashion, never changing, trying to adjust his instruction to the present-day military program! Surely there will be a shaking up of the dry bones in many of our colleges. To quote a broad-brained college President, "It will turn us upside down for a while, but will prove to be a blessing in the long run."



Turkey's Disaster in Palestine

Rout and Capture of Two Ottoman Armies by British Force End the Turk's Power as a Belligerent

THE campaign against the Turks in Palestine, begun Sept. 18, 1918, was a brilliant success for the Allies, and developed into so serious a disaster for the Turks that by Oct. 12 it was semi-officially reported that the Turkish Government had opened negotiations for a separate peace, its entire forces being in a state bordering upon collapse. As a result of the disasters in Palestine and Mesopotamia Enver Pasha, who for years had been the commanding and controlling figure in Turkey, was overthrown on Oct. 8, Talaat Bey, Grand Vizier and Minister of the Interior, having surrendered his portfolio four days previously. Ahmed Tewfik Pasha, formerly Ottoman Ambassador in London, was appointed Grand Vizier in succession to Talaat Pasha. An Athens dispatch filed Sept. 26, but not received in America until Oct. 8, stated that there had arrived at Mitylene, on behalf of Rahmi, Governor of Smyrna, three parlementaires to enter into peace negotiations. One of the emissaries was a Greek, one an Englishman, and one a Turk.

No further details were obtainable at the time, but the hypothesis was that the Vilayet of Smyrna had revolted from the Government of Constantinople. This province covers the western end of Asia Minor and has an area of 25,801 square miles and a population of 2,500,000.

Various dispatches of an unofficial character came to European capitals announcing that revolution had broken out at sundry points in the Turkish Empire, and all the indications pointed to the conclusion that Turkey could no longer remain as a belligerent, and that its unconditional surrender was only a question of days.

ALLENBY'S ADVANCE

General Allenby's new offensive, which began on Sept. 18, 1918, was an unbroken succession of victories. The

British forces, in close liaison with the Arabs, under King Hussein, advanced rapidly on a line from the Mediterranean at Haifa, extending across Palestine to the Arabian desert. Damascus, the capital of Syria, was taken on Oct. 1, and was occupied by the British forces and a portion of the Arab Army. The British pushed forward rapidly. By Oct. 8 they had occupied the towns of Zaleh and Rayek, respectively thirty-three and thirty miles northwest of Damascus. On the same day a French naval division entered the important port of Beirut, 160 miles northwest of Damascus, and the Allies thus had an unbroken front from that port to the desert, and were rapidly advancing northward toward Aleppo, the main base of the Turkish Armies in Asia Minor. The capture of Aleppo was inevitable, as the Turkish forces were in rapid retreat and in a state of demoralization.

The British forces along the Euphrates and Tigris also began a forward movement toward Mosul, with a prospect of coming soon into contact with General Allenby's army, thus establishing an unbroken and victorious front from the Mediterranean across Mesopotamia into Persia. It was reported on Oct. 8 that Persia was being evacuated by the Turks.

General Allenby's forces captured between Sept. 18 and Oct. 5 more than 71,000 prisoners and 350 guns, besides 8,000 prisoners taken by the Arabs. Included in these figures were the Turkish commanders of the 16th, 19th, 24th, 53d, and composite divisions, the commander of the Maan garrison, Ali Verbi Pasha, and German and Austrian troops numbering more than 206 officers and 3,000 privates.

The landing of French naval forces at Beirut was enthusiastically received by the populace. The territory in Syria through which the British and French

troops advanced was conceded to France by a treaty.

It was reported from Paris on Sept. 26 that Palestine would be administered under an agreement reached between the British, French, and Russian Governments in 1916. When the Bolshevik authorities took control in Russia they published a number of secret diplomatic documents found in the archives in Petrograd. Among them was a convention negotiated by Russia, France, and Great Britain under which Alexandretta, in Asiatic Turkey, was to be a free port and Palestine was to be a protectorate under the three Governments. Both France and Great Britain have since officially announced that Palestine should be an autonomous State, and pledges have been given that the Zionist Jews shall be safeguarded in the erection there of a Jewish (Zionistic) State.

THE FIRST BLOW

General Allenby began his offensive on Sept. 18, and it proved a complete surprise to the Turks. An official version of the initial attack says:

Preparations for this battle entailed a good deal of marching. The troops were always moved by night and remained hidden in the orange and olive groves in the daytime. The British mastery of the air prevented enemy observers from seeing any change in the dispositions and the movements of large columns. Troops of all arms were thus concealed skillfully in a country where the marching of men raises huge columns of dust, and the Turk, too, possessed positions that commanded a wide range. But he remained mystified, which is the finest tribute that could be given to the work of the British staff.

The infantry opened a way for the cavalry to pass through, and then there was a wonderful spectacle of long columns of British yeomanry and Australian light horse and picturesque Indian cavalry moving over a wide expanse of country throughout the coastal sector of the plain of Sharon to get to the enemy's rear.

The initial successes were achieved on the historic plain of Esdraelon or Jezreel, where the Israelites fought battles, as recounted in the Book of Revelation and parts of the Old Testament. The region is famous as the battlefield of Armageddon and, according to Revelation, is to be

the scene of the decisive battle at the end of the world.

Nazareth, captured in this advance, is at the northern edge of the plain, west of the hills of Galilee and southeast of Acre, Tul Kerani, and Nablus, which were taken the first day. All through the region are the remains of two old civilizations, the ruins of the tribes mentioned in the Bible and the later civilization of the Roman colonies.

Beisan, another ancient town occupied in the initial advance, lies in the Valley of the Jordan, not far from the river, about fifty-five miles northeast of Jerusalem and directly east of the plain of Esdraelon, although to reach it from that region a traveler would pass through the depression between the Hills of Galilee and the Hills of Ephraim. This town was a centre of the Romans during their control of the land, and the remains of an acropolis, a Roman bridge, a theatre, fragments of houses and columns, and many excavated tombs may be seen there yet. Only a few hundred persons live near the town now.

HISTORIC DAMASCUS

The capture of Damascus, capital of Syria, by the troops of General Allenby, opened the way to Aleppo, on the Constantinople-Bagdad Railroad, 180 miles to the north. Damascus is the most beautiful and, after Bagdad, the most historically romantic city in Asiatic Turkey. It is situated in a fertile plain at an altitude of 2,350 feet, at the base of the Anti-Libanus; its water supply still survives as one of the marvels of Jewish engineering work, with many improvements wrought by the Arabs; its population is 150,000.

Prior to the war, it was the headquarters for the Fifth Turkish Army Corps, and later were drilled in the fields about the city the Seventh, Eighth, and Fourth Armies, which have just been annihilated by Allenby.

More than any other city under Turkish rule, Damascus has preserved its ancient buildings and architecture. The five-mile city wall, which the Crusaders besieged in vain in 1148, is still there with its seven gates, and through the



SCENE OF BRITISH SUCCESSES IN PALESTINE, SYRIA, AND MESOPOTAMIA

city still runs the "street called Straight" where St. Paul had his abode. It is said that the description of Paradise in the Koran was taken from the appearance of Damascus.

Once conquered by King David, it soon achieved independence and attacked the Kingdom of Israel itself. Then conquered by Assyria, it later successively became a colony of Greece and of Rome. In the seventh century came the Arabs, who made it a great show city, a seat of learning, and of metal arts, the most famous of which was the making of sword blades. From the sixteenth century it has alternately surrendered to Egyptian and Turkish conquerors. In 1841 it was finally restored to Turkey together with Syria.

IN THE JORDAN VALLEY

On Sept. 20 the enemy resistance had collapsed everywhere save on the Turkish left in the Jordan Valley. General Allenby in his official report describes the operations on that day as follows:

Our left wing, having swung around to the east, had reached the line of Bidieh, Baka, and Messudich Junction, and was astride the rail and roads converging at Nablus.

Our right wing, advancing through difficult country against considerable resistance, had reached the line of Khan-Jibelt, one and one-fourth miles north-east of El-Mugheir and Es-Sawieh, and

was facing north astride the Jerusalem-Nablus road.

On the north our cavalry, traversing the Field of Armageddon, had occupied Nazareth, Afule, and Beisan, and were collecting the disorganized masses of enemy troops and transport as they arrived from the south. All avenues of escape open to the enemy, except the fords across the Jordan between Beisan and Jisr-ed-Dameer were thus closed.

East of the Jordan Arab forces of the King of the Hedjaz had effected numerous demolitions on the railways radiating from Derat, several important bridges, including one in the Yurmak Valley, having been destroyed. Very severe losses have been inflicted on the masses of Turkish troops retreating over the difficult roads by our air services.

A German airplane, later ascertained to have been carrying mails, landed in the midst of our troops at Afule. The pilot, who believed the place still to be in Turkish hands, destroyed the machine and its contents before he could be secured.

COMPLETENESS OF VICTORY

W. T. Massey, the official correspondent with the British troops, in a dispatch dated Sept. 23, thus described the completeness of the victory in the early advances:

"More than 260 guns have been located in our lines, and possibly more will be found. Artillery ammunition in vast quantities has been found everywhere. Some of the depots are acres in extent. As the Turks only manufacture small

arms ammunition, if they try to raise new armies to take the place of these destroyed, they must call on Germany for every gun, transport, and instrument of war required.

"Today saw one of the most remarkable sights which a soldier ever gazed upon. From Balata, where the road from Nabulus falls through craggy hills and narrow passes to Wadi Farah, there is a stretch more than six miles long covered with débris of the retreating army. In no section of Napoleon's retreat from Moscow could there have been a more terrible picture of hopeless, irretrievable defeat.

"In this area alone were eighty-seven guns of various calibres, fully 1,000 horse and oxen drawn vehicles, nearly 100 motor lorries, cars filled with kitchens, watercarts, and a mass of other impedimenta. The road was black with the carcasses of thousands of animals and bodies of dead Turks and Germans.

AMAZING AIRPLANE WORK

"This was the work of the Irish, Welsh, and Indian infantry. The artillery pressure behind the indomitable British and Australian airmen in front of the infantry had forced the enemy over the hills into the road, and just as the guns began to shell the retiring transport airmen swooped down to 200 feet and bombed the head of the column. Once that was accomplished, time only was required to finish the job, and this was done with surprising thoroughness. One flight after another took up the work, until the whole column was one vast broken mass.

"The enemy troops, seeing escape with the vehicles was impossible, fled to the hills. Some who had endeavored to find an outlet up the Beisan road fell into the hands of cavalry waiting for them. Others, accepting the inevitable, sought refuge in our lines.

"For effectiveness of systematic bombing it is difficult to find a parallel to this destroyed column. The operations working up to this débâcle were magnificently conducted."

The capture of the important town of Amman, lying on the Hedjaz Railway

about forty-five miles northwest of Jerusalem, is thus described by Mr. Massey in a dispatch dated Sept. 26:

"I have just returned from witnessing the mounted men's triumphant capture of Amman, and can speak of the splendid handling of the troops in a country where nature had raised enormous barriers against an attacking army.

"The Anzac mounted division east of the Jordan was assisted by some infantry, including a battalion of British West Indians, whose gallant bayonet charge on the Jordan's banks won the admiration of the colonial veterans. They knew the country, having made two dashing raids and inflicted damage on the Hedjaz Railway. They drove the Turks and Germans out of Amman, though the presence there of Germans indicated what deep importance the enemy set upon this section of the line.

"At the moment when Allenby's plans overwhelmed the two Turkish armies in Palestine, the Anzacs began a movement to harass the Turkish Fourth Army over the Jordan. They had to get across several miles of flat country, under enemy observation, and enter the Gilead mountain chain—almost impenetrable except for one pass to Es Salt. Until the pass was won, only pack transport was possible. The cavalry moved up goat tracks and were in Es Salt on the third day after the operations began east of the Jordan.

"The enemy, fearing an advance against the town months ago, made a strategic road west of Es Salt and had wired one valley, and all the approaches thereto had been covered by many machine guns. The New Zealanders declined a frontal attack. They got over the crags of the hill, threatened the enemy flank, and compelled a retirement on the town. There was not much fighting at Es Salt. Between 600 and 700 prisoners were taken.

"On Sept. 24 the cavalry got to Suwcileh, half way on the Amman road, and at dawn yesterday began operations against Amman. An Australian light horse brigade moved from the right in the Ain Sir direction, continually driving

over the rough plateau the Turkish cavalry.

"Infantry accounted for a number of detachments of prisoners, mounted on little wiry horses, very unlike the British mounts, causing surprised interest as they passed through the lines. On the right the brigade made good progress, and at noon had got into excellent position southwest of Amman."

Major Gen. Sir Frederick B. Maurice, in commenting on General Allenby's strategy, wrote as follows on Sept. 24:

The more one studies General Allenby's operations the more admirable they appear, and the manner in which the movements of the infantry and cavalry were

synchronised though separated by wide stretches of difficult hilly country is as perfect an example of co-operation of two arms in a decisive battle as is to be found in the pages of history.

Little less remarkable is the speed with which the mass of horsemen, with sufficient supplies and munitions to make them independent for several days, was got across the maze of our own and of the Turkish trenches in the plain north of Jaffa. This argues most careful and thorough staff work and preparation.

Field Marshal Liman von Sanders, who commanded three Turkish armies of about 100,000 men in Palestine, fled on Sept. 20 when the first disaster overtook his troops, and was reported to be in Constantinople on Oct. 5.

Bulgaria's Surrender

King Ferdinand, His Armies Shattered, Is Forced to Capitulate and Abdicate

THE vigorous offensive begun in the Balkans by the allied armies on Sept. 16, 1918, led swiftly to the most important developments in that portion of Europe since the early days of the war. Within the next two weeks the Bulgarian forces had been split into two helpless segments, the Bulgarian Government had been compelled to surrender and make a separate peace with the Allies, King Ferdinand had abdicated in favor of his son Boris, and Germany, confronted by the first break in the ranks of the Central Powers, saw Turkey isolated and helpless and the Pan German dream of empire in the Orient shattered.

From the base at Saloniki the British and Greek troops struck at the enemy on the right, in the region of Lake Doiran, while the Serbians and French shattered the enemy's centre, driving forward on a twenty-five-mile stretch across the Czerna River; meanwhile a large Italian army was dealing heavy blows at the left, where the enemy's line extended west into Albania. By Sept. 23 the British held Doiran, the Serbians had captured the formidable Drenska Massif, a great natural defense of Prilep,

with that city itself, and the First Bulgarian Army in that region, finding itself cut off from the Second Army in the Doiran region, fled in disorder. On Sept. 24 the Second Army also was in full retreat, the Serbians had crossed the Vardar, and the pursuit continued along the whole front from Monastir to Belev.

Veles, the principal railway centre of Old Serbia, was captured by the Serbians on the 25th, and the British and Greek troops invaded Bulgaria near the fortress of Strumnitza, capturing it the next day. This opened a way for the Allies toward the gates of Sofia itself. By Sept. 29 the Bulgars were burning their stores in the important base of Uskub, which the Serbians and French, advancing from Veles, entered on the 30th. The Bulgarian First Army was caught between the two allied advances, and its destruction was becoming inevitable. King Ferdinand's desperate appeal for German aid brought no results; Germany had troubles of her own on the west front. Bulgaria had come to the end, and nothing remained but to surrender. Malinoff, the Premier, had long been in favor of making peace with the Entente,

and pacifist crowds besieged the Government building in Sofia demanding surrender and voicing bitter anger against King Ferdinand for the plight into which he had brought the nation.

PROPOSAL FOR ARMISTICE

King Ferdinand assembled his Grand Council on Sept. 23, with the result that a formal demand was made on Berlin and Vienna for immediate assistance. It met with evasive replies. Meanwhile revolution and anarchy threatened the King at home, and the anti-German feeling in Sofia had reached the point where a massacre of all the Germans in the city was feared. Ferdinand gave way to the wishes of his Cabinet and people, and, despite the fact that at Nauheim a month before he had personally promised Kaiser Wilhelm to remain faithful to the alliance, he gave his consent to a movement for unconditional surrender to the Entente.

An official Bulgarian statement dated Sept. 24, but not published until four days later, was as follows:

In view of the conjunction of circumstances which have recently arisen, and after the position had been jointly discussed with all competent authorities, the Bulgarian Government, desiring to put an end to the bloodshed, authorized the Commander in Chief of the army to propose to the Generalissimo of the armies of the Entente at Saloniki a cessation of hostilities and the entering into of negotiations for obtaining an armistice and peace. The members of the Bulgarian delegation left yesterday evening in order to get into touch with the plenipotentiaries of the Entente belligerents.

The leaders of the Ministerial bloc of the Bulgarian Parliament, according to advices from Sofia, published the following official note in connection with the Government's proposal for an armistice:

In accordance with orders of the leaders of the Ministerial bloc, the Government at 5 o'clock Wednesday afternoon [Sept. 25] made an official offer of an armistice to the adversary. The leaders of the bloc are in accord that the army and the people must maintain military and public discipline, which is so necessary for a happy issue in these times, which are decisive for the recently begun work of peace.

News of these developments came suddenly to the outside world on Sept. 28,

in the announcement that the Bulgarian Government was sending delegates to negotiate peace with General Franchet d'Esperey, Commander in Chief of the allied armies in Macedonia. A high Bulgarian officer had presented himself at Saloniki in behalf of General Terodow, commanding the Bulgarian Army, and had asked a suspension of arms for forty-eight hours to permit the arrival of authorized delegates from the Bulgarian Government, who were on their way with the assent of King Ferdinand to arrange terms of peace. In view of the possibility that all this might be merely a military ruse, General d'Esperey sent the following reply:

My response, which I send through a Bulgarian officer bearing the letter in question, cannot be, by reason of the military situation, other than the following:

I can accord neither an armistice nor a suspension of hostilities tending to interrupt the operations in course. On the other hand, I will receive with all due courtesy the delegates, duly qualified, of the Royal Bulgarian Government, to which your Excellency alludes in the letter. These delegates to present themselves in the British lines, accompanied by a parlementaire.

(Signed) FRANCHET D'ESPEREY.

TERMS OF SURRENDER

The Bulgarian delegates arrived at Saloniki on Sept. 28. They were General Lonkhoff, commander of the Bulgarian Second Army; M. Liapcheff, Finance Minister, and M. Radeff, a former member of the Bulgarian Cabinet. On the evening of the 29th an armistice was signed, General d'Esperey signing for the Entente Allies and the three Bulgarian delegates for their Government. The terms of the surrender were submitted to the Entente Governments and received their approval, and hostilities ceased officially at noon, Sept. 30. The Bulgarian delegates to Saloniki were accompanied by the American Chargé d'Affaires at Sofia, Dominic I. Murphy; though he went merely as an observer, the Washington Government ordered his return to Sofia, indicating the American Government's desire to have no part in these pourparlers.

The armistice was a purely military convention and contained no provisions



MAP OF BALKAN FRONT SHOWING BATTLELINE AT TIME OF BULGARIA'S SURRENDER

of a political character. Its terms, as summarized for the press, were as follows:

Bulgaria agrees to evacuate all the territory she now occupies in Greece and Serbia, to demobilize her army immediately, and surrender all means of transport to the Allies.

Bulgaria also will surrender her boats and control of navigation on the Danube and concede to the Allies free passage through Bulgaria for the development of military operations.

All Bulgarian arms and ammunition are to be stored under the control of the Allies, to whom is conceded the right to occupy all important strategic points.

The military occupation of Bulgaria will be intrusted to British, French, and Italian forces, and the evacuated portions of Greece and Serbia, respectively, to Greek and Serbian troops.

The armistice means a complete military surrender, and Bulgaria ceases to be a belligerent.

All questions of territorial rearrangement in the Balkans were purposely omitted from the convention.

The Allies made no stipulation concerning King Ferdinand, his position being considered an internal matter—one for the Bulgarians themselves to deal with.

The armistice will remain in operation until a final general peace is concluded.

Thus, nine days before the third anniversary of Bulgaria's decision to cast her lot with Germany, she had made a full surrender to the Allies. On Oct. 8, 1915, the Sofia Government had issued a manifesto announcing Bulgaria's decision

against the Entente. This action had been merely the result of a secret treaty signed by Germany and Bulgaria in the preceding July.

Bulgarian troops began evacuating Serbia on Oct. 1. When hostilities had ended the Serbians held a line from Uskub eastward through the mountains to the Bulgarian border near Charevo. They continued to advance into their own oppressed country day by day, meeting no opposition from Bulgarian troops, but fighting German and Austrian forces at some points. An official statement issued from German Headquarters on Oct. 6 announced the withdrawal of all the German troops who had been fighting in the ranks of the Bulgarian Army. At the same time Germany rushed all available forces to Sofia and other strategic points in Bulgaria and Serbia with the object of holding territory in these countries as long as possible. A dispatch from Rumania declared that 250,000 troops had been withdrawn from that country to go to Sofia, and signs of an anti-German uprising in Rumania at once began to appear.

NAVAL BLOW AT DURAZZO

A further reverse for the Central Powers in the Balkan Peninsula came on Oct. 2, when the Austrian naval base at Durazzo was destroyed by allied warships. Italian and British cruisers, pro-

tected by Italian torpedo boats and American submarine chasers, succeeded in making their way through mine fields into Durazzo Harbor. An intense bombardment lasting two hours and aided by airplanes destroyed the naval base on the shore and sunk the Austrian ships found at anchor. Italian sailors, in the teeth of a hot enemy fire, torpedoed an Austrian destroyer and a steamer, while twelve American submarine chasers sunk two enemy submarines. The only damage suffered by the allied squadron during the operations was a slight injury to a British cruiser from a torpedo fired by a submarine.

In the interior of Albania on Oct. 7 Italian troops captured Elbasan after crushing stubborn Austro-Hungarian resistance, and Italians were already operating in the coastal region close to Durazzo.

The Serbians, with the other allied troops, swept rapidly northward from Uskub after the Bulgarian collapse, intent upon driving the remaining Germans and Austrians out of Serbia and beyond the Danube. On Oct. 13 they captured Nish after a day's vigorous fighting. This made a definite cut in the famous Orient Railroad from Berlin to Constantinople, and the German authorities announced that henceforth trains on this line would run only to the Serbian border, but that passengers might be able to go further by means of local trains. The Serbian peasants, unearthing weapons which escaped confiscation by the troops of occupation, were aiding the Allies to drive out the retreating invaders.

The spirit of the Serbs in this campaign to recover their native land was described by Ward Price in a dispatch of Sept. 30 as follows:

The Serbs began their drive with an assault on those precipitous heights on the Czerna bank, the crest of which the Bulgarians had intrenched. So steep was the climb toward the enemy positions that the Bulgars could only oppose the advancing Serbs by leaning over their parapets to drop bombs. Twice before the Serbs had attacked these formidable mountains in vain. "We felt that the third time would change our luck," said a young Serbian officer whom I knew well, "and if it did not, what could we do better than go for-

ward to die as close as possible to the homes we long to win back again from our enemies?"

It was this resolve to do or die that carried the Serbs right ahead over obstacles that every cold-blooded observer would have said were humanly impassable. Undoubtedly the rapidity of the Serbian push enabled them to live to great extent on the captured enemy supplies and materials. I am told of a Bulgar battery trying to get away, all of whose drivers were shot down by Serbian rifle fire from heights beside the road. The Serbs then came down and found the battery practically complete with transport and 20,000 rounds of ammunition. They lost no time, but carried two of the captured guns forward to a position from where they could shell a Bulgarian howitzer battery, which they captured in its turn.

FERDINAND'S ABDICATION

King Ferdinand of Coburg abdicated the throne of Bulgaria on Oct. 4 in favor of his son, Crown Prince Boris, and left Sofia the same night for Vienna. On his way through Budapest he told the Bulgarian Consul there that he intended in the future to devote himself to his favorite pursuits, chiefly to botany. He denied playing a double game, and said he had always wished to remain faithful to his allies. "But unexpected circumstances which transformed the situation," he declared, "compelled my abdication and forced me to quit Bulgaria in the interests of the people. They were unwilling to continue the war, and there was opposition between them and me. Serious troubles broke out in Sofia. I was unwilling to be an obstacle to the general desire for peace, so I left." Before leaving Sofia he issued the following manifesto:

By reason of a succession of events which have occurred in my kingdom and which demand a sacrifice from each citizen, even to the surrendering of one's self for the well-being of all, I desire to give as the first example the sacrifice of myself.

Despite the sacred ties which for thirty-two years have bound me so firmly to this country, for whose prosperity and greatness I have given all my powers, I have decided to renounce the royal Bulgarian crown in favor of my eldest son, his Highness the Prince Royal Boris of Tirnovo.

I call upon all faithful subjects and true patriots to unite as one man about the throne of King Boris, to lift the country

from its difficult situation and to elevate new Bulgaria to the height to which it is predestined.

Before signing his declaration of abdication, he received the party leaders, all of whom expressed approval of his decision. The abdication was announced by Premier Malinoff at a crowded session of the Bulgarian Parliament, and the news was received by the Deputies with the greatest interest. Premier Malinoff, explaining to the Deputies the situation leading up to the surrender, said:

We know of the profound misery which has overwhelmed the country and we deplore it. We know the wrong was due largely to not receiving succor from our allies, but this is past, and our duty now is to repair as far as possible the results of the national catastrophe.

Ferdinand's popularity with his people has been waning rapidly since it became apparent to Bulgarians that he had erred grievously in plunging the country into war on the side of the Teutonic powers. Advices from Sofia had indicated that before the armistice with the Entente was signed King Ferdinand was trembling for his throne and feared that a revolution might upset the whole dynasty.

King Ferdinand took the Bulgarian throne in 1887, but his election as monarch was not confirmed by the great powers until 1896. He married Marie Louise de Bourbon, eldest daughter of Duke Robert of Parma, in 1893. Her death occurred in 1899, and in 1908 Ferdinand married Princess Eleanore of the house of Reuss, who died in 1917.

Prince Boris in a manifesto to the Bulgarians announcing his accession to the throne said he would adopt the name of Boris III. He reminded his people that he was born in Bulgaria, (Jan. 18, 1894,) and belonged to the Orthodox faith. He promised to respect the Constitution and invited the people to rally round the throne.

The accession of Prince Boris was received enthusiastically by the populace, according to a dispatch from Sofia. The bells of all the churches were rung. Addressing a large crowd from the palace, Boris said: "I thank you for your manifestation of patriotic sentiments. I have faith in the good star of Bulgaria, and I believe that the Bulgar people, by their good qualities and co-operation, are directed to a brilliant future."

The Bulgarian Cabinet offered its resignation to the new King, who expressed his confidence in it and asked the Ministers to retain their portfolios. The first decree signed by King Boris was one demobilizing the Bulgarian Army.

All Germans, Austro-Hungarians, and Turks were ordered to leave Bulgaria within a month. By Oct. 10 the German-Turkish exodus from Bulgaria had been greatly accelerated. Officers, soldiers, and civilians were arriving in Vienna on freight cars, and long convoys of artillery and foodstuffs received the right of way. Passenger trains were reaching Vienna twelve to twenty hours late. Steamer service on the Southern Danube had been discontinued.



The Albanian Nationality

By CONSTANTINE A. CHEKREZI

[FORMERLY SECRETARY TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF CONTROL FOR ALBANIA]

ONE of the vexatious Balkan questions which the coming peace conference—or probably the Entente Allies alone—will soon be called upon to settle in a definitive manner is that of Albania. The Albanian nationality is not very well known today, but in the course of history it has played an important rôle in the Balkan Peninsula, besides being the oldest nationality in Southeastern Europe.

History and legend afford no record of the arrival of the Albanian race in the Balkan Peninsula. None the less, it is now pretty well established that the Albanians are the direct descendants of the earliest Aryan immigrants, who were represented in historical times by the kindred Illyrians, Macedonians, and Epirots. The Albanian language, as spoken today, is the only surviving representative of the Thraco-Illyrian group of languages, which formed the primitive speech of the Balkan Peninsula. Its groundwork and grammar are distinctly Indo-European, but the language is entirely different from the neighboring tongues.

In ancient times the Albanians constituted the kindred kingdoms of Illyria, Epirus or Molossia, and Macedonia. Foremost among the Kings of those remote times stands the famous Pyrrhus of Epirus, and Teuta, the celebrated Queen of Illyria. Owing to her peculiar geographical situation, Albania has been successively invaded by various races, such as the Gauls, the Romans, the Goths, the Slavs, and finally the Turks, but the natives have either driven out or absorbed the invaders.

During the first half of the fifteenth century the kingdom of Albania stood as the main bulwark of Christianity in the Balkan Peninsula, under the celebrated national hero, George Castriota, or Scanderbeg, (Prince Alexander,) as the Turks surnamed him for his military valor. After his death Albania suc-

cumbed to the repeated attacks of the Turks, in 1478, last among the Balkan nationalities. She remained under the Turkish domination for about 450 years, but the Albanians managed to live practically independent under the nominal sovereignty of the Sultan.

In 1910-12 the overzealous Young Turks tried to destroy that internal independence of Albania, but in the end they were forced to recognize it officially, thanks to the desperately determined resistance of the Albanians.

ALBANIAN STATE CREATED

In the Fall of 1912 the Balkan Alliance, formed of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro, declared war against Turkey. The Albanians declared their independence in November of the same year; but, as a result of their unexpected triumphs over Turkey, the Balkan allies sought to partition even the territories of Albania among themselves. These plans were frustrated, however, by the intervention of Austria and Italy, who had interests of their own to protect in Albania. An acute international crisis ensued, and, but for the timely mediation of Great Britain, the European war would have broken out two years earlier than it did.

The question of Albania was then referred to the Ambassadors Conference at London, which recognized the independence of Albania on Dec. 20, 1912. The conference undertook also the task of the delimitation of the frontiers of the new State, which it placed under the collective protection of the six great powers. But in order to satisfy the irreconcilable views and aspirations of the Balkan States, as well as those of the great powers, the territory of Albania was cut down to an absurd minimum, while the largest part of it was handed over to Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece. From the very day of the creation of the new State there have been a great many

ESSAD PASHA

misgivings as to its ability of ever standing on its own feet, owing to the merciless treatment it had received at the hands of the conference.

In definitive fulfillment of their task, the powers assigned to Albania, on the proposal of Italy, the German Prince of Wied, who was to be the hereditary ruler of the young kingdom. But the acute rivalry of Austria and Italy, each striving to get the upper hand, with the customary intrigues and machinations of the Balkan States, the indifference of the other European powers, the total lack of any administrative organization, the empty coffers of the new-born State, the impairment of its physical faculties by the Conference of London, and, finally, the outbreak of the European war, rendered the position of the Prince untenable, and he was forced to retire to his estate in Prussia on Sept. 3, 1914, after a disheartening reign of only six months.

ALBANIA IN THE WAR

On leaving Albania the Prince of Wied handed over his authority to the International Commission of Control, a body consisting of one delegate from each of the six great powers, with an Albanian representative. This commission had been empowered by the London Conference to assist the Albanian Government in running public affairs and to control every action that exceeded the limits set by the Provisional Constitution. But the International Commission fared as badly as had the Prince, being without funds and without efficient means for the execution of its decrees. Moreover, it could not be rationally expected that the delegates of Austria and Germany would co-operate for the sake of Albania with the delegates of Great Britain and France while the two groups of Governments were at war.

As a consequence the International Commission soon dispersed, and the country was left without any government at a critical moment when international morals had relaxed—after the violation of Belgian neutrality by Germany—and when each State was watching its neighbor to discover any slackening in its power of resistance.

One month after the flight of the Prince, Essad Pasha, his former Minister of War, whom Prince William had condemned to perpetual exile for plotting against his sovereign authority, hastily returned to Durazzo, the late provisional



MAP OF ALBANIA, SHOWING ITS RELATION TO OTHER BALKAN COUNTRIES.

capital. Essad Pasha came back to Albania with a medley of hirelings recruited from among the Albanians assigned to Serbia. This was done with the authorization of the Serbian Government, which even provided the funds for their equipment. Essad Pasha now set up a multi-colored Government, the so-called "Government of Central Albania or of Durazzo," made up of ignorant peasants and of some vagabond old Turks. His constant effort was to set up by any means available a Government under his Presidency, so as to figure later before the world as an unjustly dispossessed ruler or sovereign in the same class as King Peter of Serbia and King Nicholas of Montenegro.

The Government of Essad Pasha had

hardly been formed when the rebels who had attacked Durazzo and besieged Prince William within its walls turned their arms against the alien Government of the Pasha. They attacked Durazzo, in the same old way, but the Pasha found shelter under the protecting fire of the Italian Navy, which rushed to his aid, and which alone was able to check the advance of the rebels and to save Essad Pasha and his capital. Thenceforth the dominion over which the "Government of Central Albania" was ruling was confined to the small peninsula of Durazzo. The rebels remained encamped at the gates of the besieged city, and the Italian squadron was constantly moored in the Bay of Durazzo ready for action against them. This curious situation lasted up to the day when the Serbian and Montenegrin troops came to the relief of Essad Pasha. Meanwhile Essad Pasha persisted in speaking and acting on behalf of Albania, which stood in arms against him and his alien Ministry.

INVASION OF ALBANIA

In the meantime the troops of King Constantine of Greece had reoccupied the southern provinces of Albania, the Government of Athens having declared that the occupation was intended to be only provisional. On Dec. 25, 1914, Italian marines and soldiers landed at Valona, the chief seaport of Albania, and occupied the city, which is situated at the bottom of one of the best natural bays in Europe. The Government of Rome declared that the occupation of Valona by Italian troops was necessary in order to safeguard the interests of the Albanian State, which had been jeopardized by the Greek occupation of the territory adjoining Valona.

At the beginning of the following year, 1915, the Serbians and Montenegrins felt tempted by the action of the other neighbors of Albania. They, therefore, started the invasion of Northern and Central Albania, in spite of the angry protests of Italy and the remonstrances of the Entente Allies, who advised the Governments of Belgrade and Cetinje not to scatter their forces, as they were all sorely needed in the war

against Austria-Hungary. But the Serbians and Montenegrins, taking no heed, overcame the Albanians in a series of bloody and desperate battles, and occupied Northern and Central Albania.

Essad Pasha was relieved for the moment, but in the Spring of 1916 the Teuton-Bulgarian armies entered on their decisive campaign against the Serbians and Montenegrins, and the latter were forced to withdraw their forces from Albania. Into this country, however, their decimated armies fell back, shortly afterward, in their retreat toward the Adriatic. The Austrians occupied Northern and Central Albania, and Essad Pasha, who in the meantime had declared war against the Central Powers, was forced to transfer his Government and his insignificant army to Saloniki, where he posed as a victim of the war, a dispossessed ruler. It is only lately that the Allies have begun to realize that his influence and authority in Albania do not extend beyond his immediate followers in Saloniki. Had the Allies realized this when it was yet time, the Albanians, who were struggling against Essad Pasha, would have been on their side against the Central Powers, and the Serbian retreat through the mountains of Albania would not have proved so disastrous.

During the late Summer of 1916 the Italian expeditionary forces in Albania began their southward march, and gradually drove the troops of King Constantine from Southern Albania. The process of the occupation of these southern provinces by the Italians was brought to an end in the month of December, 1916. During that same month a French detachment of the army of Saloniki expelled the Greek royalist troops from the district of Koritza, (or Korchia,) which has been raised into an independent Albanian Republic.

UNDER ALLIED OCCUPATION

On Italy's entering the war the Government of Rome stated that one of the war aims of the Italian people was the re-establishment of the independence and integrity of the Albanian State. In pursuance of this policy the Italian Govern-

ment declared the independence and unity of Albania. On June 3, 1917, General Ferrero, commander of the Italian expeditionary forces in Albania, issued an official proclamation to the Albanians by which he declared, in the name of his Government, the independence and unity of *the whole* of Albania "under the shield and protection of the Italian Kingdom."

The question of how far this protection goes has been raised and discussed many a time, but no definite answer has yet been given. This particular point, however, assumes great importance in view of the announced evacuation of Albania by the Austrians. On Oct. 3, 1918, the Vienna Government issued the following statement: "We have withdrawn our divisions from Albania. This was rendered necessary by events on the Bulgarian front." This means, of course, that very soon the whole of Albania will be under either wholly Italian or mixed allied occupation, and the phrase "under the shield and protection of the Italian Kingdom" calls for interpretation.

PRESENT CONDITIONS

To understand exactly the position of this oldest people in the Balkans one must have a general idea of the conditions prevailing therein. As reliable statistics are wanting with regard to all countries under the Turkish domination, the population of the Albanian principality cannot be stated with exactness. Whitaker's Almanack places it at 2,000,000, but I think it would be reasonable to reduce this figure to 1,500,000. On the other hand, it is estimated that the whole Albanian race numbers 3,500,000, dispersed in Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, Macedonia, and Italy. The Conference of London allotted to Serbia alone almost 1,000,000 Albanians. The area of the Albanian State as delimited by the London Conference is about 11,000 square miles, or about the same area as that of the State of Maryland.

Wild stories have long been current in regard to the conditions of the population. The phrases "semi-barbarous," "wild," "uncivilized," &c., have been

used indiscriminately in fanciful narratives regarding Albania. While one cannot deny that Albania is backward in civilization owing to her incessant struggles against Turkish domination for 440 years, the average Albanian is not any worse than the average Balkanian, be he Greek or Bulgarian or Rumanian or Serbian.

Considering the fact that the Turkish Government has never allowed the establishment of Albanian schools, the wonder is that the Albanians have been able to maintain their standard of intellectual development, which is far above the level reserved for them by the Turks.

Brigandage, despite the prevailing myth on the subject, is practically unknown in Albania. The native is too proud and chivalrous—and these are his two main national characteristics—to lower himself to the condition of highwayman. Miss Helen Stanhope of Chelsea, Mass., was not harmed or interfered with in any way during her travels in Albania, but she was immediately captured and held for ransom by a band of Bulgarian highwaymen as soon as she stepped out of Albanian territory.

As to the reputed fanaticism of the Albanians and their constant religious strife, it may be said that religious toleration exists in Albania to a degree found nowhere else in the Balkans. Divided as the Albanians are into Moslems, Roman Catholics, and Greek Catholics, they have always managed to get along far better than Catholics and Protestants in Western Europe. In Albania there are today families in which one brother is a Moslem and another a Christian, yet they live in perfect harmony within the walls of the same home.

In general the people of Albania are characterized by an innate and irresistible love for liberty, by intelligence and practical spirit, and by great eagerness for progress and civilization. The country is very rich in natural resources, such as forests, mines, fisheries, but abnormal conditions thus far have rendered impossible their development and exploitation.

The Republic of Koritsa

The war has developed a curious historical episode in Albania in the form of the little Republic of Koritsa, or Korce, to use the official Albanian spelling. This impromptu republic originated in the late Autumn of 1916 in the brilliant brain of a French cavalry Colonel. The bulk of Albania was at that time occupied by the Austrians. In the south the Italians held Avlona, on the Adriatic, but between them and the allied Saloniki forces was a solid wedge of Austrians and King Constantine's unfriendly Greeks.

In the Autumn General Sarraïl pushed forward in a northwesterly direction and occupied Koritsa and the region near Lake Malik. This was the first time that French troops from Saloniki had found themselves in Albanian territory, and the Colonel in command was faced with the problem of setting up a civil administration. Northeast lay Serbia and southeast lay Greece, but Koritsa was neither. According to the Treaty of Bucharest, the only legal instrument recognized by the Allies, it was part of Albania. The Colonel solved the difficulty by proclaiming Koritsa, and the *taza*, or administrative district of which it is the capital, to be an autonomous Albanian republic, under the protection of the Allies.

General Sarraïl, confronted with a fait accompli, accepted the situation, and Ko-

ritsa has remained a republic. A council of twelve elders, mixed Musulman and Christian, was set up as the governing body, Essad Pasha uttered a blessing in Albanian, a flag was devised, a Post Office system instituted, and stamps issued.

All did not go without a hitch. The two-headed eagle, which flaunted so bravely on the flag and the first stamp issue, roused antagonism, and was said to be not the genuine Albanian bird beloved of Skanderbeg and all good Shkipetari, but a monstrous Austrian imperial creature.

Yet, on the whole, Koritsa greatly enjoyed its autonomy, even if it realized that the days were coming when it would be merged in some larger whole. Meantime, owing to various advances of the Allies, it gained several extensions of territory.

Allied arms made steady progress in Albania during the Autumn. Italian troops pushing northward entered Elbasan on Oct. 7, 1918, after crushing stubborn Austro-Hungarian resistance. At the same time Italian forces in the coastal region were approaching Durazzo, while the Austrian naval base at Durazzo was destroyed by Italian, British, and American warships on Oct. 2. The clearing of hostile forces out of Albania proceeded rapidly in the weeks that followed.



Progress of the Allies In Russia

New Provisional Government Established at Ufa Aspires to Restore the Russian Front

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1918]

ALLIED military operations on Russian territory made steady progress during September and October. On the North Russian front the fighting in the second half of September resulted in an advance of fifty miles southward along the River Dvina. The operations were conducted by British troops associated with American, Serbian, and Russian detachments, and the advance was pushed along both banks of the river simultaneously. The Soviet forces retired to Kotlås, in the Government of Vologda, 235 miles from Archangel, the enemy ships sowing mines as they fled. Some hundred prisoners were captured, a number of Soviet vessels sunk, and several guns captured, together with a good deal of munitions. On Oct. 3 the Americans held a village situated on the River Vaga, which is a tributary to the Dvina, midway between Shenskursk and the Bolshevik base, Baelsk. The American detachment played an important part in restoring Archangel to normal life.

Americans were also fighting in Eastern Siberia. They co-operated with the Japanese in the capture of Blagoviestchensk, the capital of the Amur Province, which took place on Sept. 18. Fifteen thousand Austro-German prisoners were reported to have been disarmed there by the Japanese. The Japanese also occupied Alexeievsk and took 2,000 Teuton prisoners. The enemy retreated up the Zeya River. The Japanese cavalry, partly with the aid of General Semenoff's troops, had previously occupied Chita, (Sept. 6,) and Merchinsk, (Sept. 10,) in Transbaikalia. On Sept. 22 Japanese cavalry, marching eastward from Chita and northwest from Blagoviestchensk, effected a junction at Rufulov. The next day it occupied Zeya-Pristan, on the River Zeya, 240 miles north of Blagoviestchensk. The allied forces entered

on Sept. 27 the town of Banbuki, where they seized nine steamers, many railway cars, and a large supply of war materials. According to a Tokio dispatch of Oct. 4, the Soviet troops abandoned the gold mining districts in Transbaikalia.

According to a Peking dispatch of Sept. 23, the Germans and Austro-Hungarians in Russia were ordered by the German Emperor on Sept. 10 to join the Soviet forces and to oppose Japan and her allies.

CZECHS ON THE VOLGA

On Sept. 11 the Czechoslovak forces in Siberia were reported to be concentrating at Irkutsk and preparing to move westward with a view to relieving their comrades in European Russia, and shortly afterward began the movement of Czech units to the Volga front, which was hard pressed by the enemy owing to lack of munitions. In the middle of September the Soviet forces occupied Volsk, Simbirsk, and Kazan. According to a Petrograd dispatch of Sept. 30 the latter city was recaptured by the Czechoslovaks. The Bolsheviks laid the fall of Kazan to the behavior of the Lettish troops intrusted with the defense of the city. It was stated that all the officers of the 3d Lettish Regiment were sentenced to death "for failure to keep the regiment in its proper position and for having tolerated meetings while the battle was in progress."

In Northeastern Russia the number of armed Czechs and Russians was estimated at 60,000, and they were believed to be outnumbered by the Bolshevik forces. Their situation was perilous.

On Oct. 11 General F. B. Maurice thus summarized the military situation in Russia:

In Russia the position is that, thanks to the intervention of the allied forces which landed at Vladivostok, our position



MAP OF RUSSIA SHOWING CHIEF CENTRES OF WAR ACTIVITY

as far as Lake Baikal is practically assured. Between Lake Baikal and the Urals the Czechoslovaks are supreme, and they control the Trans-Siberian Railway for some 400 miles west of the Urals as far as Kazan and Samara. Intermittent warfare is being waged between the Czechoslovak and Bolshevik forces, in which the former have, on the whole, held their own, but are in need of assistance. Between the lower Volga and the Caucasus the Cossacks, who are anti-German and anti-Bolshevist, are in control. But the whole of the rest of Russia west of the Volga, with the exception of Archangel and the Murman coast, is in the hands either of the Germans or of the Bolsheviks.

THE UFA GOVERNMENT

Late in September the Russian Embassy at Washington received a report to the effect that a number of the members of the Constituent Assembly, which was elected in the Fall of 1917, had held a national convention in the City of Ufa and set up a central government for the whole of Russia. On Oct. 7 the newly established Ufa Government informed the Russian Ambassadors throughout the world, as well as the allied Governments,

that it had taken over the power as a successor to the Provisional Government which was overthrown by the Bolsheviks. Regarding the composition of the convention and the personnel of the directorate created by it, we find the following information in the manifesto issued by the new Government:

The National Convention was composed of :

1. The present members of the Constituent Assembly and representatives of the committee of the same assembly.
2. Representatives of the Temporary Government of Siberia, the Regional Government of the Urals, the Temporary Government of Esthonia.
3. Representatives of the Cossacks of Orenburg, Ural, Siberia, Irkutsk, Semiretchensk, Enissen, and Astrakhan.
4. Representatives of the Government of the Bashkirs, the Kirguis, the Turkestan, and the Turko-Tartars of interior Russia and Siberia.
5. Representatives of the Convention of Municipalities and Zemstvos of Siberia, the Ural, and the Volga.
6. Representatives of the following parties and organizations: Socialist Revolutionists, Social Democrats, (Mencheviks,) Socialist Labor Party, Constitu-

tional Democrats (Narodnaia Svoboda) of the Social Democratic organization "Iedinstvo," and of the Association of the "Rebirth of Russia."

In a unanimous effort to save the Fatherland, to re-establish its unity and its independence, the Convention has decreed to transmit the supreme power over the whole territory of Russia to the Provisional Government, composed of five persons:

Nicholas D. Avksentieff, Nicholas I. Astroff, Lieut. Gen. Vassili G. Boldyreff, Peter V. Volgodski, Nicholas V. Tchaikovsky.

The program of the new Provisional Government is formulated in some detail in its constitutive act. This document follows:

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

1. Until the moment of the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, the Russian Provisional Government is the sole possessor of supreme power over the whole territory of Russia.

2. On the order of the Russian Provisional Government all functions of supreme power temporarily exercised by Regional Governments are transmitted to the Provisional Government.

3. Definition of the limits of the power of the Regional Governments, which are to be founded on the principles of broad regional autonomy and in accord with the program stated below, is confided to the judgment of the Russian Provisional Government.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARD THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The Russian Provisional Government accepts the following obligations:

1. The Provisional Government will aid the Convention of Members of the Constituent Assembly, which is acting as a State institution, in its work, aiming to secure the attendance of members of the Constituent Assembly and to prepare for the opening of the session of the assembly as elected in November, 1917, at the earliest possible date.

2. All acts of the Government will be based on the sovereign and unquestionable right of the Constituent Assembly. The Government will take vigilant care that the subordinate administrative institutions shall not infringe the rights of the Constituent Assembly or retard in any way the beginning of the Assembly's activities.

3. The Government will, without delay, report concerning all its acts to the Constituent Assembly, from the very beginning of its activities; it owes entire submission to the Constituent Assembly as the only possessor of sovereign power in Russia.

IMMEDIATE AIMS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

In endeavoring to reconstitute the unity and independence of Russia, the Provisional Government sets forth as its immediate aim:

1. A struggle for the liberation of Russia from the power of the Bolshevik Soviets.

2. The reintegration in Russia of adjoining regions which were detached or separated.

3. Annihilation of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk and of all other international treaties concluded after revolution of March, 1917, either in the name of Russia or in the name of its provinces, by any authority except the Provisional Government.

4. Restoration of treaties with the allied nations.

5. Continuation of war against the German coalition.

In its interior policy the Provisional Government pursues the following aims:

MILITARY AFFAIRS

1. The creation of a single and powerful Russian Army beyond the influence of political parties and subordinate, through its military chiefs, to the Russian Provisional Government.

2. Exclusion of intervention by military authorities in the domain of civil authorities except in the fighting zone of the armies or regions declared by the Government, in cases of extreme necessity, in conditions of siege.

3. Establishment of strict military discipline based on law and humanity.

4. Interdiction of political organizations into the army and its entire isolation from politics.

CIVIL AFFAIRS

1. Liberated Russia must be constituted in accordance with liberal principles of regional autonomy, taking into consideration the geographical, economic, and ethnographical differences. The national organization and federation of the State will be determined by the Constituent Assembly, possessor of the supreme power.

2. The Government secures to national minorities which do not occupy definite territories the free development of their national culture.

3. The Government secures to the liberated parts of Russia the re-establishment of democratic municipalities and Zemstvos, fixing immediately the nearest possible date for the new elections.

4. The Government secures the realization of civil liberties.

5. The Government will take necessary measures actually guaranteeing public security and order.

ECONOMIC REGULATIONS

1. To cope with the economic disorganization.

2. Development of productive forces of the country with the aid of private capital, Russian as well as foreign, and of personal initiative.

3. Legal regulation of commerce and industry.

4. Increase the productiveness of labor and reduce the nonessential expenditure of national revenues.

5. Development of labor legislation, protection of labor and regulation of the conditions of employment and discharge of workmen.

6. The Government recognizes full liberty of unions.

7. Relative to questions of supplies, the Government stands for abolition of State monopoly of wheat and abolition of fixed prices, continuing at the same time to regulate distribution of products existing in sufficient quantities, and will organize State warehouses with the aid of private commerce and co-operative societies.

8. In the sphere of finance the Government will combat the depreciation of paper money in working out the reconstitution of the fiscal system, increasing the direct income tax and the indirect taxes.

9. The Constituent Assembly alone has the right to solve definitely the agrarian question, and the Government cannot admit any modification which would impede the work of the Constituent Assembly. It, therefore, temporarily leaves the exploitation of the soil to its present holders and resumes activities aiming to regulate and increase to the utmost the exploitation of the soil, in conformity with the peculiarities of the regional customs.

ORDER OF SUBSTITUTION OF MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT

The Provisional Government, possessor of supreme power, exercises this power in accordance with the above principles. Until the convocation of the Constituent Assembly the members of this body cannot be recalled and are not responsible to anybody for their activities.

The following persons are chosen to serve as substitutes for members of the Provisional Government who may be obliged to quit their functions:

Andrew A. Argunoff, Vladimir A. Vinogradoff, General Michael V. Alexeieff, Vassili V. Sapojnikoff, and Vladimir M. Zenzinoff.

In case of the absence of one of the members of the Provisional Government their substitution will take place in the following manner:

N. B. Avksentieff will be replaced by A. A. Argunoff.

N. I. Astroff will be replaced by V. A. Vinogradoff.

Lieut. Gen. V. G. Boldyreff will be replaced by General Michael V. Alexeieff.

P. V. Vologodski will be replaced by V. V. Sapojnikoff.

N. V. Tchaikovsky will be replaced by V. M. Zenzinoff.

So as fully to realize the activities of the Government, those members of the Provisional Government who are at present absent are replaced in order designated in the preceding article.

Members of the Provisional Government will take a solemn oath when assuming their functions.

The new Provisional Government is supported by former Premier Kerensky, who on Oct. 10 asked the British Government to accord formal recognition to it. The Entente Governments, however, decided to wait for further evidences of its ability to act for the Russian Nation.

The Ufa Government commenced the formation of a new national army. The first step in this direction was the mobilization of the classes of 1918 and 1919 by the Autonomous Siberian Government of Omsk. The 200,000 young recruits are being trained by 30,000 officers. The Academy of the General Staff is at Tomsk, Western Siberia.

REIGN OF TERROR

The feeling of insecurity in Soviet circles has resulted in a state of affairs repeatedly described by eyewitnesses as a Reign of Terror. The month of July, which witnessed the execution of Nicholas II. by the Ural Soviet, may be considered the beginning of that reign. The fifth Soviet Congress, which took place shortly before the murder of the Czar, passed a resolution to the effect that "all counter-revolutionary plots must be suppressed without mercy," and that "the revolutionary proletariat and the poorest peasantry must answer these criminal plots with mass terror against the middle classes." It was also in July that Pravda, the official organ of the Communist Party, (the Bolsheviks,) wrote editorially, "Watch out, you of the middle classes; you are just as mortal as the Czar whom you have so passionately supported," while the Northern Commune, a Petrograd daily, declared that the time had come when "the application of terror is a necessity and when revolutionary force can maintain itself

only by the merciless suppression of its enemies."

A correspondent of The London Daily Chronicle, who was arrested and imprisoned, together with other Englishmen, in the Peter and Paul Fortress after the assassination of Commissary Uritsky, wrote to his paper that prison conditions were much worse than under the old régime. The prisoners he saw in the fortress were mainly former officers. "Most of them," he said, "had not been examined and some had been confined without any accusation being made against them for over a month."

A member of a group of seventy-six Englishmen from Moscow, who reached London on Oct. 3, was quoted as saying that "in recent months executions have run into 100 a week, for no reason except that the victims, sent to their death without trial, were formerly officers or wealthy people." The same person is credited with the story of an officer's wife allowed to bring food to her husband for four days after he had been shot, and of another woman who was told by Commissary Jacob Peters that her husband had been shot by mistake. It was reported early in October that Alexander J. Gutchkov, War Minister in the first Provisional Government, was murdered by robbers and ex-Premier Alexander Trepov had been assassinated.

The State Department at Washington authorized the following statement: "All persons coming out of Russia report the existence of appalling conditions. Slaughter of representative people and former officers is taking place. These are shot without trial, and the only charge offered is that of being 'dangerous to the Soviet.' One detail is that officers are shot at night in the cellars, guns being muffled by silencers."

TERRORIST DECREE RESCINDED

The situation was discussed at a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, and, according to a Moscow daily, the authorities rescinded the reign of terror at the instance of Premier Lenine and decided to return to orderly methods of government. The decree failed to change the situation. A proposal to free the political prisoners was

defeated in the Soviet, and M. Zinoviev, a Bolshevik leader, was quoted as saying that it was the duty of every revolutionist to be a terrorist.

According to a dispatch to the Leipziger Abendzeitung of Sept. 21, a soldier in Kursk fired twice at Trotzky, but the bullets missed their mark. A later dispatch reported a renewal of the attempts to assassinate Soviet officials.

Dewitt C. Poole, acting American Consul General in Moscow, arrived in Stockholm on Sept. 26. An order for his arrest, signed by the Extraordinary Commission, arrived two hours after he passed the Finnish frontier. Information received by the State Department at Washington was to the effect that, late in September, several hundred English and French citizens, officials among them, were imprisoned in the Fortress of Peter and Paul and also in the Moscow Kremlin. Among the allied officials arrested by the Bolsheviks were the Ministers formerly credited to the Rumanian Government, including American Ambassador Charles J. Vopicka.

The British and the Russian authorities came to an agreement regarding the exchange of their representatives and subjects. On Sept. 25, Litvinov, the London representative of the Soviet Government, left for Russia, together with a group of his compatriots. He was to stay aboard a ship until the British in Russia were safe.

AMERICA'S PROTEST

On Sept. 21 the American Government, through Secretary of State Lansing, sent an appeal to all the associated and neutral Governments urging them to express their condemnation of the reign of terror in Russia. The text of the document follows:

This Government is in receipt of information from reliable sources revealing that the peaceable Russian citizens of Moscow, Petrograd, and other cities are suffering from an openly avowed campaign of mass terrorism and are subject to wholesale executions. Thousands of persons have been shot without even a form of trial; ill-administered prisons are filled beyond capacity, and every night scores of Russian citizens are recklessly put to death; and irresponsible bands are venting their brutal passions

in the daily massacres of untold innocents.

In view of the earnest desire of the people of the United States to befriend the Russian people and lend them all that is possible of assistance in their struggle to reconstruct their nation upon principles of democracy and self-government, and acting therefore solely in the interest of the Russian people themselves, this Government feels that it cannot be silent or refrain from expressing its horror at this state of terrorism. Furthermore, it believes that in order to check the further increase of the indiscriminate slaughter of Russian citizens all civilized nations should register their abhorrence of such barbarism.

You will inquire, therefore, whether the Government to which you are accredited will be disposed to take some immediate action, which is entirely divorced from the atmosphere of belligerency and the conduct of war, to impress upon the perpetrators of these crimes the aversion with which civilization regards their present wanton acts.

Most of the countries of the world indorsed this note, and the diplomatic representatives of Norway and Holland in Soviet Russia protested jointly against Bolshevik terrorism.

THREE GERMAN TREATIES

On Sept. 7 the German papers published the text of the three treaties which were signed between Russia and Germany on Aug. 27 and ratified by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets on Sept. 2. They are known as the German-Russian Supplementary Treaty, the German-Russian Financial Agreement, and the German-Russian Private Law Agreement, and are very elaborate. Extracts from the main clauses of the first two treaties follow:

In Clause 1 of the German-Russian Supplementary Treaty to the Brest peace treaty it is stated: "In so far as this has not yet been done, German-Russian commissions will immediately be formed to fix the demarkation lines for all fronts where German and Russian troops face one another. These demarkation lines shall be so drawn that there are neutral zones between the respective fronts, which zones must not be trodden by any members of the respective armies, with the exception of parlementaires. In so far as there is not yet regular traffic between the respective fronts, such traffic will be established by the demarkation commissions."

Clause 2, which deals with the separation movements in Russia, says inter

alia: "In so far as is not otherwise prescribed in the peace treaty or in this supplementary treaty, Germany will in no wise interfere in the relations between Russia and parts of its territory, and will thus in particular neither cause nor support the formation of independent States in those territories."

Clause 3, dealing with North Russian territory, says: "Germany undertakes that no attacks of any sort shall be made on Russian territory from the Finnish side, while Russia will employ all means at its disposal, in defense of its neutrality, to expel Entente forces from the North Russian regions."

Clause 4, dealing with Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, and Lithuania, says: "Russia, taking account of the position at present existing in Esthonia and Livonia, renounces sovereignty over these regions, as well as all interference in their internal affairs. Their future fate shall be decided in agreement with their inhabitants." The clause then sets forth arrangements to facilitate Russian commerce via Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, and Lithuania, providing that Russia shall receive free harbor zones at Reval, Riga, and Windau, where the storage and packing of goods imported from or consigned to Russia can take place without hindrance, and exports and imports from Russian customs districts can be regulated by Russian officials.

According to Clause 5, Germany will evacuate Russian Black Sea territory, with the exception of the Caucasus which she occupied, when the peace treaty which is to be concluded between Russia and the Ukraine has been ratified.

In Clause 6 Russia agrees that Germany shall recognize Georgia as an independent State. Russia will promote the extraction of raw oil and raw oil products in the Baku district in so far as lies in her power, and will give Germany a quarter of the supplies obtained, or at least a certain number of tons monthly, yet to be agreed upon. In so far as the yield may be sufficient for the delivery of this fixed quantity, it will be supplemented by supplies obtained elsewhere.

In Clause 7 Germany recognizes the Russian ownership of the warships confiscated by the Germans after the ratification of the peace treaty, as well as Russia's claim to compensation for the Russian supplies seized by German troops after the conclusion of peace, except for those seized in the Ukraine and Finland.

ENORMOUS INDEMNITY

Clause 1 of the Russo-German Finance Agreement stipulates that Russia will pay Germany six milliard marks (\$1,500,000,000) for the indemnification of Germans who suffered loss through Russian measures, regard being paid to corre-

sponding Russian counterclaims and the value of the stores seized in Russia by the German forces since the conclusion of peace. Of these six milliards an amount of one and a half milliard marks will be paid by a remittance of 245,564 kilograms of fine gold and 545,440,000 rubles in bank notes. This remittance will be made in five installments, namely, 42,860 kilograms of fine gold and 90,900,000 rubles in bank notes to be paid on Sept. 19, 1918, and four amounts of 50,676 kilograms of fine gold and 113,635,000 rubles in bank notes to be paid respectively on Sept. 30, Oct. 31, Nov. 30, and Dec. 31, 1918. One milliard marks will be settled by the delivery of Russian goods in amounts of fifty million marks each by Nov. 15 and Dec. 31, 1918, amounts of 150,000,000 marks each by March 31, June 30, Sept. 30, and Dec. 31, 1919, and 300,000,000 by March 31, 1920. Two and a half milliards will be settled by Dec. 31, 1918, by means of bonds to be taken up in Germany by the Russian Government, such loan bearing interest at 6 per cent. from Jan. 1, 1919, and to be redeemed by amortization of one-half of 1 per cent., together with the saved interest. The question of the remaining one milliard marks is reserved for special agreement in so far as its payment is not taken over, with Germany's assent, by the Ukraine and Finland in their negotiations with Russia regarding property. Clause 2 of the Financial Agreement deals with the handing over of respective bank deposits and credits. Clause 3 deals with the adjustment of certain differences in the respective economic systems of the two countries.

The news came on Oct. 11 that the Finnish Diet, at a public meeting, had chosen Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse as King of Finland. The Agrarian and Socialist members had abstained from voting, as a protest against the election.

THE BATTLE FOR BREAD

By the middle of October the downfall of the Bolshevik régime was being hastened more by hunger than by political enemies. On the eve of the first anniversary of the proletariat dictatorship it faced the most terrible famine in modern history. An American who had just come out of Russia told The Associated Press correspondent at Stockholm of widespread military preparations among the peasants against the Lenine-Trotsky Government, due wholly to impulses of self-preservation. In many places the wheat and oats crops were in

the hands of armed peasant organizations, which were guarding them against the Bolsheviks. In three districts of the Vyatka Government alone the peasants had organized and armed 15,000 men, chiefly returned soldiers, to resist Soviet attempts to take their grain. The peasants were paying the soldiers 500 rubles each monthly. The correspondence continues:

The food crusaders sent from Moscow and Petrograd meet with such resistance that many who escape death join the anti-Bolshevist forces and assist in tightening the noose of starvation about Petrograd and Moscow, the two Soviet strongholds, which are undergoing a hunger siege far more death-dealing than the spasmodic revolutionary outbreaks directed against them by the Social Revolutionists and the Social Democrats.

Infant mortality in Petrograd has increased to 50 per cent. School statistics show from 57 to 87 per cent. of the enrolled children are absent on account of illness. The situation is growing worse daily, and the juvenile population of Petrograd will practically be wiped out this Winter unless food is provided from foreign countries. According to Captain William B. Webster of the American Red Cross, who has just come from Petrograd, starvation is claiming thousands, especially aged and infirm persons without resources, who are unable to get food at the Government restaurants or return to their native villages.

Arrival at Archangel of a relief ship which left an American port in August with 4,600 tons of food, drugs, and other supplies for allied soldiers and destitute civilians in Northern Russia was announced Oct. 12 by the American Red Cross. The cargo was valued at \$1,500,000; the amount originally appropriated for relief at that point.

AN AUSTRIAN REPORT

To counteract the effect of Bolshevik propaganda among the Austro-Hungarian soldiers the Austrian Bureau of Propaganda published a pamphlet compiled by an official commission which visited Russia. Curiously enough, the pamphlet begins by admitting that the Central Powers had used Lenine as their accredited agent to weaken Russia, dissolve its political institutions, and wipe out its army. This cynical confession is followed by a graphic description of

the results in the political, military, industrial, and economic field. Terrors, alarms, panic, distress, hunger, misery, murder, and anarchy are the results, so much so that the question now arises whether the Central Powers have any interest in further sustaining Soviet rule. The pamphlet minutely describes the disorder and anarchy in the Bolshevik administration.

The commercial and industrial population and a large part of the peasants, says the pamphlet, long for the overthrow of Soviet rule, and it was significant that when Krylenko ordered the return to the colors of some troops who had been dismissed not one man obeyed his order. Those who grasped power under the Soviet standard did so for selfish motives, to tyrannize over others, and, adds the pamphlet,

The hands of even the most prominent leaders are not clean of bribery, and bribery is rampant among the smaller fry, who simply reek with corruption. In the army discipline is a thing of the past. Soldiers throw off their uniforms and go home or return to their regiments at will. Nobody dares stop them. If at home they find nothing to eat they simply return to their regiments to have food, but not to fight, unless it is to shoot down civilians. Thus, in the fortress of Dünaburg (Dvinsk) there were at one time no fewer than 200,000 of these soldiers who were there only for the rations they got or exacted from the population and peasants. They held political meetings as a pastime, made noisy demonstrations, fired their rifles at night to terrify the people, changing their commanders every day and sometimes bastinadoing them.

RUIN OF INDUSTRY

The disorder and anarchy of Soviet rule described by the Austrian document almost presaged the crime at the British Embassy. It says:

The police no longer exist in Russia. Any one professing himself a Bolshevik can commit any crime with impunity. Street murders, mobbing, rioting, and lynching are common occurrences. They are almost a pastime of the Bolsheviks. In Petrograd the tram service and the lighting are suspended, the schools are closed for weeks, miscreants and idlers abound in the streets and attack sledges, carriages, or any passing vehicle. They often undress the people merely to rob them of their clothes, and let them go

away naked. Rifle shots are heard constantly in the streets, drink shops are looted, and when the crowds get a chance they summarily lynch these malefactors. No regular administration of justice exists. The Judges are selected at random, and the scenes in the Soviet courts of justice have no parallel in any civilized land. The courts are invaded by the crowd, and the public, when it does not like a Judge, simply hustles him out and decides the case itself. Savage scenes sometimes follow. An old Admiral, accused by some blackguards, was thus sentenced to death with some others, but as he was too weak to walk he was put on the shoulders of another man likewise condemned to death, and before they had gone far they were both shot down.

Some time ago at Sevastopol Bolshevik sailors killed the engine drivers in a station, amid indescribable scenes of savagery, simply because they had refused to start the trains at the arbitrary commands of the sailors. The Bolsheviks represent no idealist system, no civil movement, but simply terrorism and the dissolution of all civilized society. They are not the expression of the majority of the Russian people, as is proved from the fact that they attained power only by violence. They refused to permit the meeting of the Constituent Assembly because, despite all their efforts, they obtained only one-third of the votes. They have ruined all industry, commerce, and social life in Russia. The great textile factories at Morosoff, near Moscow, where by far the largest amount of cloth was produced in Russia, were ruined after only five days of Socialist and Bolshevik management.

Similar scenes and results followed in the great steel works of Petrograd, in the Neva works, and at the Putiloff works, and Petrograd sent half a million of idle workers to Moscow. All industry is at a standstill. The setting up of a boiler and engine alone costs now from 150,000 to 200,000 francs, (\$30,000 to \$40,000,) and the repairs of a single locomotive cost 1,400,000 francs, (\$280,000.) The chemical industry no longer exists. The production of sugar, which amounted to 100,000,000 sacks, descended to 40,000,000, and finally to 10,000,000. The postal and telegraphic services are in a complete state of anarchy, and a letter may take from four to six weeks to get from Moscow to Petrograd, if it gets there at all. The railway material is going to ruin. The former rolling stock is dilapidated and is not replaced by new. The Austro-Hungarian Commission had difficulty in finding a locomotive to take their train from Petrograd to Dvinsk, and they finally got one which could go only at the rate of ten miles an hour.

[OFFICIAL]

Lenine and Trotzky German Agents

Secret Documents Unearthed in Petrograd Prove
That Bolshevik Leaders Are Paid Traitors

[First Installment]

THE United States Government, through its Committee on Public Information, sent a special representative to Russia in the Winter of 1917-18 to learn the underlying truth concerning the chaotic conditions there. This representative, Edgar Sisson, came into possession of some seventy documents which in their entirety constitute complete proof of what the world had long suspected, namely, that Lenine and Trotzky and other members of the Bolshevik Government of Russia were paid German agents who were systematically betraying the Russian people—even the workingmen whom they pretended to represent—and were working from first to last for the Imperial German Government under the direction of German officers in Petrograd.

Mr. Sisson sent these incriminating documents to George Creel, head of the Committee on Public Information, embodying them in a report, with explanatory notes appended to the translations. Many of the documents are originals annotated by Bolshevik officials. The others are photographs of originals. The two main series are corroborated by a third set of typewritten circulars, (see appendix later,) of which only two originals are possessed, but all

of which fit perfectly into the whole pattern of German intrigue.

These documents show that the Bolshevik revolution was arranged for by the German Great General Staff and financed by the German Imperial Bank and other German financial institutions. They show that the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was a betrayal of the Russian people by the German agents, Lenine and Trotzky; that a German-picked commander was chosen to "defend" Petrograd against the Germans; that German officers have been secretly received by the Bolshevik Government as military advisers, as spies upon the embassies of Russia's allies, as officers in the Russian Army, and as directors of the Bolshevik military, foreign, and domestic policy. They show, in short, that the present Bolshevik Government is not a Russian Government at all, but a German Government, acting solely in the interests of Germany and betraying the Russian people, as it betrays Russia's natural allies, for the benefit of the Imperial German Government alone.

The first document is a photograph of a report made to the Bolshevik leaders by two of their assistants, informing them that, in accordance with their instructions, there had been removed from the archives of the Russian Ministry of Justice the order of the German Imperial Bank "allowing money to Comrades Lenine, Trotzky, 'and others' for the propaganda of peace in Russia"; and that, at the same time, "all the books" of a bank in Stockholm had been "audited" to conceal the payment of money to Lenine, Trotzky, and their associates by order of the German Imperial Bank.

This report is indorsed by Lenine, with

his initials, for deposit in "the secret department" of the Bolshevik files. And the authenticity of the report is supported by Document No. 2, which is the original of a report sent by a German General Staff representative to the Bolshevik leaders, warning them that he has just arrested an agent who had in his possession the original order of the German Imperial Bank referred to in Document No. 1, and pointing out that evidently "at the proper time steps were not taken to destroy the above-mentioned documents."

TEXT OF REPORT

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE herewith presents—in two installments—the complete text of Mr. Sisson's report, with photographic reproductions of a few of the documents in the original Russian:

Three groups of documents are subjected to internal analysis in the material that follows. One group consists of originals, one group consists of photographs of documents believed still to be in the file rooms of the Russian Bolsheviks, and the third (the appendix later) of typewritten circulars that have not been traced to their originals except in the case of two of the number. The chief importance of the third group is that its appearance inspired the efforts that led to the uncovering of the other groups. And they fit into the fabric of the whole.

The first set of these appendix circulars came into my hands on Feb. 2, in Petrograd. An additional set appeared the following day at an office where I frequently called. A third appeared in another quarter a day afterward. One set was in Russian and two in English. On Feb. 5 I held all three sets. A possible explanation for their appearance at this time and their intent is given in the appendix.

By themselves they were plausible but not substantiated. Having first performed the obvious duty of analyzing them for surface values and transmitting them and the analyses to Washington, I turned, therefore, to the task of further investigations. It is not yet possible to name those who helped, but in two weeks' time the judgment of facts became apparent.

The material is presented in its report form, with the addition of some later data. For instance, I was not able to learn until several weeks after I left Russia that the German order (which I possessed) naming the Russian who was to "defend" Petrograd had been obeyed.

The text of the documents discloses both

the methods and the effects of the German conspiracy not alone against Russia, but the world. With each document is the indications of whether it is an original or photograph. With each document is an interpretative note.

DOCUMENT NO. 1

VERY SECRET

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARY
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Petrograd, Nov. 16, 1917.

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF
PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

In accordance with the resolution passed by the conference of People's Commissars, Comrades Lenine, Trotzky, Podvoisky, Dykenko, and Volodarsky, the following has been executed by us:

1. In the archives of the Ministry of Justice from the dossier re "treason" of Comrades Lenine, Zinovieff, Koslovsky, Kollantal and others, has been removed the order of the German Imperial Bank, No. 7433, of the second of March, 1917, for allowing money to Comrades Lenine, Zinovieff, Kameneff, Trotzky, Sumenson, Koslovsky and others for the propaganda of peace in Russia.

2. There have been audited all the books of the Nla Bank at Stockholm containing the accounts of Comrades Lenine, Trotzky, Zinovieff and others, which were opened by the order of the German Imperial Bank, No. 2754. These books have been delivered to Comrade Muller, who was sent from Berlin.

Authorized by the Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

F. ZALKIND,
E. POLIVANOFF.

NOTE.—*The Russian Council of People's Commissars was dominated by the President, Vladimir Ulianov (Lenine); the then Foreign Minister, Leon Trotzky, now War Minister, and the Ambassador to Germany, A. Joffe. The marginal indorsement in writing is "To the secret department, B. U." This is the fashion in which Lenine is accustomed to initial himself. The English equivalent would be V. U. for Vladimir Ulianov. So, even if there existed no further record of German Imperial Bank order No. 7433, here would be the proof of its contents, and here is the link connecting Lenine directly with his action and his guilt. The content matter of the circular exists, however, and herewith follows:*

Order of the 2d of March, 1917, of the Imperial Bank for the representatives of all German banks in Sweden:

Notice is hereby given that requisition for money for the purpose of peace propaganda in Russia will be received through Finland. These requisitions will emanate from the following: Lenine, Zinovieff, Kameneff, Trotzky, Sumenson, Kozlovsky.

Kollontai, Sivers, and Merkalin, accounts for whom have been opened in accordance with our order No. 2754 in the agencies of private German businesses in Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland. All these requests should bear one of the two following signatures: Dirschau or Wolkenberg. With either of these signatures the requests of the above-mentioned persons should be complied with without delay.

No. 7433, Imperial Bank.

I have not a copy of this circular nor a photograph of it, but Document No. 2, next in order, proves its authenticity at once curiously and absolutely. Particular interest attaches to this circular because of Bolshevik public denial of its existence. It was one of several German circulars published in Paris in the Petit Parisien last Winter. The Petrograd Bolshevik papers proclaimed it a falsehood. Zalkind, whose signature appears not only here but on the protocol, was an Assistant Foreign Minister. He was sent in February on a mission outside of Russia. He was in Christiania in April when I was there. Have photograph of the letter.

G. G.-S.

NACHRICHTEN-BUREAU.

Section *R.*

№ 32

12 Февраля 1918 г.

DOCUMENT NO. 2

NO. 1645 SECRET

[G. G. S., Nachrichten Bureau,
Section R, No. 292]

FEBRUARY 12.

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF
PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

The Secret Service Department has the honor to inform you that there were found on the arrested Captain Konshin two German documents with notations and stamps of the Petersburg secret police (Okrana) which show themselves to be the original orders of the Imperial Bank, No. 7433, March 2, 1917, concerning the opening of accounts for Messrs. Lenine, Sumenson, Koslovsky, Trozky, and other active workers on the peace propaganda, by order No. 2754 of the Imperial Bank.

These discoveries show that at the proper time steps were not taken to destroy the above-mentioned documents.

For the head of the Department:

R. BAUER,

ADJT. BUKHOLM.

N 1645. Секретно.

Г. Председателю Совета Народных Комиссаров.

*В Ленинском
О.Ф.Т.
найдены
и
Я. С. С. С.*

Разведочное Отделение имеет честь сообщить, что найденные у арестованного кап. Коншина два германских документа с пометками и штемпелями. Петербургского Охранного Отделения, представляют собой подлинные приказы Имперского Банка за № 7433 от 2 Марта 1917 года об открытии счетов г.г. Ленину, Сумен-сонъ, Ковловскому, Троцкому и другим деятелям на пропаганду мира, по ордеру Имперского Банка за № 2754.

Это открытие доказывает, что не были своевременно приняты меры для уничтожения означенных докумен-
товъ.



Начальник Отделения

Адъютантъ

FACSIMILE OF DOCUMENT NO. 2, IN WHICH A GERMAN GENERAL STAFF REPRESENTATIVE WARNS THE BOLSHEVIST LEADERS TO BE MORE CAREFUL TO DESTROY ORDERS SENT THEM FROM THE GERMAN IMPERIAL BANK.

В. Н. С. Н. 1917
Директ.

П Р О Т О К О Л Ъ

Сей протоколъ составленъ нами 2 Ноября 1917 года въ двухъ экземплярахъ въ томъ, что нами съ согласіемъ Совѣта Народныхъ Комиссаровъ изъ дѣлъ Контръ-Развѣдочнаго Отдѣленія Петроградскаго Округа и бывш. Департамента Полиціи, по порученію Представителя Германскаго Генеральнаго Штаба въ Петроградѣ изъятъ:

1. Циркуляръ Германскаго Генеральнаго Штаба № 421 отъ 5 Іюня 1914 г. о немедленной мобилизаціи всѣхъ промышленныхъ предприятий въ Германіи и
2. Циркуляръ Генеральнаго Штаба Флота Открытаго моря № 93 отъ 28 Ноября 1914 г. о посылкѣ во враждебныя страны специальныхъ агентовъ для истребленія боевыхъ запасовъ и матеріаловъ.

Означенные циркуляры переданы подъ росписку въ Развѣдочное Отдѣленіе Германскаго Штаба въ Петроградѣ

полномоченные Совѣта Народныхъ Комиссаровъ

Г. Завкин *Е. М. Саввинъ*
А. М. Саввинъ *А. М. Саввинъ*

Означенные въ немъ протоколѣ циркуляры № 421 и 93, а также одинъ экземпляръ этого протокола получены 3 Ноября 1917 г. Развѣдочнымъ Отдѣломъ Р. Г. Е. в. въ Петербургѣ.

АДЪЮТАНТЪ: *Тимирязевъ*



NOTE.—Observe the thoughtfulness with which Bauer, a careful man, set down exactly what was in the document, thereby permitting the contents to rise again from the ashes to which perhaps he committed the damaging paper. He admits that the documents found were truthful originals. The world will thank him and Germany will not.

I have the original letter. It bears marginal indorsements "Referred to the Commission for Fighting Counter-revolution. Demanded documents. M. Skripnik," and an illegible comment by N. Gorbunov, Lenin's other Government Secretary. The letter is directed to Lenin. Did Skripnik get the documents? I do not know.

The letter is remarkable otherwise, for the arrested Captain Konshin mentioned is a German officer, Lieutenant Otto, who appears elsewhere as an agent in the German double-crossing intrigue in the Ukraine. What was behind the mystery of his arrest? What was his fate?

DOCUMENT NO. 3

[V. K. D. No. 323—2 inclosures]

PROTOCOL

This protocol, written by us on the 2d of November, 1917, in duplicate, with the consent of the Council of People's Com-

missars is taken from the department of secret service of the Petrograd district and the former department of police, (Okrana,) on instructions of the representatives of the German General Staff in Petrograd:

1. Circular of the German General Staff, No. 421, dated June 9, 1914, concerning the immediate mobilization of all industrial enterprises in Germany, and

2. Circular No. 93, dated November 28, 1914, of the General Staff of the high sea fleet, concerning the sending into enemy countries of special agents for the destruction of war supplies and materials.

The above noted circulars were given over under signed receipt into the secret service department of the German staff in Petrograd.

Authorized by the Council of People's Commissars.

F. ZALKIND,

E. POLIVANOFF.

(Illegible, but may be Mekhanoshin.)

A. JOFFE.

The Circulars No. 421 and No. 93 mentioned in this protocol and also one copy of this protocol were received on the 3d of November, 1917, by the secret service department of the German General Staff in Petrograd.

HENRICH, Adjutant.

GR. GENERALSTAB.
CENTRAL ABTHEILUNG.

Section M.

№. —

Berlin.

C I R C U L A R

tom 9 Juni 1914

an Bezirkscommandanten.

Nach 24 Stunden vom Empfang des vorliegenden Circulars alle Besitzer der Industrie-
unternehmungen telegraphisch zu benachrichtigen die Pakete mit mobilisations-gewerbli-
chen graphischen Darstellungen und Plänen zu eröffnen, die im Circular der Kommission
von Graf Walthersee und Caprivi vom 27 Juni 1897 angewiesen sind.

№ 421 Der Mobilisationsabtheilung.

CIRCULAR OF JUNE 9, 1914, ORDERING ALL INDUSTRIAL CONCERNS IN GERMANY TO OPEN THE SEALED ENVELOPES CONTAINING THEIR "INDUSTRIAL MOBILIZATION PLANS AND REGISTRATION FORMS," SO THAT THEY MIGHT BE PREPARED FOR THE WAR FOR WHICH THE EXCUSE HAD NOT YET BEEN FOUND.

NOTE—The circulars inclosed are in German, and are as follows:

[1. Gr. General Staff, Central Abtheilung, Section M. No. (blank), Berlin.]

CIRCULAR OF JUNE 9, 1914

TO BEZIRKS-KOMMANDANTEN:

Within twenty-four hours of the receipt of this circular you are to inform all industrial concerns by wire that the documents with industrial mobilization plans and with registration forms be opened, such as are referred to in the circular of the Commission of Count von Waldersee and Caprivi, of June 27, 1887.

No. 421, Mobilization Section.

[2. General Staff of the high sea fleet, No. 93]

CIRCULAR OF NOVEMBER 28, 1914

TO MARINE AGENTUREN UND FLOTTENVEREINEN:

You are ordered to mobilize immediately

all destruction agents and observers in those commercial and military ports in Canada and America where munitions are being loaded on ships going to Russia, France, and England, where there are storehouses of such munitions, and where fighting units are stationed. It is necessary to hire through third parties who stand in no relation to the official representatives of Germany agents for arranging explosions on ships bound for enemy countries, and for arranging delays, embrollments, and difficulties during the loading, dispatching, and unloading of ships. For this purpose we are especially recommending to your attention loaders' gangs, among whom there are many anarchists and escaped criminals, and that you get in touch with German and neutral shipping offices as a means of observing agents of enemy countries who are receiving and shipping the munitions.

G. S. der HOCHSEEFLOTTE.

№ 93.

Order des Generals L. v. Scharnhorst
Spreng

C I R C U L A R

vom 28 November 1914.

den Marineagenturen und den Flottenvereinen.

Es wird Ihnen vorgeschrieben sofort alle Agenten-Beobachter und Agenten-Vertilger in diesen Handels und Militär-Häfen zu mobilisieren, wo Schiffe zur Lieferung der Kriegsmunition nach England, Frankreich, Kanada, Vereinigte Staaten der Nord-Amerika und Russland aufgeladen sein können, wo Niederlagen für solche Ammunition sich vorfinden und auch wo Marine-Kriegseinheiten stehen.

Es ist durchaus nothwendig durch dritte in keiner Verbindung zu officiellen Vertretern Deutschlands stehende Personen Agenten zu erwählen, um Explosionen auf in feindliche Länder sich begebenden Schiffen zu veranstalten, um Verspätungen, Verwirrungen sowie Missverständnisse bei Beladung, Absendung und Ausladung der Schiffe zu bewirken.

Zu diesen Zweck empfehlen wir Ihrer Aufmerksamkeit ganz besonders Ladungs-Vereinigungen (Artelen), unter welchen viele Anarchisten und entlaufene Verbrecher sich finden, ferner deutsche und neutrale Transport-Comptoirs und auch Agenten feindlicher Länder bei Empfang und Absendung des Kriegsmaterials.

Die dazu nöthigen Geldsummen werden laut Ihrer Aufforderung zur Verfügung gestellt, um das unentbehrliche Personal zur Erreichung des angegebenen Zweckes zu mietheben und zu bestechen.

Nachrichten Bureau des Gen. Stabes der Hochseeflotte.

König.

ORDER FROM THE GERMAN GENERAL STAFF OF THE HIGH SEA FLEET, DATED NOV. 28, 1914, CALLING FOR THE MOBILIZATION OF "ALL DESTRUCTIVE AGENTS AND OBSERVERS" IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA FOR THE PURPOSE OF PREVENTING THE SAILING OF SHIPS FROM AMERICAN PORTS TO RUSSIA, FRANCE, AND ENGLAND.

Money required for the hiring and bribing of persons necessary for the designated purpose will be placed at your disposal at your request.

Nachrichten Bureau of the General Staff of the High Sea Fleet.

KOENIG.

NOTE.—Both the circulars bear the penciled notation that the German Secret Service Bureau at Petrograd has received them, signed Agasfer, the cipher signature of Major Luberts, head of the bureau, as will be shown in Document No. 5. The German intent here was to remove from the records of the old Russian Government the evidence, first, that Germany was beginning in June, 1914, its active preparations for the war that surprised the world in August, 1914, and, second, to remove the evidence of its responsibility for incendiaryism and explosions in the United States, a country with which Germany was then at peace. The result was to give new evidence of the truth of the charges.

Have original of the protocol and have the printed circulars.

DOCUMENT NO. 4

[G. G. S., Nachrichten Bureau, Section R,
No. 35]

Jan. 17, 1918.

To the Commissar of Foreign Affairs: The section has received exact information that the leaders of the Socialist Party now ruling in Russia, through Messrs. Fuerstenberg and Radek, are in correspondence with Messrs. Scheidemann and Parvus regarding the destruction of the traces of the business relations of the party with the Imperial Government. We also know that the demand was caused by the demand of leading groups of German Socialists, who saw in the said communications a danger to the cause of world Socialism. By order of the staff I have the honor to request the submitting of this question to special discussion in the presence of the representative of our staff and Mr. von Schoene-mann.

For the head of the department.

M. WAAL.

NOTE.—The world penalty, therefore, was apparent to some Germans. Of the personalities named in the letter, Scheidemann, the leader of the German Government supporting wing of the Socialist Party, is the most notable. Once before he has been named in relation to the "business relations" of the Russian Bolsheviks with the Imperial Government, writing a letter from Berlin Aug. 25, 1917, to a "Mr. Olberg," in which he stated that 150,000 kroner had been placed at Olberg's disposal at Fuerstenberg's office through the Nia Bank. (See appendix later.) Now Fuerstenberg by this time, January, in Petrograd at Smolny, is trying to help Schei-

demann in covering up old trails. Radek is a clever Polish-Austrian Jew who came from Switzerland with Lenine. He and Trotzky between them staged the public play-acting at Brest-Litovsk. Von Schoenemann was the accredited German representative to the Bolshevik foreign office. He is named later in Document No. 5. Parvus is a handler of German propaganda money, with headquarters at Copenhagen, and is credited with being the directing force behind Joffe.

Have photograph of this letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 5

[Gr. (Great) General Staff Central Ab-theilung, (Division,) Section M, October, 1917, Berlin]

SECRET DEPARTMENT 31

To the Council of People's Commissars: In accordance with the agreement which took place in Kronstadt in July of the present year between officials of our General Staff and leaders of the Russian revolutionary army and democracy, Messrs. Lenine, Trotzky, Raskolnikov, and Dybenko, the Russian division of our General Staff operating in Finland is ordering to Petrograd officers for the disposal of the information department of the staff. At the head of the Petrograd division will be the following officers, who use the Russian language perfectly and who are acquainted with Russian conditions:

Major Luberts, cipher signature Agasfer.
Major von Böлке, cipher signature Schott.

Major Bayermeister, cipher signature Ber.

Lieutenant Hartwig, cipher signature Heinrich.

The espionage department, in accordance with the agreement with Messrs. Lenine, Trotzky, and Zenovieff, will have the surveillance of the foreign embassies and military missions and on the counter-revolutionary movement, and also will perform the espionage and counter-espionage work on the internal fronts, for which purpose agents will be assigned to the espionage cities.

Coincidentally, it is announced that at the disposal of the Government of People's Commissars are assigned consultants to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. von Schoenemann, and to the Ministry of Finance, Mr. von Toll.—Chief of the Russian Division, German General Staff, O. Rausch; Adjutant, U. Wolff.

(And below on the same letter:)

To the Commissariat on Foreign Affairs: The officers indicated in this paper have been before the Military Revolutionary Committee and have agreed on conditions with Muravieff, Bole, and Danishevski with regard to their mutual activities. They have all come under the direction of the committee. The consul-

tants will appear as called for.—Chairman Military Revolutionary Committee, Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, A. Joffe; Secretary, P. Krushavitch.

NOTE.—Here is the working compact. If Rausch was then in Berlin he presumably came immediately afterward to Petrograd. It is more probable that the letter was written in Finland than Berlin. In some other letterheads on which Berlin is printed the word is run through with a pen. Stationery was hard to get in Petrograd. Major Luberts became the head of the information or intelligence bureau, (Nachrichten bureau.) Kronstadt was the midsummer headquarters of Lenine. Raskolnikoff will be referred to in connection with the project to sell the Russian fleet to Germany. Dybenko was the commissar of the fleet, the Naval Minister, a driving man and keen-witted. Zinovieff is the President of the Petrograd Soviet, during the Winter the most powerful of the local bodies of the Russian Soviets. He is Jewish and well educated. Joffe, in the letter of Bolshevik acceptance of the German compact, again stands forth for what he is, the spokesman, after Lenine, in all matters of supreme importance to Germany.

Have photograph of the joint letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 6

[Gr. General Staff, Central Division, No. 813, Nov. 19—]

To the Council of People's Commissars: This is to advise you that the following persons have been put at the disposal of the Russian Government as military advisers: Major Erich, Major Bode, Major Sass, Major Zimmerman, Major Anders, Lieutenant Haase, Lieutenant Klein, Lieutenant Breitz.

These officers will choose a cadre of the most suitable officers from the list of our prisoners, who will likewise be at the disposal of the Russian Government, as was agreed at the conference in Stockholm when Lenine, Zinovieff, and others were traveling through to Russia.—Head of the Russian Section, German General Staff, O. Rausch; Adjutant, U. Wolff.

NOTE.—Major Anders took the Russian name Rubakov, and Major Erich the Russian name Egorov. Lenine and Zinovieff passed through Germany and Stockholm together.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 7

[G. G. S., Nachrichten Bureau, Section R, Jan. 12, 1918]

CONFIDENTIAL

To the Commissar of Foreign Affairs: By the order of the local department of the German General Staff, the intelligence section has informed us of the names and the characteristics of the main candidates for the re-election of the General

Executive Committee. The General Staff orders us to insist on the election of the following people: Trotzky, Lenine, Zinovieff, Kamenoff, Joffe, Sverdlov, Lunacharski, Kollontai, Forbrizius, Martov, Steklov, Golman, Frunze, Lander, Milk, Preobrajenski, Sollers, Studer, Goldberg, Avanesov, Volodarski, Raskolnikov, Stuchka, Peters, and Neubut. Please inform the President of the Council of the General Staff's wish.—Head of Department, Agasfer; Adjutant, Heinrich.

NOTE.—The indorsements are: "Copy handed to chairman council workmen and soldiers' deputies, N. 956." "Delivered to Comrade Zinovieff and to secret department"; signature illegible. Jan. 12 Russian calendar fell in the early part of the week of the All-Russian Soviet Convention in Petrograd, the week after the forcible dissolution of the constituent assembly. The election came at the end of the week and was a perfunctory re-election of practically the whole former executive committee of commissars. Lacking the exact list, I nevertheless can state that the present executive committee was drafted from this group. The name there surprising to me is that of Martov, the leader of the Mensheviks, though it is my recollection that this party of opposition was allowed representation.

Martov is an able writer, was associated with Trotzky in his Paris journalistic venture, but was supposed to have split with him in Russia. The evidence that he is still agreeable to Germany is pertinent. Mme. Kollontai, the only woman on this list, was the commissar of public welfare. She was sent abroad for foreign propaganda in February, but did not get beyond Scandinavia and later returned to Russia. Kameneff, who went out of Russia with Kollontai, also sought to return, but was arrested by the Finnish White Guards (not the Germans) on the Aland Islands, and his release was the subject of negotiations. He is Trotzky's brother-in-law. Sverdlov was temporary chairman of the all-Russian soviet. Lunacharski is commissar of education.

Steklov is editor of the official paper Ivestia. Volodarsky, who has lived in the United States, was in close confidence with Lenine. He was killed in Moscow the last week in June. Agasfer, who delivered the order in behalf of Rausch, is Major Luberts.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 8

[Reichsbank No. 2, Jan. 8, 1918]

VERY SECRET

TO THE COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

Information has today been received by me from Stockholm that 50,000,000 rubles of gold has been transferred to be put at the disposal of the representatives of the People's Commissars. This credit has been supplied to the Russian Govern-

ment in order to cover the cost of the keep of the Red Guards and agitators in the country. The Imperial Government considers it appropriate to remind the Soviet of the people's commissars of the necessity of increasing their propaganda in the country, as the antagonistic attitude of the south of Russia and Siberia to the existing Government is troubling the German Government. It is of great importance to send experienced men everywhere in order to set up a uniform Government. —*Representative of the Imperial Bank, von Schanz.*

NOTE.—*Members of the Red Guard were paid from 12 to 16 rubles a day, whereas soldiers were paid hardly that number of kopeks. This letter shows where the money came from. The Bolshevik Government also required factory owners to pay regular wages to their workers while the latter served in the Red Guard. The notation on letter indicates that it was referred to Menshinski, the Financial Minister, whose expert councillor was the German, von Toll. Menshinski personally conducted the wrecking of the Russian banks, a manoeuvre that deprived all opponents of Bolshevism of their financial means of warfare. It was a classic job of destruction, done in the name of reconstruction.*

Have photograph of this letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 9

[Reichsbank No. 8, Jan. 12, 1918, Berlin]

VERY SECRET

TO THE COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

I am instructed to convey the agreement of the Imperial Bank to the issue of a credit of 5,000,000 rubles for the dispatch of the assistant naval commissar, Kudriashoff, to the Far East.

On arrival at Vladivostok he should visit the retired officer of the Russian Fleet, Mr. Panoff, and instruct Buttenhoff and Stauffer, who are known to Panoff, to come to see him. Both the mentioned agents will bring with them Messrs. Edward Shindler, William Keberlein, and Paul Diese, (or Deze.) With these persons it is necessary to think out a plan for carrying out the Japanese and American war materials from Vladivostok to the west. If this is not possible then they must instruct Diese (or Deze) and his agents to destroy the stores. Shindler must acquaint Kudriashoff with the Chinese agents at Nikolsk. These persons should receive the agreed amounts and should be dispatched to China to carry on an agitation against Japan. —*President of the Imperial Bank, von Schanz.*

NOTE.—*If this plan was developed to a climax it was not by Kudriashoff. He was killed on his passage through Siberia two or three weeks later and it was reported that a great sum of money was taken from his body by his murderers, who were said to be two Cossacks. Most of the German agents*

named in this letter were still active in Siberia in the Spring, as shown by Document No. 29.

Have photograph of this letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 10

[Reichsbank No. 5, Jan. 11, 1918]

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

My Dear Mr. Chairman: The industrial and commercial organizations in Germany interested in trade relations with Russia have addressed themselves to me in a letter, including several guiding indications. Permit me to bring them to your attention.

1. The conflict of the Russian revolution with the Russian capitalists absolutely does not interest German manufacturing circles, in so far as the question does not concern industry as such. You can destroy the Russian capitalists as far as you please, but it would by no means be possible to permit the destruction of Russian enterprises. Such a situation would produce a constant ferment in the country, supported by famine of materials and, in consequence of that, of products also. The English, American, and French capitalists take advantage of this disorder and understand how to establish here, corps of their commercial agents. It is necessary to remember that German industry in the first years after the general peace will not be in a position to satisfy the purchasing demand of the Russian market, having broad similar parallel tasks in the Near East, in Persia, in China, and in Africa.

2. It is essential, therefore, to conduct a canvass and gather statistical information with regard to the condition of industry, and, in view of the absence of money in Russia, to address in business conversations whichever is desired of the groups of German Commercial Banks.

3. Trade with Germany may be in the first period almost exclusively exchange for wheat and for any remaining products to receive household necessities. Everything which exceeds the limits of such trade should be paid for in advance to the amount of 75 per cent. of the market value, with the payment of the remaining quarter in a six months' period. In place of such an arrangement, probably, it would seem to be possible to permit, privately, the taking of German dividend shares on the Russian financial market, or solidly guaranteed industrial and railroad loans.

In view of the indicated interest of German manufacturers and merchants in trade relations in Russia, I cordially beg you, Mr. Chairman, to inform me of the views of the Government regarding the questions touched upon, and to receive the assurances of my sincere respect. —*Repre-*

sentative of the Imperial Bank and Stock Exchange in Berlin, G. von Schanz.

NOTE.—*The engaging attitude of the German manufacturers toward Russian capitalists is the feature of this letter, apart from the cordial and evidently understanding expressions of the representative of the German Imperial Bank to that supposed enemy of the capitalists of all nations, Lenin. The letter was sent to the secret department by Secretary Skripnik. Perhaps some day von Schanz will disclose Lenin's answer. Have photograph of letter.*

DOCUMENT NO. 11

[Reichsbank, No. 12378, Berlin, Dec. 28, 1917]

RESOLUTION

of conference of representatives of the German commercial banks convened on proposal of the German delegation at Petrograd by the management of the Imperial Bank, to discuss the resolutions of the Rhine - Westphalian Industrial Syndicate and Handelstag.

1. All loans are canceled, the bonds of which are in the hands of German, Austrian, Bulgarian, and Turkish holders, but payment must be realized by the Russian treasury in the course of a 12 months' term after the conclusion of separate peace.

2. The purchase is permitted of all Russian securities and dividend-bearing paper by the representatives of the German banks at the rate of the day on the open market.

3. After the conclusion of separate peace, on the expiration of 90 days, there are re-established all the shares of private railway companies, metallurgical industries, oil companies, and chemical pharmaceutical works. The rating of such papers will be made by the German and Austrian Stock Exchanges.

4. There are banished and for five years from date of signing peace are not to be allowed English, French, and American capital in the following industries: Coal, metallurgical, machine building, oil, chemical, and pharmaceutical.

5. In the question of development in Russia of coal, oil, and metallurgical branches of industry there is to be established a supreme advisory organ consisting of 10 Russian specialists, 10 from the German industrial organizations, and the German and Austrian banks.

6. The Russian Government must not interfere in the region of questions connected with the transfer to the benefit of Germany of two mining districts in Poland—Dombrosky and Olkishky—and to Austria of the oil region in Galicia. The transfer of the latter will be only in the form of limitations of the right of making claims, land allotments, and appli-

cation of capital for the production and refining of oil.

7. Germany and Austria enjoy the unlimited privilege of sending into Russia mechanics and qualified workmen.

8. Other foreign mechanics and workmen during five years after the conclusion of peace between Russia and Germany are not to be allowed to enter at all.

9. The statistical department of producing and manufacturing industries with the corresponding Government organ must be controlled by German specialists.

10. Private banks in Russia arise only with the consent and according to the plan of the Union of German and Austrian Banks, whereby the rating of the stocks of the banks on all Exchanges of the New and Old World will be handled by the group of the Deutsche Bank.

11. At the ports of Petrograd, Archangel, Odessa, Vladivostok, and Batum will be established, under the leadership of specialists from Germany, special statistical economic committees.

As regards the tariff, railway and shipping rate policies to regulate the Russo-German-Austrian trade relations, this part of the economical treaty will be discussed by the special Tariff Council of the Handelstag.—*Chairman von Grenner; Secretary Berenbluet.*

NOTE.—*The penned indorsement on the photographed copy of the resolution is "Chairman of the Central Executive Committee-Commissar Menshinsky requests that this resolution should be taken under advisement, and to prepare the ground in the Soviet of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, in case the Council of People's Commissars will not accede to these requests. Secretary R. Raskin." Menshinsky is Minister of Finance. All of these terms, wholly punitive to American, English, and French capital, could lurk in the secret section in the present German-Russian treaty. I do not know the fate of the resolution on this, its early winter appearance.*

Have besides the notated photograph a printed copy of this circular.

DOCUMENT NO. 12

[Gr. General Staff, Nachrichten Bureau, Section R, No. 780, Feb. 25, 1918]

SECRET

TO THE CHAIRMEN OF THE COUNCIL PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

After conferring with the People's Commissar Trotzky, I have the honor to ask you to urgently inform the agents of the Secret Service at Stafka, Commissars Felerabend and Kalmanovich, that they should work as formerly in complete independence and without the knowledge of the official staff at Stafka and the General Staff in Petersburg, and particularly General Bonch-Bruевич and the Secret

Service of the northern front, communicating only with the People's Commissar Lieutenant Krylenko.—For the head of the department, R. Bauer; Adjutant, Bukholm.

NOTE.—Across the top is written "Inform Mosholov, N. G., (Gorbunof's initials.) In the margin is written "Passed on to the Commissar of War, M. Skripnik." The significance of this letter is that it is to Lenin; that the two chief secretaries of himself and the council passed it on for action; and that Trotzky and Lenin on Feb. 27 were continuing to hamper the Russian commander at a moment when the German Army was threatening Petrograd. Mosholov was one of the Commissars on the staff of Krylenko, the Commissar representing the Council of Commissars in the command of the Russian military forces. His achievements as a disorganizer were notable. This letter indicates that he had the confidence of Germany. Have original letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 13

[Gr. General Staff, Nachrichten Bureau, Section R, No. 753, Feb. 25]

VERY SECRET

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

According to reports of our Secret Service in the detachment operating against the German troops and against the Austrian Ukrainian corps, there has been discovered propaganda for a national rising and a struggle with the Germans and their allies, the Ukrainians. I ask you to inform me what has been done by the Government to stop this harmful agitation.—For the head of the department, R. Bauer; adjutant, Heinrich.

NOTE.—Across the top is written "Urgent to the Commissars of War and Special Staff. M. Skripnik." The last sentence is underscored, and in the margin appears a question marked, initialed "L. T." The first is Lenin's order through his secretary and the second may possibly be taken as Trotzky's opposition to any action. The loss of the Ukraine by counter-German intrigue was a sore point in prestige with him. But the essential obedience to Germany was not lessened.

Have original letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 14

[G. G. S., Nachrichten Bureau, Section R, No. 278-611, Feb. 7]

TO THE COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

According to information of the Secret Service Department it has been ascertained that the promise given personally by you, Mr. Commissar, in Brest-Litovsk, that socialistic agitational literature would not be circulated among the German troops is not being fulfilled. Tell me what steps will be taken in this mat-

ter.—For the head of the department, R. Bauer; adjutant, Heinrich.

NOTE.—Brusque words to the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Government of Workmen, Soldiers, and Sailors of the Russian Republic, delivered not by an equal in official rank, but by the deputy of a German Major at the head of an information department of the German Government. Did Trotzky resent or deny the imputation? Instead he wrote with his own hand in the margin, "I ask to discuss it.—L. T." Thus he admits that he did give the promise at Brest-Litovsk. The question raised concerns only the measure of obedience to be required.

Have original letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 15

[The counterespionage with the Stavka. No. 311, special section, Jan. 29, 1918]

A WARNING

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

The counterespionage at the Stavka advises that at the front is being spread by unknown agitators the following counter, revolutionary literature:

1. The text of circulars of various German Government institutions with proofs of the connection of the German Government with the Bolshevik workers before the passing of the Government into their hands. These leaflets have reached also the German commanders. The supreme commander has received a demand from Gen. Hoffman to stop this dangerous agitation by all means possible.

2. A stenographic report of the conversation of Gen. Hoffman with Comrade Trotzky, whereby it was supposedly proposed to the latter to make peace on conditions of considerable concessions on the part of the Central Empires, but on the obligation of the Russian Government to stop the socialization of the life of the State. Comrade Trotzky supposedly offered the termination of the war without peace and the demobilization of our army. When Gen. Hoffman announced that the Germans would continue the advance, Trotzky supposedly replied, "Then under the pressure of force we shall be forced to make peace and fulfill all demands."

This document has created indignation among the troops. Against the Council of People's Commissars are heard cruel accusations.—Commissar S. Kalmanovich.

NOTE.—This letter is a warning of the slow rising but coming storm that will sweep these boldest pirates of history from the country they have temporarily stolen. To get a real understanding of the meaning of the second and important section of the letter, it must be pointed out that until Feb. 1 the Russian calendar was 13 days behind the Western European calendar. The real date of this letter, therefore, is Feb. 10. This is the date Trotzky's "No peace no war" pronounce-

ment was made at Brest-Litovsk. The news of it did not reach even Petrograd until the next day. Yet on that day printed circulars were being distributed at the front stating that Trotzky had agreed to do the very thing he did do, and giving an augury of events that did take place a week later when Germany did begin its advance and when the Bolsheviks did fulfill all demands. The fact is that simple truth was being told. Nor is the means by which it was secured at all obscure. A few daring and skillful Russians had found a means to get information from Brest-Litovsk.

The circulars referred to in the first paragraph are of course those already familiar to Washington from February dispatches.

The following naive comment adds to the attractiveness of the letters: "The committee for combating the counter-revolution states that these circulars were sent from the Don, and the stenographic report was seized in transmission from Kiev. Its origin is undoubtedly Austrian or from the Rada.—M. Skripnik."

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 16

[Counterespionage, Stavka, Jan. 21, 1918, No. 215]

TO THE COMMISSARIAT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

We hereby advise you of the arrival in Mogilev of the following German officers, who are being ordered to England, France, and America:

Zanwald, von Weine, Pabst, Mayer, Gruenwaldt, and Baron Schilling. They have been granted passports, sent here by Commissar Trotzky.

Von Weine, with a Danish passport in the name of Hansen, a merchant of Copenhagen, is to proceed to England.

Baron Schilling is ordered to the United States of America with a Norwegian passport in the name of Dr. Joseph Brun.

Gruenwaldt has instructions to proceed to France with a Russian passport in the name of Ivan Kalnin.

The remaining persons are to make a journey through Finland and Sweden, supplied with papers from the German staff, in order to follow up the counter-revolutionary work of countries allied to us.—Chief of Counterespionage Feierabend.

NOTE.—A young German who said he was a deserting officer and that his name was Mayer sought the aid of the embassy, the military mission, and myself in getting to America. He was a good-looking young Prussian, had lived in New York, spoke English with very little accent, and claimed to have been converted to the President's views on peace requisites. He said he had walked across the lines as a deserter because he could stand no more of German war and that he wanted to go to the United States to talk and write against Germany. I was not re-

captive. He said he was a Lieutenant. There is no record at our military control office in Christiania of a passport to Dr. Joseph Brun.

Have a photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 17

[Commissar for combating the counter-revolution and pogroms, No. 2, Jan. 5, 1918, Petrograd]

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

The Plenipotentiary Commissar for combating the counter-revolution and Comrad Antonoff request the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to issue passports for going to Denmark to the following comrades, who are going to the allied countries to conduct peace propaganda:

To England are going: Comrades Adolf Pavlovich Ribba, Ilya Iulievich Uritski, Vladislav Antonovich Dashkevich.

To France: Rimma Lvovna Orlovna, Vladimir Konstantinovich Schneur.

To America: Isai Borisovich Kahn, Mark Vlasievich Gritsker, Sofia Arturovna Mack.

All the named comrades will visit at Copenhagen the premises of the staff, where they will receive neutral passports for the trip to the named countries. At the disposal of the dispatched will be placed the necessary means for combating in the press with the imperialists of England, France, and the United States. Their confidential addresses will be transmitted to you later on the arrival of the named comrades at the places of their destination. Authorized Commissaries: A. Shilinski, F. Zubert.

NOTE.—Trotzky indorsed this note "To be urgently executed. L. T."

The plan of peace propaganda campaign in the allied countries is plainly outlined. These Bolshevik-German agents will preach international Bolshevism and will charge the countries at war with Germany with the very imperialistic offenses of which Germany is guilty. This also was the method used in Russia by the Bolshevik-German press in attacking the United States, England, and France. In the formula of this propaganda imperialism relates not only to territory but to business enterprise. The agents listed above likely sought entrance under different names. They and the centres from which they work should be recognized, however, by their words and their works. The commissars who sign are members of commissariat for combating the counter-revolution.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 18

[Gr. General Staff, Central Department, Section M, No. 951, Dec. 20, 1917]

SECRET DEPT. AFFAIR 31-a

TO THE COMMISSARIAT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

According to the negotiations between

Russian and German peace delegations at Brest-Litovsk, the Russian section of the German General Staff have the honor to request the hastening of the departure of agitators to the camps of Russian prisoners of war in Germany for the recruiting of volunteers, who will be sent to the English and French troops for the purpose of observation and peace propaganda.

Simultaneously the staff requests the following sailors to be sent to Germany: Shishko, Kirshu, Matviev, and Dratchuk. They will receive special instructions when traveling through Brest-Litovsk.—Chief of the Russian Section German General Staff, O. Rausch; Adjutant, U. Wolff.

NOTE.—This request was referred to the commissariats on military and naval affairs. A marginal question asked by E. P. (probably Polivanoff): Is "Dratchuk at Black Sea?" He was at Sevastopol and may not have been sent. The others went, visited the camps for war prisoners in Germany, and then returned to Russia. Shishko in February was Commissar of the Naval College in Petrograd.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 19 -

[Counterespionage at the Stavka, Jan. 16, 1918.]

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

I hereby bring to the notice of the Council of People's Commissars that through our front, on the personal permission of the Supreme Commander, have passed 100 German officers and 250 noncommissioned officers, who proceeded to our internal fronts; part of the German officers have gone to the front in the Don region, part to the front against Dutoff, and part to Eastern Siberia and the Trans-Baikal for the surveillance, and, if it shall be possible, to oppose the Japanese occupational detachment and the counter-revolutionary Trans-Baikal Cossack officers.—Counterespionage Official, P. Arkipoff.

NOTE.—An odd comment gives interest to this letter. It is "An accusation or a silly accusal for personal benefit," signed illegibly. Apparently the letter passed through the hands of some honest man not in the confidence of the gang.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 20

[The Counterespionage with the Stavka, Jan. 8, 1918]

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

The Supreme Commander Krylenko has received an offer from the Supreme Commander of the German Army to send to the disposal of the German Staff 10 reliable officers of the revolutionary

army. The said persons must arrive at Warsaw, where they will receive their further instructions. The aim of the trip is to visit the camps of our prisoners of war on the propaganda of peace ideas. The staff points out the desirability of sending Dzevaltovsky, Siemashko, Saharoff, and Volodarsky.—For the Chief of the Counterespionage, S. Kalmanovich,

NOTE.—Dzevaltovsky was an officer of the Life Guards Grenadier Regiment and an agitator who aroused the soldiers at the time of the ill-fated June advance. Volodarsky has been referred to previously. He was assassinated a few weeks ago at Moscow. Kalmanovich was a Commissar on the staff of Krylenko, the talking man who was assigned to disorganize the army. In actual army rank Krylenko was a Sub-Lieutenant.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 21

[Gr. General Staff, Central Division No. 759, Nov. 1, 1917]

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

In accordance with an inquiry from the German General Headquarters I have the honor to request you to inform me at the earliest possible moment the exact quantity of ammunition at the following places: Petrograd, Archangel, Kazan, Tiflis.

You must also state the quantity and storage place of the supplies which have been received from America, England, and France, and also the units which are keeping guard over the military stores.—Head of Department, O. Rausch; Adj., U. Wolff.

NOTE.—This is a request made upon a country which America, England, and France still regarded at that date as an ally.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 22

[General Staff of the High Sea Fleet, No. 79, Jan. 10, 1918]

VERY SECRET

The Petrograd representative of the supreme sea command has received by wireless from Kiel orders to propose to the Council of People's Commissars to place at the disposal of our agents at Vladivostok—Buttenhof, Staufacher, and Franz Walden—several steamships. On these ships must be loaded the goods indicated by our named agents and also persons indicated by them and be sent as directed to ports of the United States, Japan, and British colonies in Eastern Asia. In case of absence of free tonnage in Pacific ports it is necessary to charter ships sailing under a foreign flag. The object of sending the ships is to carry to enemy countries agents, agitators and agents-destroyers. All the

expenses and risk the Petrograd agency of the supreme naval command takes for account of the naval operations fund.—*Capt. Lieut. Rudolph Miller.*

NOTE.—*The indorsement of Lenine's secretary, Skripnik, is "reported." The active Vladivostok agents have been referred to previously. The threat of the arrival of German agents through Pacific ports is apparent.*

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 23

[General Staff of the High Sea Fleet, No. 850, Jan. 14, 1918]

VERY SECRET

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

According to instructions of the German high sea command, transmitted today to me by Radio A, I apply to the Russian Government with a proposal to take measures to deliver to the Pacific by railway three of our submarines, disassembled. On the conclusion of peace negotiations and the conclusion of peace between Russia and Germany this transporting must be begun immediately, whereby on the conclusion of the war the transported vessels will remain at the disposal of the Russian Government.—*Capt. Lieut. Rud. Miller.*

NOTE.—*The letter is indorsed "Reported. Secretary Skripnik." The transporting, according to the categorical demand, was to begin immediately after peace was signed. These are the only two communications of Captain Miller that appear.*

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 24

[Commissar for Combating the Counter-Revolution and Pogroms, No. 445-63, Jan. 21, 1918]

TO THE COMMISSAR OF WAR SKLIANSKY:

Our agency on the Fuhrstaskaya informs us that two unknown people have been noticed to visit the American Embassy three times.

Major Luberts begs to point out to Commissar Podvoisky the necessity of keeping a watch over the movements of these two persons. I await your instructions.—*Commissar A. Kozmin.*

NOTE.—*Major Luberts believed in identifying visitors to the American Embassy. Podvoisky was the Minister of War.*

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 25

[G. G. S., Nachrichten Bureau, Section R, No. 168, Dec. 17, 1917]

VERY SECRET.

TO THE COMMISSAR ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

At the request of the commission on combating the counter-revolution of Dec. 17, the intelligence section has the honor

to forward a list of men watching the missions of the countries allied to Russia:

The British Embassy is watched by German scouts Luze, Telman, Possel, Franz, and Gezel; Russian agents Ovisannikov, Gluschenko, and Ballasin.

The French Embassy is watched by German scouts Silvester, Butz, Folhagen; Russian agents Balashev, Turin, Gavrilov, Sadavnikov, and Shilo.

The U. S. A. Embassy is watched by German scouts Strom, Buchholtz, Fasnacht, Todner; Russian agents Spitzberg, Skolnitsky, Tarasov, and Vavilov.

The Rumanian mission is watched by German scouts Suttner, Balder, Wolf; Russian agents Kuhl, Klkitn, Zolotov, and Arkipov.

The Italian Embassy is watched by German scouts Kuhlder, von Geze, Goin, and Burmeister; Russian agents Salov, Alekseevsky, and Kuzmin.

These agents must fulfill all instructions of the commission for combating with counter-revolution, sabotage, looting, &c.—*Head of department, Agasfer.*

NOTE.—*The German, Major Luberts, (Agasfer, see Document 5,) therefore, was the keeper of ambassadorial hostages of the allied countries in Russia throughout the Winter. The names listed above were unidentifiable in the establishments of at least the British and the American Embassies. All may have been outside watchers. The method of outside surveillance is shown in Document No. 27.*

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 26

[G. G. S., Nachrichten Bureau, Section R, Feb. 23, 1918]

PERSONAL TO THE COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

According to my personal conversation with the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, it has been decided to delay the departure of the Italian Embassy from Petersburg, and, as far as possible, to search the embassy baggage. Of this decision I count it my duty to inform you.—*For the head of the department, R. Bauer; Adjutant, Heinrich.*

NOTE.—*Across the top of letter is written by Trotzky "Instruct," and signed with his initials, L. T. It is here set forth laconically that a German officer of the General Staff and Lenine in conference ordered the search of the baggage of the Ambassador of a country friendly to Russia and at war with Germany, and that Trotzky gave the instructions for carrying out the order. A clerk's note at the bottom is additionally specific, "To be given to Blagoravoff." The last named was the Commissar of Martial Law in Petrograd. The Italian Embassy train was delayed for more than twenty-four hours when it sought to*

depart, some days later. Petroff, Assistant Foreign Minister, told me on March 2, with a great show of indignation, that "the Italians had given a diplomatic passport to the embassy cook." So, he said, it was right to search the train. If they had better luck than they did when they held up and searched the Italian Ambassador in his automobile almost in front of the Hotel Europe I did not hear of it. Document 27 tells of the robbery.

Have original letter, No. 26.

DOCUMENT NO. 27

[Commissar on completing the counter-revolution and pogroms, No. 71, Petrograd, Feb. 14]

SPECIALLY SECRET—PERSONAL

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

Our agents investigated the Italian Embassy. I. E. Maeror, Imenitski, and Uroy followed up the Ambassador and conducted a search of him in the street, with a confiscation. Documents regarding relations with German diplomats and the special papers of the Ambassador to the allied Ambassadors, mentioned by you, were not found. In order to mask the attack several articles listed in the protocol furnished by Comrade Imenitski were taken from the Ambassador.

The watch on the British and American Ambassadors and the Serbian Minister has been intensified. The supplementary observation point on the British Embassy has been established in the Marble Palace—Lieut. Bekker and a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, Frunze.

On the French Embassy, on the French Quay, house No. 8, Comrade Peters, member of the Central Executive Committee of the council, etc.

On the North American Embassy observation has been established at Fuhrstaskaya Street, house No. 23, apartments Nos. 1 and 4, in the latter Comrades Goldberg and Spitzberg carrying on the observation very successfully. Telephones have been installed in the above-mentioned places. General management of the surveillance has been intrusted to Alfred von Geigendorf.—Commissar Mitopovich; for Secretary R. Bateski.

NOTE.—The marginal comment by Trotzky's secretary, Markin, is "Follow up." Most of the names in this letter, including the signatures at end, are unfamiliar. Peters, placed in charge of French observation, is a Lettish sailor, active and able, a former resident of England. The robbery of the Italian Ambassador took place late in the evening on a lighted frequented central street and was a day's sensation. The observation point on

the American Embassy was a yellow apartment house almost opposite the entrance. After I got this information I tested the watch and always saw a head or hand re-treating from a window. But I doubt if the watchers profited much by studying the visitors to the Embassy.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 28

[Gr. (Great) General Staff, Central Abtheilung, Section M, No. 369, Feb. 24]

CONFIDENTIAL

TO THE COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

According to instructions of the Imperial Government, I have the honor to ask you to provide in the shortest possible time a list showing what commercial boats, auxiliary cruisers, and transports may be sent into the waters of the Pacific Ocean, where the German Government intends to form, for the purpose of opposing the American-Japanese trade, a powerful commercial fleet flying the Russian flag.

At the same time I call to your attention the data that in your Baltic Fleet your sailors are selling from the warships the launches, small fittings, copper, and bronze parts of machines, &c. Would it not be the proper time to raise the question of selling to Germany these war vessels which are being stripped and disarmed?

Please communicate the decision of the Government.—Head of the Russian Section of the German General Staff, O. Rausch; Adjutant, U. Wolff.

NOTE.—Opposite first paragraph is notation "Ask Lomof. Markin." Latter was one of Trotzky's secretaries. Opposite paragraph second Markin makes notation "Refer to Raskolnikoff." Latter is a commissar on naval general staff, who conducted conferences with German officers in Kronstadt in March, April, and July, 1917, and an active aid to Dybenko in stirring up the Russian fleet to revolt. Do not know who Lomof is. The importance of the first paragraph as indicating the use against America to which Germany intends to put Russia is self-evident. The ludicrous picture painted in the second paragraph at once intensifies the shame of the ending of the fine new Russian Navy and discloses the German hope of securing and refitting the vessels.

Have original letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 29

[G. G. S. Nachrichten Bureau, Section R, No. 883, Mar. 9, 1918]

VERY SECRET

TO THE COMMISSION FOR FIGHTING THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION:

It is herewith communicated that for watching, and if necessary attacking, the Japanese, American, and Russian officers who may command the expeditionary

forces in Eastern Siberia, our agents, Staufacher, Krieger, Geze, Walden, Buttenhoff, Dattan, and Skribanovich, take charge, and to whom it is necessary that either Commissar Kobozeff or any of those named by the commission must apply.—Head, R. Bauer.

NOTE.—Comments to "Telegraph Kobozeff" and "Telegraph Strebberg" of illegible signature appear on letter, and below it is the order "the list," initialed "D. Z.," corresponding with the signing habit of Dzerzhinski, Chairman of the commission for fighting the counter-revolution. Below this order appears the list of addresses, as follows:

Reported according to List No. 3.

1. Staufacher, Vladivostok, Panoff's house.
2. R. Krieger, Nikolsk, Ussurisky.
3. Deze or Geze, Irkutsk, drug store Zhinzheroff.

4. F. Walden, Vladivostok, his own house.

5. Buttenhoff, Khabarovsk, firm Kunst & Albers.

6. A. Dattan, Tomsk, Nechayefskaya Street.

7. Kuzberg, Harbin, office of the Chinese-Eastern Railway.

8. G. Skribanovich, Blagoveschensk, house of Kunst & Albers.

9. Panoff, Vladivostok, his own house.

This letter was sent me after I left Petrograd and reached me April 5. It is important not only for content, indicating as it does the names and addresses of agents destructors who are called upon for increasing activity against the United States and Japan to make the Pacific Ocean a new area of terror, but showing that the German General Staff was continuing after the Brest-Litovsk "Peace" to work actively with the Russian Bolshevik Government.

Have original letter.

[Conclusion in Next Issue]

Rasputin's Assassination

By AN EYEWITNESS

Dr. Stanislaus de Lazover, a former Colonel in the Russian Army under the Czar, gave out in New York Sept. 24, 1918, the following as the true version of the killing of Gregory Rasputin, the Black Monk, on Dec. 31, 1916:

THE shot that ended the career of the blackest devil in Russian history was fired by my close and beloved friend, Vladimir Purishkevitch, Reactionary Deputy of the Duma.

Five of us had been arranging for this event for many months. On the night of the killing, after all details had been arranged, I drove to the Imperial Palace in an automobile and persuaded this black devil to accompany me to the home of Prince Yusupoff, in Petrograd. Later that night M. Purishkevitch followed him into the gardens adjoining Yusupoff's house and shot him to death with an automatic revolver. We then carried his riddled body in a sheet to the River Neva, broke the ice and cast him in.

The story of Rasputin and his clique is well known. They sent the army to the trenches without food or arms, they left them there to be slaughtered, they betrayed Rumania and deceived the Allies, they almost succeeded in delivering Russia bodily to the Germans. Rasputin, as a secret member of the Austrian Green Hand, had absolute power in Court. The Czar was a nonentity, a kind of Hamlet,

his only desire being to abdicate and escape the whole vile business. Rasputin continued his life of vice, carousing and passion. The Grand Duchess reported these things to the Czarina and was banished from Court for her pains.

This was the condition of affairs when we decided to kill this monster. Only five men participated in it. They were the Grand Duc Dumitre Pavlovitch, Prince Yusupoff, Vladimir Purishkevitch, Captain Suhotine and myself.

Prince Yusupoff's palace is a magnificent place on the Nevskaya. The great hall has six equal sides and in each hall is a heavy oaken door. One leads out into the gardens, the one opposite leads down a broad flight of marble stairs to the huge dining room, one to the library, &c. At midnight the associates of the Prince concealed themselves while I entered the car and drove to the home of the monk. He admitted me in person.

Rasputin was in a gay mood. We drove rapidly to the home of the Prince and descended to the library, lighted only by a blazing log in the huge chimney-place. A small table was spread with

cakes and rare wines—three kinds of the wine were poisoned and so were the cakes. The monk threw himself into a chair, his humor expanding with the warmth of the room. He told of his successes, his plots, of the imminent success of the German arms and that the Kaiser would soon be seen in Petrograd.

At a proper moment he was offered the wine and the cakes. He drank the wine and devoured the cakes. Hours slipped by, but there was no sign that the poison had taken effect. The monk was even merrier than before. We were seized with an insane dread that this man was inviolable, that he was super-human, that he couldn't be killed. It was a frightful sensation. He glared at us with his black, black eyes as though he read our minds and would fool us.

And then after a time he rose and walked to the door. We were afraid that our work had been in vain. Suddenly, as he turned at the door, some one shot at him quickly. With a frightful scream Rasputin whirled and fell, face down, on the floor. The others came bounding over to him and stood over his prostrate, writhing body. It was suggested that two more shots be fired to make certain of his death, but one of those present said, "No, no; it is his last agony now."

We left the room to let him die alone, and to plan for his removal and obliteration.

Suddenly we heard a strange and un-

earthly sound behind the huge door that led into the library. The door was slowly pushed open, and there was Rasputin on his hands and knees, the bloody froth gushing from his mouth, his terrible eyes bulging from their sockets. With an amazing strength he sprang toward the door that led into the gardens, wrenched it open and passed out.

As he seemed to be disappearing in the darkness, F. Purishkevitch, who had been standing by, reached over and picked up an American-made automatic revolver and fired two shots swiftly into his retreating figure. We heard him fall with a groan, and later when we approached the body he was very still and cold and—dead.

We bundled him up in a sheet and carried him to the river's edge. Ice had formed, but we broke it and threw him in. The next day search was made for Rasputin, but no trace was found. Urged on by the Czarina, the police made frantic efforts, and finally a rubber was found which was identified as his. The river was dragged and the body recovered.

I escaped from the country. Purishkevitch also escaped. But Prince Yusupoff was arrested and confined to the boundaries of his estate. He was later released because of the popular approval of our act. Russia had been freed from the vilest tyrant in her history; and that is all.

Great Britain's Part in the War

W. F. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand, told a London press representative in the Autumn of 1918 that one of the most abiding impressions he would carry back to his distant dominion was that Great Britain had never before reached such heights of greatness as she had reached in this war. He added:

"The historian of the future, looking back in half a century from now, will realize that the men of the first seven British divisions who assisted in rolling back the tide of war from the very gates of Paris, and who many of them made the supreme sacrifice in doing it, gave their lives and shed their blood in the greatest cause ever contended for by humanity. He will realize what civilization owes to Britain—the nation which, without a moment's hesitation, flung the pick of her manhood into the breach, and stemmed the torrent which was sweeping to destruction the civilization which it had taken centuries of effort to build up."

The Franco-Russian Alliance

Official Records Cited to Prove That It Was Purely for Defense

THE French Government, on Sept. 19, 1918, issued a Yellow Book regarding the Franco-Russian Alliance of 1892. Its object was to establish by official records that the alliance was purely defensive; that it was not specially directed against Germany, but was intended to maintain the status quo, and was not entered into to enable France to reconquer Alsace-Lorraine, as has been asserted by German statesmen. The book contains 107 documents. The principal one is the text of the convention between the two nations, which emphasizes the strictly defensive character of the alliance. It follows:

France and Russia, being animated by an equal desire to preserve peace, and having no other aim but to provide for the necessities of a defensive war provoked by an attack of the forces of the Triple Alliance against either the one or the other, have agreed to the following resolutions:

1. If France is attacked by Germany, or by Italy supported by Germany, Russia will employ all the forces at her command in attacking Germany. If Russia is attacked by Germany, or by Austria supported by Germany, France will employ all the forces at her command in fighting Germany.

2. In case the forces of the Triple Alliance or of one of the powers which belong to it should mobilize, France and Russia, upon the first intimation of the event, and without any preliminary meeting being necessary, will immediately and simultaneously mobilize the whole of their forces and will place them near their frontiers.

3. The available forces which can be used against Germany on France's part amount to 1,300,000 men and on Russia's part to 700,000.

4. Ways and means of corresponding in time of war will be studied and provided for in advance.

5. France and Russia shall not conclude a separate peace.

6. The present convention shall continue in force as long as the Triple Alliance.

7. All the clauses enumerated above shall be kept strictly secret. It is the determination of France and Russia to unite solely for all speed and haste so that Germany must fight in the east and west at the same time.

8. The headquarters staffs of the armies of the two countries will hold counsel together from time to time in order to prepare and facilitate the execution of the measure stated above. They will communicate to each other in times of peace all the information relating to the armies of the Triple Alliance.

GENERAL MIRIBEL'S REPORT

One of the most interesting documents is a report by the French General, de Miribel, with the approval of M. de Freycinet, then French War Minister, which Foreign Minister Ribot forwarded Feb. 4, 1892, to Count de Montebello, French Ambassador to Petrograd, to be handed to the Czar. This report reveals what was the original French view of the basis on which should be constructed the military convention with Russia, which was afterward, on Dec. 30, 1892, approved by the Czar and a few days later by the French Government. General de Miribel's report was as follows:

France and Russia being both animated by the same desire to preserve peace, the present note has been drawn up exclusively from the point of view of a defensive war, provoked by an attack of the forces of the Triple Alliance against either one or other of these two powers or against both at once.

The note assumes that the two powers have decided to practice toward each other the principle of entire reciprocity; that is to say, if either one of them be attacked the other will go to her help with every active means available.

Rapidity being more than ever essential to conditions of success, active measures must be taken by both countries immediately the danger is known. Consequently the note assumes that mobilization will be simultaneous in France and Russia and that it will follow in a few hours the mobilizing of the forces of the Triple Alliance.

ESTIMATE OF FORCES

As it does not appear that the other European powers will have taken an effective part in hostilities, calculations as to the military forces given below refer only to the five countries—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, France, and Russia.

Section 1. Germany will place on foot as field troops in the first line sixty-two infantry divisions grouped in army corps consisting of three or two divisions, which will be supported immediately by eleven divisions of Landwehr to a total of seventy-three divisions of infantry, nine divisions of independent cavalry, and 3,564 guns, or 1,550,000 men, who would be concentrated at the frontier toward the fourteenth day. The remainder of the German forces will remain at first in German territory.

Italy will place in the first line in addition to her Alpine troops nine army corps on a peace footing and four divisions of militia, making a total of twenty-two infantry divisions, twenty-two battalions of Alpine troops, two divisions of independent cavalry, and 1,092 guns, or 360,000 men, who would be concentrated near the Alps from the fifteenth day. The remainder of the Italian forces will at first be retained in Italian territory.

Austria will place in the first line four-teen army corps on a peace footing of three divisions brought up to war strength, making a total of forty-two divisions of infantry, eight divisions of independent cavalry, and 1,776 guns, or 900,000 men, who would be concentrated on the Russian frontier from the sixteenth day as concerns the first ten corps and from the twentieth to the twenty-fifth day for the last four. The remainder of the Austrian forces would be held within the frontiers at first, either to keep surveillance on Bosnia and Herzegovina or to guard military centres and home defense.

The forces of the Triple Alliance in the first line therefore would be 137 infantry divisions with their divisional cavalry, nineteen divisions of independent cavalry, and 6,432 field guns, or a total of 2,810,000 men.

France will place in the first line very nearly the same forces as Germany, and after having provided for the defense of Algiers, Tunis, and for home and coastal defense, will dispose of seventy-five divisions of infantry, seven divisions of independent cavalry, and 3,370 guns, or 1,550,000 men, who would be concentrated at the frontiers from the fourteenth day.

Russia will place on a field footing forty-eight infantry divisions reinforced by twenty-one reserve divisions. After providing for the safety of her various frontiers, chiefly with her reserve divisions, Russia will have available twenty-two army corps of three divisions each, making a total of sixty-six infantry divisions of four battalions per regiment, twenty divisions of cavalry with an average of twenty-four squadrons per division, one-half of which may be considered as having to be used as army corps cavalry, 80,000 Cossacks of second

and third qualities, and 3,290 guns, 1,600,000 men, part of whom, owing to the big number of troops already in Poland, would be concentrated somewhat rapidly, but the concentration of the remainder of which would be at a rather later date, especially as concerns Cossacks of the third class.

FORCES ALMOST EQUAL

Paragraph 2 of the French Yellow Book, dealing with the Franco-Russian alliance, reads:

The total Franco-Russian forces would therefore have to be a total value of 141 divisions of infantry with their divisional cavalry, sixteen divisions of independent cavalry, and 7,100 guns, or a total of 3,150,000 men.

It may therefore be said that the forces of the two sides would be nearly equal, for if the numbers are in favor of France and Russia, rapidity of concentrations is in favor of the Triple Alliance.

Section 2 reads:

The French General Staff is penetrated by the principle that in such a struggle the essential object is to prosecute the destruction of the principal enemy. The defeating of the others must inevitably follow. In a word, once Germany were conquered, the Franco-Russian armies would be able to impose their will on Austria and Italy.

Following this order of ideas, France would devote her entire strength to the struggle against Germany. Her plan will be to maintain in front of the twenty-two Italian divisions, as well as for the protection of her African possessions and fortresses, only the forces strictly necessary for the purpose; and in her plan of concentration she has allocated more than five-sixths of her first-line troops, or sixty-five divisions, to face the German armies.

With these sixty-five divisions France will attack Germany all along the line in such fashion that she will be unable to divert any of her western forces toward the east to threaten Russia.

If Russia adopts a similar policy, she will leave to face the Austrian armies only the force which is indispensable, and throw her whole remaining force against Germany.

RUSSIA'S POSITION

The position of Russia as against Austria, however, cannot be exactly compared with that of France against Italy. While between the last two countries there exists a natural frontier which is difficult to cross, Russia, on the other hand, is scarcely separated from Austria. She has, moreover, to fight in support of the Slavs and to discourage the Poles. Al-

lowing for those differences, however, the whole of Russia's surplus forces should be directed against Germany.

Eleven Russian corps of three divisions, thanks to their exceptional solidity and the superiority of their effectives over those of the Austrian army corps, (regiments of four battalions in place of three), appear to be entirely sufficient to stop and conquer the fourteen army corps that Austria can place in line.

When their provision to meet Austria has been made, Russia would still have available eleven army corps, or thirty-three divisions. These forces, added to the sixty-five divisions of the French Army, would be sufficiently powerful, especially if they arrived in time, to make an end of the German Army.

Merely to unite these eleven army corps against Germany will not be sufficient, however. It is further necessary that these corps shall be concentrated with very great rapidity, which will be the only means of disconcerting an adversary who calculates, thanks to the rapidity of his railway transport machinery, to throw himself first on France and conquer her, and then to turn against Russia. This is the plan which must be upset.

Every step must therefore be taken for the purpose of bringing into action as quickly as possible elements of the Russian Army designed to combat Germany. The corps which are to compose this army must consequently be selected, and their points of assembly determined in such a way that their advance will be easy and that the German concentrations can be reached in a short period of time.

Whatever efforts Russia may make, she cannot avoid, in view of the present conditions of her means of communication, being behind time as compared with Germany. But from this sole fact, that Russia will be getting ready to march forward, Germany will be compelled to immobilize a portion of her forces on her eastern frontier, and will have to relinquish all hope of being able to trans-

port her troops backward and forward, east and west.

QUICK ACTION A NECESSITY

Section 3 of the Yellow Book reads:

To sum up, the one thing necessary for both France and Russia in order to unite all favorable factors of the campaign to be undertaken in common is that from the moment that the signal for hostilities is given by the Triple Alliance the two powers must rapidly throw against Germany the whole of their forces which are not required to contain the secondary enemy. The importance of this secondary enemy will alone decide the relative importance of the forces that will have to be used to contain him.

France estimates that she can contain Italy with one-sixth of her forces, and in this way she would be able to come to the help of Russia in case of need with sixty-five of her seventy-five divisions.

It is no exaggeration to assume that Russia will be able to master Austria with one-half of her forces, and that she will be able to go to the aid of France with the other half, or thirty-three of her sixty-six divisions.

The Yellow Book shows that the Franco-Russian naval agreement, which came much later, really originated with Russia. A letter from the French Ambassador at Petrograd, to Poincaré, then Premier and Foreign Minister, dated Feb. 6, 1912, states that "the Russian Minister of Marine told me this evening that he had been authorized to inform me officially that the Emperor would be very satisfied for direct relations to be established between the General Staffs of the French and Russian Navies, similar to those which have existed since 1892 between the General Staffs of the armies of the two countries."

Luxemburg and Germany

THE betrothal of Princess Antonia of Luxemburg to Crown Prince Rupert of Bavaria, announced Aug. 26, 1918, confirmed the fact that the ruling house of Nassau had thrown off all reserve and openly gone over to the Germans. The bride is nineteen and the betrothed fifty, a widower. It is asserted that the union was arranged for political reasons by the German Chancellor, Count

von Hertling, so that at the peace conferences Germany might defend the dynastic rights of the House of Nassau and bring the country into the German Federation.

The editor of the *Telegraaf*, a leading Dutch newspaper issued at The Hague, made the following statement regarding the betrothal:

Luxemburg was overrun in August,

1914, by Germany, which twice committed perjury, violated two treaties, that of 1867, whereby the eternal neutrality of the Grand Duchy was expressly proclaimed by Prussia, and the treaty of 1902, whereby Germany bound herself never to employ the Luxemburg railways for the transport of troops and war material.

Since then the unfortunate little country has learned the horrors of occupation. Germany established garrisons there, requisitioned the railways and the post and telegraphs; expelled the Ministers of foreign powers from the country, depriving Luxemburg by so doing of even the appearance of independence; abolished the immunity of the people's representatives; still keeps the export of goods so strictly under supervision that it is really at a standstill; interferes in disputes between Luxemburg employers and workers; stretches the network of espionage over the whole country; arbitrarily imprisons and condemns to death or deportation civilians known for their freedom of thought and action; compels Luxemburgers living in Germany to serve in the German Army; exposes the country to the constant danger of incalculable catastrophe from the Allies' air attacks; in a word, treats Luxemburg as conquered territory and the Luxemburgers as a conquered people.

This violation of treaties, followed by terrorization, raised to the highest pitch the hatred of Germany which has always been one of the main characteristics of the Luxemburgers' national feeling. More ardently than ever do the Luxemburgers sing the popular version of their national song, which declares that, above all, "Prussians will we not become."

The Grand Ducal family alone has no share in their feelings. Its sympathies are openly for the intruder. During the

twenty-eight years of its Government the dynasty of the Nassauers has forgotten nothing and learned nothing. It always remembers its foreign origin, turns its back on the essential character of Luxemburg, and, as it is German, has surrounded itself with Germans. Those holding offices of dignity at Court are exclusively chosen from the Prussian, Bavarian, and Austrian nobility. These foreigners, paid by the sovereign, neglect no opportunity to treat her subjects with contempt, to ridicule their language, manners, and customs, and to thwart their aspirations. The Luxemburg people have always been angry at this foreign camarilla's insulting arrogance and anti-patriotic zeal. The press opposed it, various Deputies interpellated, and the late Minister of State, Herr Paul Eyschen, made a discreet representation to Court. In vain. The family of Nassau continued to seek its advisers outside the country, and in 1914 the Grand Duchess Maria Adelaide's *entourage* was quite as German as the Grand Duke Adolf's suite when he ascended the throne in 1890.

When the first German gangs streamed over the country these wonderful representatives of a so-called neutral Court were soon sauntering in the streets of the capital, showing the way to the intruders' advance guard, fraternizing in Merl camp with German officers. Some days later the younger among them disappeared, for, like every German of position, the reserve officers followed the voice of "the German Fatherland," which called them to arms. The Grand Duchess did not dismiss them. They retained their titles and salaries, and the unusual spectacle was observed of Luxemburg courtiers fighting in the ranks of the army which, like a coward, had murdered Luxemburg's independence.

Metz in 1870: A Reminder of Its Fall

How Bazaine Surrendered

The flattening of the St. Mihiel salient, followed by the advance of the first American Army in the direction of Metz and the bombardment of that city's defenses, revives the story of the intrigue by the Germans in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, when "discussions" such as were proposed by Austria in her note of Sept. 14, 1918, were opened with Marshal Bazaine, the French Commander. The London Telegraph recalls the circumstances as follows:

IT is a circumstance worthy of being noted that this activity of the advance fortress of Germany is reported on the very day when it became known that Austria-Hungary had sent out an invitation to a "confidential and non-

binding discussion" between the belligerents. There was something of the kind before the fall of Metz. The parallel is not only interesting, but contains its own warning to the Allies. The story of the enemy's intrigue of 1870 is still some-

what obscure, but it is established that the Germans managed to open up some sort of "confidential and nonbinding discussion" with Bazaine, the French Commander. What its precise character was is still uncertain, but the *pourparlers*, marked by much secrecy, served the enemy's purpose. When the hour came to strike, a curt demand was made for the surrender of the fortress and its great army. Bazaine decided that there was no alternative but compliance, and on Oct. 28 the capitulation was consummated.

The moral lies on the surface. The Marshal was, of course, tried by court-martial on his subsequent release by the Germans. He was sentenced to degradation and death, with a recommendation to mercy, which was not without effect. He eventually escaped to Italy, and died in Madrid on Sept. 23, 1888. In the light of fuller knowledge of German methods, it may be permissible to wonder whether the whole truth of the matter has yet been revealed!

And now that the limelight of the world again beats down on Metz, a summary of the main incidents of the siege may be of interest:

Metz, Aug. 11, 1870.—The Emperor went this morning to visit the troops who have taken a position around Metz.

Metz, Aug. 12.—French official communiqué reported that the army was concentrated at Metz, and rapidly reequipping and receiving reinforcements.

Paris, Aug. 14.—Metz is now in a perfect state of defense, and fully provisioned for a siege. No persons are allowed to take up residence there without being provided with at least forty days' provisions.

Aug. 18.—Great battle reported west of Metz. According to German reports the King cut off the French communication with Paris. The French were driven out of strong positions and thrown back toward Metz.

The Prussians were some 220,000 strong, and the French from 100,000 to 120,000, but the French, whose accounts were exceedingly meagre, claimed to have driven the Prussians into the quarries of Jarnant. The battle lasted for nine hours, and, according to the Germans, "the losses of our troops are unfortunately commensurate with the greatness of their heroic achievements against the strong French posts which they stormed."

In three battles during this week the French were reckoned to have lost 50,000

combatants in killed, seriously wounded, and prisoners, the last item figuring for not less than 20,000 or 25,000.

Aug. 23.—Bazaine and his soldiers were surrounded from the Moselle on the north of Metz to the Moselle on the south, and completely cut off from Paris. For two days the French Government had received no communication from the Army of the Rhine.

Aug. 25.—A message from Paris (dated Aug. 23) said Metz was completely isolated.

Aug. 27.—Our special correspondent with the army of General Steinmetz gives an account of an engagement on Aug. 14 with the enemy at Vaillères, four miles from Metz. After an action of four hours, in which the First Army Corps was dreadfully handled, the Seventh Army Corps was called up. The French retired and abandoned positions. The Prussian losses were very heavy.

Daily Telegraph, Sept. 15.—First bombardment of Metz. Our correspondent with the German Army at Ars said, on Sept. 8, their losses were trifling—one man killed and three wounded. Prices of edibles at Ars were "something fearful." Eggs, 6d each; fowls, 7f each; salad, 2f; small melon, 3f; cup of coffee, 5 sous, without milk or sugar; hay, 3 sous per pound; kilo of oats, 5f; fillet of beef, about 1 pound, 3f; sugar "you cannot buy."

Sept. 18.—The cordon is being tightly tied around Metz, our correspondent stated. "The truth of the various statements respecting the condition of the troops in Metz can be pretty accurately tested by the fact that a healthy horse slaughtered yesterday was sold in that unfortunate town at 2 francs per pound. A horse that had died from sickness or disease was sold at 10 sous cheaper per pound."

Sept. 21.—Deserters declare the soldiers and people of Metz are in terrible straits from hunger, drought, and sickness. The water supply has been cut off.

On Sept. 26 and 27 there was severe fighting before Metz. Hunger had commenced its fearful inroad. French troops fought for food and forage.

Royal Headquarters at Versailles on Oct. 8 reported that on the previous night the whole garrison at Metz, including the guard, made a sortie to the north of both banks of the Moselle. The attack was repulsed, the French losing 2,500 men and the Prussians 600.

Oct. 28 was announced the capitulation of Metz on the previous day, after a blockade of seventy days from the date of the decisive battle of Gravelotte, on Aug. 18. The surrender of General Bazaine's army included three Marshals of France, 50 Generals, 500 staff officers, and 173,000 men, 16,000 of the latter being sick.

German Trench-Defense Methods

Nature of the Famous Hindenburg Line, Which the Allies Smashed by Hard Fighting

Toward the end of 1917 the Germans transformed their whole system of trench defenses, especially in comparatively level country. Early in 1918 M. D'Entraygues of the Paris Temps made a detailed study of the new methods. His article, here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, is of especial interest as throwing light on the task of the allied armies in breaking through the Hindenburg line.

FOR a long time, but especially after November, 1916, uniform and precise instructions fixed the general outline of the German defense system from the sea to the Vosges. The system consisted of three successive barriers, which I have indicated in Fig. 1 by the letters A, B, C. Intervals of nearly two miles separated these barriers from each other, and each was made up of three lines of continuous trenches protected by wire entanglements and dotted with deep dugouts or shelters, especially fortified points, called blockhouses, redoubts, centres of resistance, points of support, reinforced these barriers wherever the nature of the terrain permitted or demanded it.

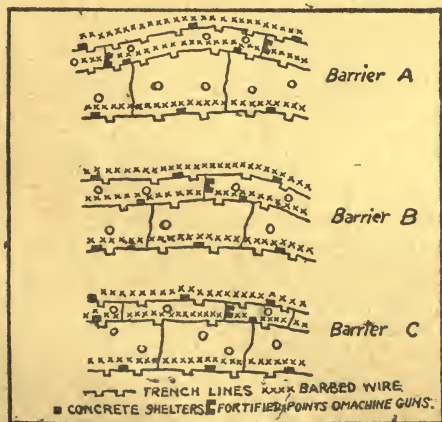


FIGURE 1

Barrier A was the first position to be defended—with the greatest stubbornness—against enemy attacks, if need be with reinforcements from Barrier B. If this first position was taken, the fight continued over Barrier B and then over Barrier C. Before the front was really

pierced the enemy had to occupy A, B, and C successively.

This plan of organization has for some time been materially modified. In August, 1917, the German General Staff published new instructions which substitute "defense by depth" for "linear or extended defense." Each of the barriers consists no longer of three parallel lines of continuous trenches 100 or 200 yards apart, but of a great number of successive trenches, continuous or discontinuous, parallel or divergent, succeeding each other over a zone that may have a depth of several miles, the whole guarded as before with fortified works arranged so as to sweep the intervals between them with gunfire and to continue their resistance in all directions even if they are surrounded and isolated.

Fig. 2 gives a sketch of one of the old defense barriers after its transformation under the new system. It is no longer an affair of three parallel trenches, but of eight successive trenches or portions of trenches, protected by wire entangle-

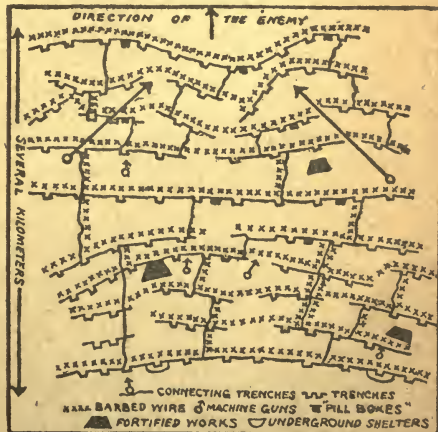


FIGURE 2

ments. And instead of eight there may be ten, twelve, or even more, if the nature of the ground requires it.

Under the new system it is no longer a matter of the first, second, or third line. The first barrier is called the covering zone (Vorfeldzone) or zone of ordinary fighting. Its foremost lines are simply tunnels or narrow shelters in which the lookouts keep watch; then, as one goes back further from the enemy, the trenches become deeper, more substantial, and fuller of men and war material. The object of this first zone is to give a permanent view of the enemy, and also, in case of attack, to furnish a resistance that will seriously weaken the force of the assailant.

The second zone is called the great combat zone, (Grosskampfzone.) As in the preceding zone, one finds here a system of trenches and fortified works supporting each other to a great distance toward the rear, with points of support, "pillboxes," and groups of dugouts. The machine guns are arranged here in chess-board style, some crossing their fire, so as to sweep the space between two fortified works, others flanking these works, and permitting the decimation of the assailant with lines of fire formed by communication trenches perpendicular to the general direction of the line of defense. It is in this second zone that the brunt of the attack is to be received and repulsed, however violent it may be.

The third and last barrier is called the rear zone of combat, (Rückwärtigekampfzone,) and it is here that the enemy must finally be stopped if he has carried the two other zones.

A comparison between the official instructions regarding this new system and those governing the old methods reveals the nature of the tactics now employed by the Germans. In 1916 the General Staff provided for "a first position solidly built, with an ample depth of continuous lines * * * and with other analogous positions behind this." Now it prescribes that the defense shall be conducted "not in a line, but in a defensive zone spread out to a depth, if need be, of several kilometers." In 1916 the General Staff said: "The fighting in or

for the first line has become the fight for the first position." It says today: "The fighting should be done, not around the lines, but in zones of combat." It adds these details:

The zones ought to be far enough apart so that the enemy artillery cannot bombard two of them at the same time. The men and materials should be so arranged that the density of the fire and the strength of the resistance shall increase steadily from the first to the last line of the zone. The concrete works will be reserved for the first zone, the deep dugouts for the rear zone. The connecting trenches will be organized so as to form flanking lines. Supplementary shelters and emplacements for artillery will be built for use in case those aimed at in the course of the battle should become untenable. The zones of combat will be constructed by the combatant troops under direction of the division and group officers; the one in the rear will be organized by sappers under the direction of special officers of the General Staff. The trenches will be constructed on the rear slope of a hill whenever the forward slope can be overlooked by the observation post, and whenever the machine guns can act effectively upon the terrain attacked. (See Fig. 3.)



FIGURE 3

The thought dominating the German General Staff in these new methods is this: The primary object is no longer to defend the first line of trenches considered as the principal position, but to attract the enemy into the great combat zone after having weakened him as much as possible in the covering zone. The arrangement of the forces, line behind line, to a great depth places the enemy up against greater and more numerous difficulties the further he penetrates, so that when he finally reaches the real zone of decisive combat he has endured such losses that the defense, which is awaiting him with all its forces, has every facility for driving him back to his own lines. If he should succeed in penetrating to the rear zone he is supposed to be unable to hold it, being too badly shattered by long and painful fighting.

Cuba's Part in the World War

By GEN. MARIO G. MENOCAL

President of the Cuban Republic

[STATEMENT AUTHORIZED BY PRESIDENT MENOCAL IN HAVANA, SEPT. 15, 1918]

THE same day President Wilson sent to the Congress of the United States his famous message relative to the declaration of war against Germany—that is to say, on the 6th of April, 1917, and almost at the same time that the Congress passed, with exceptional solemnity, that memorable declaration—Cuba spontaneously and resolutely took the same attitude. Inspired by the unanimous sentiment of the people of Cuba, as revealed by unmistakable signs, I had the honor to send to the Cuban Congress my message of April 7, in which I surveyed the unheeded protests against repeated violations of international law by the German Empire, and especially against the submarine campaign, made by the United States, and added an appeal to Congress for a declaration of war against the Imperial German Government.

The Cuban House of Representatives and Senate, unanimously and in the midst of utmost enthusiasm, adopted, in conformity with the recommendations of the Presidential message, a joint resolution declaring war.

The spontaneity and decision of these acts impart to them a very high and patriotic significance. No recommendation of the Government of the United States moved the will of the Government of Cuba or excited the generous passions of her people. None was necessary. The horror universally inspired by the haughty and violent attitude in which an imperialistic power, vain of its might, attempted to impose upon the world an intolerable domination was joined in the Cuban people with the energetic will, the noble ambition to co-operate with all their strength and with all their resources in the sacred defense of the liberty and sovereignty of all peoples against the malignant and menacing military power.

NO DISSENTING VOICES

There was no discrepancy of opinion among any portion of the people or any opposition to these unanimous determinations. Party discord and animosity ran very high in consequence of the seditious movement brought about in February by the leaders of the Liberty Party, and which I had put down with all necessary energy. It might well have been feared that this political situation would be an obstacle to the declaration of war, to the policy of action to be adopted therewith. It did not turn out thus, for public opinion unanimously decided for war and it was unanimously proclaimed in both houses of Congress by the representatives of the people, and all needed powers and authority to wage war were granted me.

This declaration was soon vigorously put into practice, within the limits of the possibilities of the country, sparsely populated but of great spirit and proverbial wealth derived from its immense production of sugar and tobacco.

A relatively considerable number of large German steamships were held by the war in Cuban ports. I ordered their immediate seizure, as the Governments of all the belligerent nations have done in similar cases, and turned them over to the United States to use them freely in the prosecution of the war. The Red Cross had been established in Cuba years before, but in a very modest way and with very limited resources. Without loss of time steps were taken to reorganize it, and it was very soon reconstituted under the active Presidency and direction of my wife, Sra. Mariana Seva de Menocal, who succeeded in gathering around her a considerable number of ladies and gentlemen of distinguished social position for that purpose, and measures were taken immediately to raise funds, which now amount to a

large sum, and which have been applied, and are being applied, strictly in the aid of similar institutions of the nations at war and their gallant soldiers. Conformably with this noble inspiration, a law recently approved by me—to which I gave my support, both before and after its enactment—provides a fund for aiding the Allies, out of which the public treasury has remitted a quarter of a million dollars to different countries.

CUBAN BOND ISSUE

Upon my express recommendation the Congress authorized an issue of \$30,000,000 in bonds for raising necessary funds and new taxes to meet interest and amortization charges of the bonds—taxes which have produced more revenue than all calculations, leaving a large surplus. It having been declared by the Government of the United States, in accord with the allied Governments, that sugar was a commodity of prime necessity, the production and consumption of which should be regulated, the Government of Cuba lent its co-operation in the control of production and price and to a plan for the exportation and shipment of the entire crop, which amounted this year to 3,500,000 tons, the greatest in our industrial history. Food distribution was also subjected to severe regulations in agreement with the food authorities of the United States.

In several messages I recommended to Congress in connection with the declaration of war the implanting of obligatory military service in order that the country might dispose of all the military forces necessary for its defense and for repairing to the theatre of war which might be assigned in case the participation of its armed forces should be considered necessary. The obligatory military service bill has been passed. It is now a law and will soon be put in force, and the country equipped with a military organization consistent with its means and its aims.

To the same end of frank co-operation the Government of Cuba authorized the sending of American troops to different points in Cuba for military instructions and preparations. For the same purpose

a goodly number of officers and enlisted men of the Cuban Army were sent to the United States to complete and perfect their training for war.

SENDING OF TROOPS ABROAD

The law establishing obligatory military service empowers the President to take steps for sending a contingent of our present regular army to the European battlefields, reinforced by such volunteers who wish to go and who have already, indeed, begun to enlist in considerable number. The President is also authorized to send military missions to the United States, England, France, and Italy.

Effective measures were adopted by executive decree against espionage and enemy propaganda, and a large number of German and Austrian subjects were on specific charges or reasonable suspicion interned in a camp provided ad hoc. And in the contingency that these decrees might prove deficient for the purpose sought, the passage of a law of ample scope has recently been obtained, giving the Government a strong repressive hand.

With the assistance of American experts the censorship of mail and telegraphic correspondence has been established and is operating with full rigor and efficiency.

The Fourth of July, anniversary of the independence of the United States, and the 14th and 21st of July, celebrated in France and in Belgium as patriotic fêtes, have been declared legal holidays.

Great public and official manifestations have been held in honor of Italy.

WAR AGAINST AUSTRIA

On Dec. 6, 1917, I sent a message to Congress requesting a declaration of war between the Republic of Cuba and the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary, predicated upon the same ground as my message of April 7 and upon the important consideration that the Austro-Hungarian Government, intimately allied with that of Germany, had not ceased to second both on land and on sea the unjustifiable conduct of the latter, thus meriting equally with the

latter the just reprobation of nations allied for the maintenance of international law and the rights of civilization and humanity; a course in which I was influenced also by the similar action of the Government of the United States. The Congress responded to my request by adopting the joint resolution of Dec. 16 by which the existence of a state of war between the Republic of Cuba and the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary was declared, and the same powers vested in me as conferred by the joint resolution of April 7, 1917.

Cuba is showing her decided purpose to co-operate, to the extent of her power and by all means within her reach, in the triumph of the cause of liberty, democracy, and international justice, and to support without reserve the noble and disinterested action of the United States in this glorious effort. Near neighbors as we are of the great North American nation, we Cubans are able to observe with our own eyes the civic enthusiasm, the heroic decision, and the unparalleled effort of the United States in men, in war material, and in resources of all kinds which exceed anything that has ever before been seen in the world. This very proximity to the United States, and the constant intercourse between the two peoples growing out of the strong bonds of gratitude which join Cuba with the great nation which helped her decisively twenty years ago to gain her independence after long and devastating wars, and which on two occasions—that is, after two interventions—left her in full possession of her independence, her sovereignty, and her laws, without interfering with her administration or government, gives Cubans a peculiar insight into the high and disinterested motives with which the United States is already taking a predominant part in the war, which events have reserved for that country in order to uphold and save the principles of liberty and justice, and consequently the existence and sovereignty of small States, the freedom of the seas, the rights of neutrals, the faithful observance of international treaties, free self-determination of all peoples and the free co-operation of all nations in the maintenance of peace and international law,

through a decisive victory over the Central Powers of Europe, and over the military despotism which they seek to impose upon the civilized world.

EXAMPLE OF UNITED STATES

The people of Cuba have before their eyes the splendid picture afforded by the Americans from one extreme to the other of their immense territory, overflowing with faith, enthusiasm, and decision for the great causes whose defense they have assumed without a thought for any material interest, without any aim of conquest of territory, nor of advantages or compensations, which in no event could offset their incomparable sacrifices. Neutrality afforded them gigantic profits for their trade and capital, most solicitously sought by Europe, without incurring extraordinary expenditures or loss of life or exceptional effort; and they did not hesitate to abandon that neutral position, impelled by the noble purpose of defending the freedom of the seas, the inviolability of right, and the respect due the sovereignty of states, incurring enormous expenditures, contracting internal debts of stupendous figures never equaled, in order to lend financial assistance to the allied nations through heavy advances, imposing upon their people severe restrictions in consumption, with the consequent privations, in order to send to Europe vast quantities of supplies and munitions; limiting the freedom of domestic traffic with unrivaled abnegation in order to supply all kinds of war material to Europe; and, finally, accomplishing the greatest maritime and military effort on record in transporting in a few months, despite the enemy submarines, a million and a half soldiers splendidly equipped for war and ready to enter immediately into action 3,000 miles away from home and decide with their most valiant co-operation the destinies of the world.

With this great and noble example before them, the people of Cuba feel themselves more and more intimately convinced that all the democracies of America have their place of honor at the side of the great American Nation which, with her allies in Europe, defend at the cost

of the hardest sacrifices the ideals of modern civilization, the right of all peoples, strong or weak, great or small, to a life of freedom and the full exercise of their sovereignty.

NOTE.—Since General Menocal wrote this article the Cuban Government has announced its intention of sending 25,000 trained officers and men to France for immediate service. The Congress at Havana has voted \$2,500,000 to be distributed among Red Cross organizations of the allied countries. Cuba's budget this year, most of it devoted to war purposes, is \$64,000,000. A hospital unit of 100 doctors and nurses has been equipped and sent to the front. Brig. Gen. J. Marti,

Cuban Secretary of War, said at the beginning of October:

"We have established training camps in Cuba, both military and naval, and through the courtesy of the United States we have placed officers at Key West and Pensacola for instruction. France has detailed two Cuban aviators, who have achieved brilliant records in France with the Lafayette Escadrille, to act as instructors in our aviation school. We have purchased additional equipment and materials necessary to make this arm of our service effective, and we expect soon to receive the supplies we need from the United States. The Cuban Government will withhold nothing it possesses that can be used to advantage by our allies in the fight against Prussian militarism."

Land Settlement for Ex-Service Men

Measures Adopted by Great Britain, Canada, and Australia for Giving Farms to Soldiers

By S. ZIMAND

THE President of the British Board of Agriculture and Fisheries appointed a department committee in July, 1915, to consider what steps could be taken to promote the settlement and employment on the land of discharged sailors and soldiers. The final report, in two parts, together with the minutes of evidence taken before the department committee, was published in 1916. Part I, bd. 8192, deals with the settlement of ex-service men on small holdings, and Part II, bd. 8277, with employment.

There were representatives on the committee dealing with land settlement, of the House of Commons, the Development Commission, the small holding Commissioners, and the landed interests. The committee heard a large number of witnesses and inspected a number of small holdings in various parts of the country, including one large farm, agricultural colleges, and some land on the coast ripe for reclamation.

As a result of this investigation, the Small Holding act came into force on Aug. 23, 1916, (Public General Acts VI. and VII., George V., 1916, Chapter 38.) This act empowers the Board of Agri-

culture and Fisheries, with the consent of the Treasury, to acquire, by agreement, lands suitable for the purpose of providing experimental small holding colonies during the continuance of the present war and a period of twelve months thereafter, and provides that in the selection of persons to be settled on the land so acquired the board shall give preference to persons who have served in the naval or military forces of the Crown in the present war.

The total area of the land for the time being acquired by the board for this purpose must not at any time exceed 4,500 acres in England, (excluding Monmouthshire,) or 2,000 acres in Wales and Monmouthshire, or 6,500 acres in all. The board, with the consent of and subject to the regulations made by the Treasury, may promote the formation or extension of societies on a co-operative or copartnership basis, having for their object, or one of their objects, the establishment of profitable working holdings provided under this act, whether in relation to the purchase of acquisites, sale of produce, credit banking, or insurance, or guaranteeing advances made by the society, upon such terms and conditions as to the rate of interest and repayment

and other securities as the board thinks fit.

This act applies, with small modifications, to Scotland, but does not extend to Ireland.

FARM COLONIES

On the passing of the act, a Land Settlement Committee was appointed to assist the President of the Board of Agriculture to carry on the establishment of the pioneer colonies provided in the act on the lines of the report of the Departmental Committee on Land Settlement and to work in co-operation with the War Pension Statutory Committee.

The farm colonies branch was formed to carry on the work. In 1917 the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries acquired three estates in England and one in Wales, and worked out the following scheme for the land settlement plan: The settlers work on a colony either as individual small holders or as members of a community.

A man is required to work as an ordinary laborer for the first year, which is regarded as a period of probation. At the end of that time he will either be offered a holding or allowed to share in the profits. There are two kinds of colonies—the small holding system and the private sharing system.

Under the small holding system the colony begins as one large farm under the management of a director. Applicants are employed as workers upon it, at a rate of wages, for a period of probation of not less than one year, and at the end of that period any approved applicant will be allotted, at low cost, an area of land. Even when all the small holdings have been taken up, a certain portion of the estate will be retained as a central farm under the management of the director. A co-operative depot will be established for each colony through which settlers will be able to purchase what they need and also dispose of their produce.

The Government does not propose to make direct advances of capital to ex-service men desirous of taking up holdings, but industrious men may start to work on the central farm, and at the

same time cultivate some acreage on their own account. In the selection of settlers for the colonies preference will be given to those whose wives or other relatives have acquired some knowledge of farm work.

PROFIT-SHARING SYSTEM

Under the profit-sharing system the colony will be managed by a director as one farm, settlers being employed by him at the current rate of wages, but receiving in addition a share of any profits arising out of the farming operations. Each settler will be provided, if desired, with about half an acre of land adjoining or near his cottage.

The profits, after the current rate of interest ($5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) on capital and working expenses, &c., has been paid and after allocating a percentage to a reserve fund, will be divided between capital, management, and labor. In other words, each settler will receive a dividend on the amount of his wages for the year.

In connection with land settlement and employment of ex-service men on the land, the Corn Production act was passed at the end of 1917. The main purpose of this act is to guarantee a minimum price to the grower for a fixed period, until that branch of national activity has been firmly established, to insure to the laborer a statutory wage which will prevent sweating and also brighten his outlook; lastly, to allow the ordinary laws of supply and demand to operate in the interests of the consumer, and to secure to the grower the minimum price by paying him the difference between the average selling price and the open market in the figure guaranteed by Parliament.

(a) The minimum wage per week for agricultural labor should be 25 shillings.
(b) The minimum price for wheat and oats should be guaranteed from 1917 to 1922.

In accordance with the Corn Production act, an Agricultural Wage Board was established. This board consists of thirty-nine members, of whom seven are appointed as impartial members and the

remainder as representatives of employers and workers, respectively.

LAND FOR CANADIANS

In Canada the Dominion Government controls Crown lands in the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, and a portion of British Columbia. The Government proposes to reserve—in the above-named provinces—large areas of land for ex-soldiers under special conditions. These conditions, summarized, are as follows:

That administration of the reserve land shall be exercised by the Lands Settlement Board, consisting of three members possessing an intimate and practical knowledge of Western Canada and its farming conditions. It is intended to grant to suitable and approved ex-service men 160 acres of Crown lands each, free of charge. The classes entitled to participate include honorably discharged ex-service men from the forces of Canada or the United Kingdom, and the widows of sailors and soldiers from those parts of the empire whose husbands died while in active service. The Settlement Board will be empowered to grant a loan of \$2,000 to each approved applicant, to be spent in erecting a house and purchasing implements and stock and generally in preparing the land for settlement. This loan will be a first mortgage on the homestead. It will be advanced at a low rate of interest and will have to be repaid within fifteen years.

The first repayment may be deferred for two or three years after the settler has entered upon the land, at the discretion of the Settlement Board. Applicants for land or loans must have previous farming experience before they can be eligible. However, ex-service men who do not already possess such experience can be placed for training upon the demonstration farms of the Dominion or Provincial Government, or placed with the selected and approved farms in the existing organizations of the Government. In either case he would be employed at the current rate of wages.

Regulations for the granting of the loans were approved in May, 1918, by

the Governor in Council. The Provincial Governments have also passed legislation providing schemes for settling ex-service men on the land.

IN AUSTRALIA

At the successive conferences between the Commonwealth and State authorities of Australia the first steps have been taken toward the establishment of a comprehensive scheme to enable ex-service men to take advantage of the offers of land made by the States, and the Commonwealth and State Governments have decided to give—with certain reservations—the same facilities for British soldiers as for Australian soldiers who desire to settle on the land. The Commonwealth will find the funds (estimated at £22,000,000 in all) and the States the necessary lands, while a joint board, consisting of a Minister for each State and a Commonwealth Minister, will supervise operations.

The necessary machinery for the repatriation of soldiers was provided in a bill passed by the Federal Parliament of Australia in September, 1917. The bill provides for the creation of a central commission of seven private persons, to be appointed by the Government and presided over by the Minister. The duties of the commission will be administrative. Its regulations and decisions will be executed in each State by a State board composed in each case of seven private citizens. The State boards will be advised and assisted in their work by special local committees in all parts of the country. All members alike of the commission, State boards, and the local committees will serve in an honorary capacity. The commission and all subordinate posts will include returned soldiers and will prescribe by regulations the nature and extent of the activities embraced in the work of repatriation. The State boards will deal with applications submitted by returned soldiers, who will register their names before discharge. The object in view is to secure a complete network of labor agencies.

The Federal repatriation policy includes, as its main points, the establishment of curative workshops attached to

the hospitals; arrangements with private employers to enable such men to get the advanced training referred to, and the provision of facilities for young men who went to war in the middle of their apprenticeships to complete their tuition, the Government accepting the responsibility of supplementing their wages to enable them to do so. For the encouragement of small holding industries,

such as hog raising, the Government guarantees the market and organizes the handling and selling of the products. The establishments for slaughtering and treatment will be finally handed over as a co-operative concern to the settlers. Provision will be made for those desiring it in the form of assistance in the establishment of residences in urban areas.

New Zealand's Provision for Soldier Settlers

Arrangements have been made by the New Zealand Government, and are already in operation, by which those returned soldiers who desire to take up farming in the dominion may have the opportunity of doing so. Suitable blocks of Crown lands have been set aside, so that subdivision and road-making may be proceeded with in readiness for the returning soldiers. Blocks of privately owned lands have been purchased, some of which have been surveyed for closer settlement purposes, and are already occupied by soldier settlers. Many of them have, however, been kept for the main body of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force when the war comes to an end.

Speaking of the financial arrangements which have been made with a view to enabling soldier settlers to farm their lands, W. F. Massey, the Prime Minister, said in September, 1918:

Over 700 soldier settlers have already been provided with land, and, so far as it is possible to judge, most of them are doing well and on the road to success. The new settlers get the land at cost price, and financial assistance is given to those requiring it, up to £500 being lent in most cases, but in special cases £750 may be advanced on the recommendation of the Land Board. Five per cent. interest is charged, and the conditions are made as easy as possible. If an intending settler wants land for sheep farming or dairy farming or the growing of cereals or fruit growing or poultry farming, the Land Board will endeavor to suit him, and it is generally successful.

If, however, a soldier prefers to settle in one of the cities or towns, and desires to become the owner of his own house, Mr. Massey explained, he can take advantage of the Workers' Homes act

and have a cottage built or bought for him on terms. Previous experiments in military settlements in New Zealand, he admitted, had not been successful, principally for the reason that the settlers were allowed to sell their interest in their sections. In the present scheme sale was not permitted for a number of years, except in the case of death or some serious family or financial trouble. In order that partially incapacitated men might have an opportunity of supplementing their pensions arrangements have been made by the New Zealand Government for them to attend technical schools to obtain a knowledge of occupations which do not require a term of apprenticeship. In such cases the Government allows the learner £1 per week in addition to his pension during the period of his tuition.

In other cases, where the partially incapacitated soldier is unskilled or is unable by the nature of his injuries to follow his usual occupation, the Government has made arrangements for him to learn a new trade. After consultation with the trade union authorities the amount which the beginner is able to earn is fixed, and the difference between this rate and the minimum wage payable in that particular industry is contributed by the State.

NOTE.—Regarding the repatriation of Australian soldiers, it was officially stated in September that the Commonwealth Repatriation Scheme had already involved the expenditure of nearly £3,000,000. Since 1915 nearly 60,000 members of the Australian Imperial Forces had returned to Australia, and situations for upward of 50,000 of these had been provided by the Repatriation Department. Settlers on the land are allowed £500 on loan as working capital; advances are also made for the acquisition of businesses.

German Crimes in Southwest Africa

Official Records Revealing Cruelties Inflicted on Natives Under German Colonial Rule

WHEN the German forces in Southwest Africa had capitulated in July, 1915, the task of restoring order in the former German protectorate was intrusted to a British administrator, E. H. L. Gorges, Secretary for the Interior after the establishment of the South African Union. The terms of the capitulation had provided that the civil population and the reservists then under arms should be allowed to resume their normal vocations, and immediately there arose a strong demand for native labor. The occupying authorities, however, found labor conditions in a deplorable state. The German masters regarded their native servants as slaves, without rights, and amenable only to the lash, while the natives regarded their oppressors as inveterate enemies from whom there was no escape. In the course of the uphill task of creating better relations between the whites and the blacks the British administrators have found it necessary to institute what amounts to a complete social revolution, repealing all the obnoxious provisions in the German native code and substituting milder ones whose success had been proved through years of use in the Transvaal.

Mr. Gorges, meanwhile, prepared a memorable report on the German treatment of the natives of Southwest Africa, based on German official archives found at Government House, Windhuk, and accompanied by records of certain trials under the German régime, and by the writings of Leutwein, the German Governor from 1894 to 1905; Paul Rohrbach, Professor Karl Dove, and other German authorities. This report was published in London on Sept. 12, 1918, as a Government Blue Book, and is now accessible to the world.

The main report deals, in a first section, with the attitude of the German

administration and of the German settlers toward the natives since the first days in which they came into contact, and shows the methods by which Germany established her authority over the territory. This section was compiled by Major T. L. O'Reilly, Attorney of the Supreme Court of South Africa, Transvaal Provincial Division, and Military Magistrate of Omaruru, in the Southwest African Protectorate. He had been in the country in an official capacity for nearly three years, and was well acquainted with the country and its inhabitants. The second section of the report is devoted to an analysis of the position of the natives under the criminal law, and was prepared by A. J. Waters, Crown Prosecutor for the Protectorate, who had been stationed at Windhuk since October, 1915. The Administrator observes:

Enough is, I think, contained in this report to leave no doubts as to the terrible courses pursued both by the German Colonial Administration, acting either under the orders or with the acquiescence of the Berlin Government, and by individual Germans settled or stationed in the country; or as to the deplorable plight the natives fell into under the brutalities and robberies to which they were systematically subjected.

GERMAN GOVERNOR'S PROTEST

How systematic were these atrocities is disclosed by the Government files at Windhuk, which show that, from 1910 onward, the German authorities were in a constant state of nervous apprehension. They were always expecting another native rising. Unwarned by the lesson of the earlier insurrections, officials and settlers heedlessly pursued their "terrible courses." Of the state of affairs as late as 1912 the following confidential circular addressed by Governor Seitz to his Magistrates in May of that year is eloquent enough:

The Imperial Governor of G. S. W. A.
Windhuk, May 31, 1912.
To all Magistrates.
Secret and Personal.

Within recent weeks I have received information from various quarters to the effect that a desperate feeling is becoming prevalent of late among the natives in certain areas of the country.

The reason which is unanimously given for this fact is that brutal excesses of Europeans against the natives are alarmingly on the increase—it is much to be regretted in this connection that even police officials have become guilty of such offenses in a few cases—and that such offenses do not find the punishment before the courts of law which they ought to receive according to the sense of justice of the natives.

In consequence thereof the natives are supposed to despair of the impartiality of our jurisdiction and to be driven into a blind hatred of everything that is white, and as a final result would resort to self-help, that is, another native rising.

It is quite evident that such feelings of hatred among the natives, if amelioration of their lot is not energetically provided for, must lead within a short space of time to a renewed and desperate native rising, and consequently to the economic ruin of the country.

It is therefore in the interests of the whole European population that persons who rage in mad brutality against the natives, and who consider their white skin a charter of indemnity from punishment for the most brutal crimes, be rendered innocuous by all possible means. Because a people who make a claim to be regarded as a dominant race must first of all keep clean their own ranks.

If the crimes committed by Europeans against natives do not find punishment at all, or no sufficient punishment, it will become impossible in future to act with that severity in the cases of crimes committed by natives against Europeans which is imperative in the general interest.

I have no influence on the jurisdiction as far as Europeans are concerned, but I shall, as far as that is possible, take care by administrative measures that the doubtlessly existing critical conditions are counteracted.

Above all things I intend to order, as such cases arise, that Europeans who persist in ill-treating their native servants in a brutal manner shall no longer be supplied with native labor.

However, an effectual alteration will only be possible if the white population itself, who, as far as I feel, condemns such brutalities of rough elements to the utmost, does not leave such individuals, who are a danger to the common weal, in any doubt about its attitude on the ques-

tion, and actively cooperates to prevent such crimes or to bring them to justice in cases where they have occurred.

And as I am convinced that it will be possible for the District Councils to influence their co-citizens in this respect, I request that you will inform the District Councils in the strictest confidence of the contents of this communication at their next meeting.

I trust that with the assistance of the European population it will be possible to create conditions which will reinstate in the natives a confidence that they will find protection from the Europeans against the brutal excesses of a few individuals.

You are requested to confirm the receipt of this communication.

(Signed)

SEITZ.

EXTERMINATING THE HEREROS

The report tells the story of how the German authorities exterminated the native Hereros. When Germany annexed the country in 1890 they were believed to possess well over 150,000 head of cattle. After the rinderpest scourge of 1897 they still owned something like 90,000 head. By 1902, less than ten years after the arrival of the first German settlers, the Hereros had only 45,898 head of cattle, while the 1,051 German traders and farmers then in the country owned 44,487. The policy of robbing and killing the natives had by that time received the sanction of Berlin. By the end of 1905 the surviving Hereros had been reduced to pauperism and possessed nothing at all. In 1907 the Imperial German Government by ordinance prohibited the natives of Southwest Africa from possessing live stock.

The wholesale theft of the natives' cattle, their only wealth, with the direct connivance and approval of the Berlin Government, was one of the primary causes of the Herero rebellion of 1904. The revolt was suppressed with characteristic German ruthlessness. But the Germans were not content with a mere suppression of the rising; they had decided upon the practical extinction of the whole tribe. For this purpose Leutwein, who was apparently regarded as too lenient, was superseded by von Trotha, noted for his merciless severity. He had played a notorious part in the Chinese Boxer rebellion, and had just suppressed the Arab rising in German East Africa

by the wholesale massacre of men, women, and children. As a preliminary von Trotha invited the Herero chiefs to come in and make peace, "as the war was now over," and promptly shot them in cold blood. Then he issued his no-



SOUTHWEST AFRICA, A FORMER GERMAN PROTECTORATE, WHOSE FUTURE MUST BE DECIDED BY THE ALLIES.

torious "extermination order," in terms of which no Herero—man, woman, child, or babe—was to receive mercy or quarter. "Kill every one of them," he said, "and take no prisoners."

These orders, says Mr. Gorges, were only too faithfully carried out. The evidence of natives of other tribes, who were eyewitnesses of the atrocities which took place, is presented in the report, and their narratives bear on the face of them the stamp of truth. There is, for example, the story of the native who for two years acted as groom to von Trotha, and who declares that during the whole of that time he knows of no instance in which prisoners were spared.

When leaving Okahandja General von Trotha issued orders to his troops that no quarter was to be given to the enemy. No

prisoners were to be taken, but all, regardless of age or sex, were to be killed. General von Trotha said, "We must exterminate them, so that we won't be bothered with rebellions in the future." As a result of this order the soldiers shot all natives we came across. It did not matter who they were. Some were peaceful people who had not gone into rebellion; others, such as old men and old women, had never left their homes; yet these were all shot.

HEARTLESS CRUELTY

In this way, it is noted, thousands of harmless and peaceful Berg-Damaras—who had nothing to do with the rebellion—met the same fate as the Hereros. Other quotations from the evidence of native eyewitnesses are appended:

(a) A German soldier found a little Herero baby boy about nine months old lying in the bush, and brought it into the camp. The soldiers formed a ring, and started throwing the child from one to another and catching it as if it were a ball. The child was terrified and hurt, and was crying very much. After a time they got tired of this, and one of the soldiers fixed his bayonet on his rifle and said he would catch the baby. The child was tossed into the air toward him, and as it fell he caught it and transfixed the body with the bayonet. The child died in a few minutes, and the incident was greeted with roars of laughter by the Germans, who seemed to think it was a great joke.

(b) I went with the German troops right through the Herero rebellion. The Afrikaner Hottentots of my werft were with me. We refused to kill Herero women and children, but the Germans spared none. They killed thousands and thousands. I saw this bloody work for days and days and every day. Often, and especially at Waterberg, the young Herero women and girls were violated by the German soldiers before being killed.

(c) I went with the German troops to Hamakari and beyond. They killed thousands and thousands of women and children along the roadsides. They bayoneted them and hit them to death with the butt ends of their guns. They were lying exhausted and harmless along the roads, and as the soldiers passed they simply slaughtered them in cold blood. Mothers holding babies at their breasts, little boys and little girls; old people too old to fight and old grandmothers, none received mercy.

From the testimony of another witness it appears that some of the choicest forms of frightfulness with which the

war has made the world familiar were not new to the Germans:

On one occasion I saw about twenty-five prisoners placed in a small inclosure of thorn bushes. They were confined in a very small space, and the soldiers cut dry branches and piled dry logs all round them—men, women, and children and little girls were there. When dry branches had been thickly piled up all round them the soldiers threw branches also on the top of them. The prisoners were all alive and unwounded, but half starved. Having piled up the branches, lamp oil was sprinkled on the heap, and it was set on fire. The prisoners were burned to a cinder. The Germans said, "We should burn all these dogs and baboons in this fashion." The officers saw this, and made no attempt to prevent it. From that time to the end of the rising the killing and hanging of Hereros was practically a daily occurrence. There was no more fighting. The Hereros were merely fugitives in the bush. All the water-holes on the desert border were poisoned by the Germans before they returned. The result was that fugitives who came to drink the water either died of poisoning or, if they did not taste the water, they died of thirst.

This gruesome story by eyewitnesses (comments the Administrator) could be continued until the report would probably require several thick volumes. Evidence of violation of women and girls is overwhelming, but so full of filthy and atrocious details as to render publication undesirable.

POLICY OF EXTERMINATION

One more quotation may be added, from the testimony of a European who acted as transport driver to the Germans. He states:

The hanging of natives was a common occurrence. A German officer had the right to order a native to be hanged. No trial or court was necessary. Many were hanged merely on suspicion. One day alone I saw seven Hereros hanged in a row, and on other days twos and threes. The Germans did not worry about rope. They used ordinary fencing wire, and the unfortunate native was hoisted up by the neck and allowed to die of slow strangulation. This was all done in public, and the bodies were always allowed to hang for a day or so as an example to the other natives. Natives who were placed in jail at that time never came out alive. Many died of sheer starvation and brutal treatment. * * * The Hereros were far more humane in the field than the Germans. They were once a fine race. Now we have only a miserable remnant left.

This last statement is amply proved by official German statistics. Out of between 80,000 and 90,000 souls, only about 15,000 starving and fugitive Hereros were alive at the end of 1905, when von Trotha relinquished his task. In 1911, after all rebellions had been suppressed and tranquillity restored, the Government had a census taken. The figures, reproduced below, speak for themselves:

	Estimate, 1904.	Official census, 1911.	Decrease.
Hereros	80,000	15,130	64,870.
Hottentots	20,000	9,781	10,219
Berg-Damaras ...	30,000	12,831	17,169
	130,000	37,742	92,258

In other words, 80 per cent. of the Herero people had disappeared, and more than half of the Hottentot and Berg-Damara races had shared the same fate. Dr. Paul Rohrbach's dictum, "It is applicable to a nation in the same way as to the individual that the right of existence is primarily justified in the degree that such existence is useful for progress and general development" comes forcibly to mind. These natives of Southwest Africa had been weighed in the German balance and had been found wanting.

From the figures above quoted it will be apparent that the treatment of the Hottentots and other native races of the territory was the same as that meted out to the Hereros. The story here told of German intercourse with these tribes is a consistent record of treachery, robbery, and cruelty, followed by revolt, its merciless suppression, and the virtual enslavement of the surviving remnants.

When the Hereros and Hottentots finally surrendered and "peace" was made they were sent to forced labor on the harbor works at Luderitzbucht and Swakopmund and also on railway construction. Of 3,500 Hottentots and Kaffirs sent to Shark Island, all but 193 died there. How these unhappy people fared is told by some of the victims themselves. Two extracts must suffice:

About 600 men, women, and children prisoners were in an inclosure on the beach, fenced in with barbed wire. The women were made to do hard labor just

like the men. They were put in spans of eight to each cart, and were made to pull, like draft animals. Many were half-starved and weak, and died of sheer exhaustion. Those who did not work well were brutally flogged with sjamboks. I even saw women knocked down with pick handles. The German soldiers did this. I personally saw six women (Herero girls) murdered by German soldiers. I was there for six months, and the Hereros died daily in large numbers as a result of exhaustion, ill-treatment, and exposure.

When von Trotha left we were advised of a circular which the new Governor, von Lindequist, had issued, in which he promised to spare the lives of our people if we came in from the bush and mountains where we lived like hunted game. I went to Okambahe, near my old home, and surrendered. We then had no cattle, and there were only a few thousands of us left, and we were walking skeletons, with no flesh, only skin and bones. I was sent down with others to an island at Luderitzbucht. There on that island were thousands of Herero and Hottentot prisoners. Men, women, and children were all huddled together. We had no proper clothing, no blankets, and the night air of the sea was bitterly cold. The wet sea fogs drenched us and made our teeth chatter. The people died there like flies that had been poisoned. The little children and the old people died first, and then the women and the weaker men. No day passed without many deaths. We begged and prayed and appealed for leave to go back to our own country, which is warmer, but the Germans refused.

German native policy after the suppression of the rebellions was, in short, directed to the complete subjugation of the native races. Mr. Georges supplies statements by natives made on oath which give some idea of the reign of terror which existed up to 1914, and adds: "Instances of cruelty, injustice, and barbarism might be multiplied almost indefinitely. Instances of gross and bestial conduct, which for sheer depravity and immorality are well-nigh unbelievable, are also contained in the file of affidavits, but they are hardly fit for publication."

As an instance of the methods in which justice was meted out to the natives of the territory, the case of Lieutenant Venuleth, an officer of the Ger-

man forces, may be noted. This officer in June, 1915, caught two natives, (one of whom was a woman,) charged with stock theft, and he proceeded to hold a court-martial on them, in which he acted as President of the court, and supplied practically the only evidence taken, with the result that the natives were condemned and shot. Lieutenant Venuleth was subsequently arrested by the British authorities and tried for murder, and a record of the trial has already been published in the Parliamentary paper, (Cd. 8,371.) As the court which tried him observed:

The whole procedure was hopelessly bad. The accused, Venuleth, was at once President and complainant. According to his own account, the only evidence was his own remarks and the statement of Schulze, a member of the court. No charge was made against the natives accused. They were not present; no evidence was heard; they were convicted and sentenced in their absence. They were found guilty and shot. Now it is difficult to mention any principle of justice and law which has not been violated, if this court really meant to try those natives.

Attention may be directed also to the case of Ludwig Cramer, which is described in full in the report. Cramer was accused of assaulting certain native women, and was eventually sentenced to four months' imprisonment and a fine of \$675. The amazing inadequacy of this punishment can only be realized by reading the full account of the nature of assaults committed. It is sufficient to say that two of the victims were flogged by Cramer to such an extent that one died after fourteen days' hospital treatment and the other, after being released from hospital as incurable, died six months later.

The report is illustrated with photographs of men executed by the primitive method of hanging, of the bodies of women flogged nearly to death, and of the chains and fetters with which the natives were tortured by their captors—ghastly but eloquent testimony to the meaning of German rule.

Mesopotamian Operations

Report of the Commander in Chief Covering the Period
From September, 1917, to March, 1918

LIEUT. GEN. SIR W. R. MARSHALL, Commander in Chief of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force, submitted to the British War Office a report for the six months ended March 31, 1918, which was officially published in September. In this period the chief engagement was at Khan Baghdadi, on the Euphrates, where the Turks were crushed and pursued beyond Ana. On the Diala front the British in this period captured the Sakaltutan Pass and drove the Turks back through Kifri. The most important portions of General Marshall's report are as follows:

I assumed the command of this force on Nov. 18 last on the death of the late lamented Lieut. Gen. Sir Stanley Maude, and now have the honor to submit a report on the operations in Mesopotamia from Oct. 1, 1917, till March 31 of this year. The last dispatch of General Maude covered the period April 1 to Sept. 30, 1917, [printed in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for April, 1918,] and concluded with the operations which resulted in the capture and occupation of Ramadi, on the Euphrates. At the commencement of the period covered by the present dispatch this force was opposed on the northeast by Turks, who were holding the hills known as Jebel Hamrin, while up the Tigris they were intrenched in front of Daur, and the left wing was secure at Ramadi. At the beginning of October it was decided to clear the Turks from the left bank of the Diala and occupy the Jebel Hamrin, astride of that river, in order that the control of the canals might be in our hands. All our objectives were gained, and a position astride the Diala gorge, protecting the headworks of the canals, was seized and consolidated.

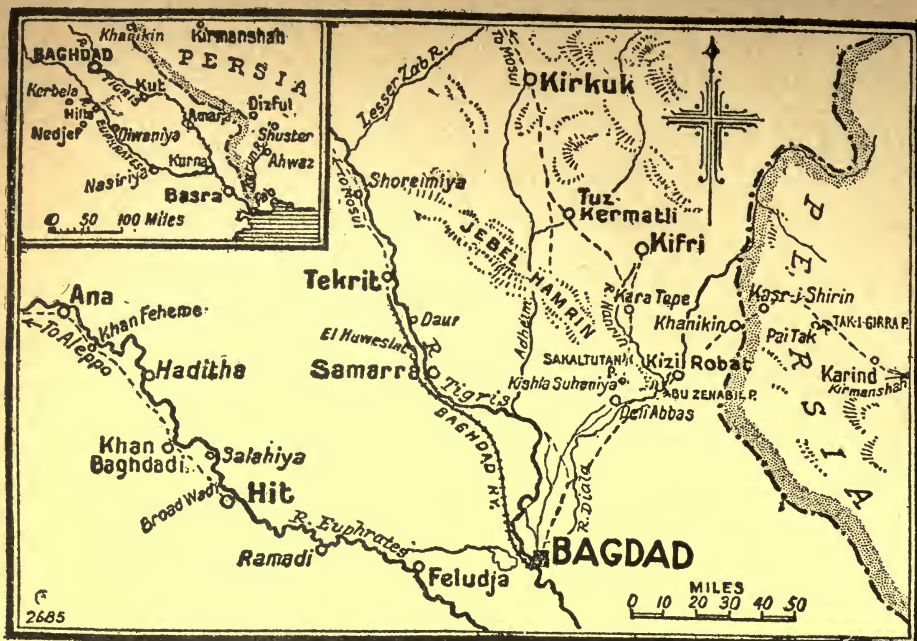
To insure a perfect system of communication in the new forward area considerable work was necessitated. The main canals, i. e., Khalis, Mansuriya, Khorassan, Mahrut, Harunliya, and Ruz, as well as their numerous distributaries, were rapidly bridged—often at more than one place—and this mobile bridging equipment was subsequently replaced by more permanent structures capable of carrying heavy loads. Seventy-five bridges of various sizes were built in this area alone, and the Jebel Hamrin, which prior to our occupation was a roadless tangle of hills, was gradually pierced by a very

complete and convenient number of roads suitable for wheeled traffic. These roads have involved heavy work, not only in digging but in rock-cutting through the hills and in metaling over the sandy flats. While the operations referred to above were in progress the 18th Turkish Army Corps on the Tigris undertook a counterdemonstration against our troops on that line, and in the middle of October advanced as far as El Huweslat, eight miles north of Samarra, where they proceeded to intrench themselves. General Maude decided to attack before they had time to consolidate their position to any great extent.

ARMY'S HIGH MORALE

General Marshall then refers to the death of General Maude from cholera on Nov. 19, 1917; he pays a touching tribute to his predecessor and refers in detail to the high morale which existed in the army, due to General Maude's wonderful powers of organization. He proceeds:

The Turkish Army, on the contrary, was low in morale, and desertions from it were numerous and frequent; on the Tigris and Euphrates they had retreated out of rapid striking distance, and only on our right flank was there a good opportunity of hitting them. Toward the end of November, therefore, I determined to attack that part of the 13th Turkish Army Corps which was holding the Diala River above Mansuriya, the passes over the Jebel Hamrin and Kara Tepe. The Turkish forces were well placed for defense, and the task set to our troops included the forcing of the passages of the Diala and Nahrin Rivers, as well as the Sakaltutan and Abu Zenabil Passes through the Jebel Hamrin. The operations were intrusted to Lieut. Gen. Sir. R. Egerton, while an independent force of cavalry under Major Gen. L. C. Jones was ordered to demonstrate up the Adhaim River and prevent strong reinforcements being brought down against our attacking force from the line Tuz Kermatli-Kirkuk. On Dec. 5 a combined column pushed forward against Kara Tepe, (which was carried.) The features of the day's fighting were the determination and dash of the infantry, their close support by the artillery, and the valuable co-operation of the Flying Corps with both. During these operations our troops received valuable assistance from the Russian detach-



SCENE OF BRITISH OPERATIONS IN MESOPOTAMIA UNDER GENERAL MARSHALL

ment under Lieut. Col. Bicharakhov. Our casualties were very small, in spite of the difficulties of terrain, and the operation reflected great credit on the commanders and staffs concerned, as well as on the regimental officers and men. On Dec. 9 Khanakin was occupied and the communications in that area improved.

ON THE EUPHRATES

On the Euphrates Ramadi had been captured in September, and the months from October to December were occupied by the troops in that area in consolidating their forward positions and in establishing a sense of security among the surrounding tribes. Several bridges were thrown across the River Euphrates, and the development of the forward area was taken in hand so as to relieve the strain on transport, which had to bring supplies by road from Baghdad until the railway was completed on Dec. 21.

During December and January it was evident that the Turks were being reinforced, the bulk of their troops being near Hit, and as their strength grew their patrols were pushed down stream as far as Uqbah and Nafata. I accordingly issued orders to Major Gen. Sir H. T. Brooking, commanding the troops on the Euphrates front, to capture Hit and its garrison as soon as his arrangements were completed and the state of the ground permitted. [After describing the operations, which were quite successful, the dispatch says:] The total prisoners taken were the commander and staff of the 50th Turkish Division, the commandant of

Ana, two regimental commanders, 213 officers, and 5,022 other ranks, inclusive of Germans. Twelve guns, forty-seven machine guns, and great quantities of rifles, ammunition, and stores were also captured. The amount of ammunition found at Ana, being too large to be brought away, was blown up, and on March 30 the troops were gradually withdrawn down the Euphrates to previously arranged positions.

FAMINE CAUSED BY TURKS

With the advent of the new year, the weather, which had been unexpectedly good in December, became consistently wet. Continuous operations on any large scale were rendered out of the question, and the greatest strain was thrown on the lines of communication and supply formations. Toward the end of the month the state of famine to which the Turks had reduced Northern Persia made it incumbent on me to endeavor to open the main trade route via Kirmanshah in order to get supplies to the poor inhabitants of the towns and villages, and to provide them with an outlet for their home manufactures. With this object in view I increased the garrison of Kasr-i-Shirin, and pushed small posts toward Kirmanshah. A large amount of tribal labor was also employed in improving the road, which was in a lamentable state of disrepair. The continuance of wet weather up to the present date, coupled with snow on the high ground east of the Tak-i-Girra pass, has rendered the maintenance of troops along the road a matter of extreme difficulty. In addition to

the operations on the Diala, Tigris, and Euphrates, and the activities toward Kirmanshah, to which I have referred, numerous minor operations have been carried out on all fronts.

RELIGIOUS CITIES

In the time of my predecessor the Civil Commissioner, Sir Percy Cox, had strongly urged that the whole of the Euphrates line from Feludja to Nasiriya should be brought under military and civil control, but at that time circumstances did not permit of any extension of our military responsibilities. By the middle of December, 1917, however, the military position had completely changed owing to the magnificent success gained by General Allenby in Palestine. I therefore considered that the time was ripe to establish a firm control of the line of the Euphrates, and by that means encourage and assist in the development of the rich agricultural lands in that area. To that end I issued orders for troops to be dispatched from Nasiriya and Bagdad to garrison various villages, thus establishing through communication by river between Basra and Feludja and controlling the development of local resources throughout the lower Euphrates Valley.

The extension of military control over this area was also desirable in order that the Sheiks of important towns like Kerbela, Nedjef, Hilla, and Diwaniya might be brought more closely into the sphere of British influence and that pro-Turk sympathizers might be expelled. Care was taken not to establish troops in either of the religious cities of Kerbela and Nedjef, and they were quartered at a distance. The inhabitants of Nedjef are, for the most part, well-disposed holy people, but there is in addition a proportion of irreconcilables in the town. On Jan. 12 some of these fired on the troops exercising near the town, causing a few casualties. Not wishing to injure a town which is full of sacred memories for Mohammedans, I decided to punish two of the leading Sheiks who were known to be responsible for the offense, and to levy a heavy fine. The Sheiks, however, fled before they could be arrested, and they became outlaws. The fine was paid.

After this incident matters seemed to be going on satisfactorily when, on March 21, to my great regret, the political officer in Nedjef, Captain W. W. Marshall, was murdered. No reason was given for the act, as the deceased officer was universally liked. I immediately ordered a blockade of the town until all those implicated in the murder were given up, and surrounded it by a cordon of military posts joined by barbed wire. While I am prepared to go to extreme measures if necessary in order to exact reparation for so foul a deed, I feel confident that by blockade methods I shall cause all the delinquents to be surrendered. When these have been removed

the further punishment of the town will be a matter for subsequent consideration.

Meantime, the development of the Hilla area has proceeded apace. Many hundred tons of seed grain have been planted, and to assist in bringing the harvest into Bagdad a branch line down to Hilla is being made, which is expected to be open for traffic by the middle of May. I have every confidence that this scheme will prove beneficial and enable this force to be dependent largely on local produce.

LINE OF COMMUNICATION

The maintenance of the line of communication defenses along both the Tigris and Euphrates has been carried out with marked efficiency. On the Tigris the only trouble caused has been due to losses by theft from trains and boats, especially between Kurna and Amara. This district is inhabited by marsh tribes, who in their native swamps are afforded complete immunity against attack by land, as they retreat rapidly into their boats, leaving nothing of value behind. The tribes between Basra and Nasiriya have been absolutely quiet, and have made no hostile movement. I have nothing but praise for the patrols, railway guards and escorts, whose work has brought out qualities of self-reliance and devotion to duty. The defenses at Fao have been consolidated and improved, and the examination service of ships entering the Shatt-el-Arab has been effective. During the six months under review 581 vessels other than British and 8,466 native craft have been examined.

One of the principal features of the lines of communication has been the rapid development of the port of Basra by the completion of the dockyard and of the first set of wharves, earlier planned, as well as the continuance of the arrangements for improving the working of ocean shipping. A large island at Magill has been raised by dredging to take ocean ships on one side and to load river steamers on the other. The auxiliary annex of Nahr Umr has also given very great assistance with little outlay of material. All this work reflects great credit on the construction branch of the Port Administration and Conservancy. The period covered by this dispatch contains the worst months of low water, when every day was a constant anxiety with regard to river navigation, and the river was kept open only by the most unremitting care of the buoying establishment. The river-borne tonnage has steadily improved, and the organization of the Inland Water Transport has shown a very high state of efficiency. Considerable progress has also been shown in the development of the railways in all sections of the lines of communication, and in the improvements of the river ports of Amara and Kut-el-Amara.

The report compliments the various

auxiliary services, such as nursing, medical, sanitary, Red Cross, ordnance, remount, and proceeds as follows:

The Irrigation Department, as such, has been recently constituted, though irrigation work was carried out previously, chiefly on the Euphrates. The work done can only be described as extraordinary, and I look forward to a great development in this direction next year. The excellent results already achieved are due to the untiring zeal and energy of all ranks in a country where, until recently, there was no military control. The period has been one of constant construction work and of steadily increasing demands on the Railway Department. Floods have caused several interruptions, but the service of trains has been maintained with great success in face of difficulties inherent to lines rapidly constructed in a new country, where all material has had to be brought from overseas. The Department of Local Resources has, in addition to its former duties, taken over the control of grass farms,

the feeding of the civil population, and the arrangements for the collection and transportation of the coming harvest. Tanneries, and a poultry farm primarily to supply hospitals, are being formed. The blockade system has been carefully regulated, and ample evidence is available of severe shortage of supplies among the Turkish troops, resulting in increased desertions and loss of morale. The department has been conducted with considerable ability. Agriculture has made great progress, and my especial thanks are due to C. C. Garbett, First Revenue Officer, for the initiative displayed and the valuable work done by him in this connection. The latest estimate for the coming harvest is most gratifying. I hope, by the institution of a properly constituted Department of Agriculture and by its co-ordination with the Irrigation Department, that a very large increase will be shown next year in the agricultural development of this country.

The dispatch ends with recommendations for distinguished service awards.

A Soldier's Amazing Career

The Paris Journal describes the remarkable career of a private French soldier named Bertrand. The narrative is vouched for to that newspaper by Bertrand's Lieutenant:

Bertrand wears the French Legion of Honor, Military Medal, Military Cross with seven palms and five stars, British Military Cross, Belgian Military Cross, French Colonial and Morocco Medal, the Life-Saving Medal, and also a ribbon for wounds, as he has lost one arm and one leg, and has been otherwise mutilated, besides receiving some thirty bayonet wounds. He is 26. He enlisted at 18, and fought in Morocco, where he saved two officers and won the Military Medal. At the outbreak of the war he went through the Charleroi and Marne battles. At the latter he captured two German field kitchens, having killed the cooks and brought the kitchens with food ready to eat into the French lines. On the Yser and the Somme, fighting with the British troops, he made ten German prisoners with his own hands, and won the British Military Cross. He was five times taken prisoner and five times escaped. After that he volunteered for the Near East, and at Monastir with one or two comrades he kept four machine guns firing and held an enemy battalion

at bay, with the result that 200 prisoners were made. After that at Monastir he saved his Captain and a nurse. In this affair he lost an arm, and was otherwise mutilated. He was sent back to France, and forty-eight hours after sailing his boat was torpedoed, and the explosion blew off his leg. He amputated the remainder of the limb himself with his own knife. He fell into the sea, and managed with his one arm to hang on to a floating spar. Then he caught sight of the ship's skipper, who had had both arms blown off. He managed to pick him up, and both men remained on the raft for three days and three nights. For this Bertrand was awarded the Life-Saving Medal, the only medal left to him to win.

This astounding career has been accompanied by the extraordinary tragedies of his family. His father enlisted at 53 at the beginning of the war, and was killed on Sept. 2, 1914. His four brothers have all died for their country; the last surviving one had lost both arms and both legs and was blinded, and mercifully died a few months ago. Bertrand's old mother has just died also, overcome by the succession of tragedies, and Bertrand remains alone of the family with his sister aged 9, of whom he is the sole support.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR

[Canadian Cartoon]

“What Stands in the Way of Peace?”

[LANSLOWNE IN HIS PACIFIST LETTER]



From The Halifax Herald.

Only a Bloodstained Beast

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The Kings



—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich.

“This is a time in which Monarchs must stand together.”

[From the letter of the Emperor Karl to King Ferdinand]

[American Cartoon]

The Thinker



—From The Baltimore Sun.

“If only I hadn’t——”

[Italian Cartoon]

The Crown Prince Moves in Haste



Il 420, Florence.

[English Cartoon]

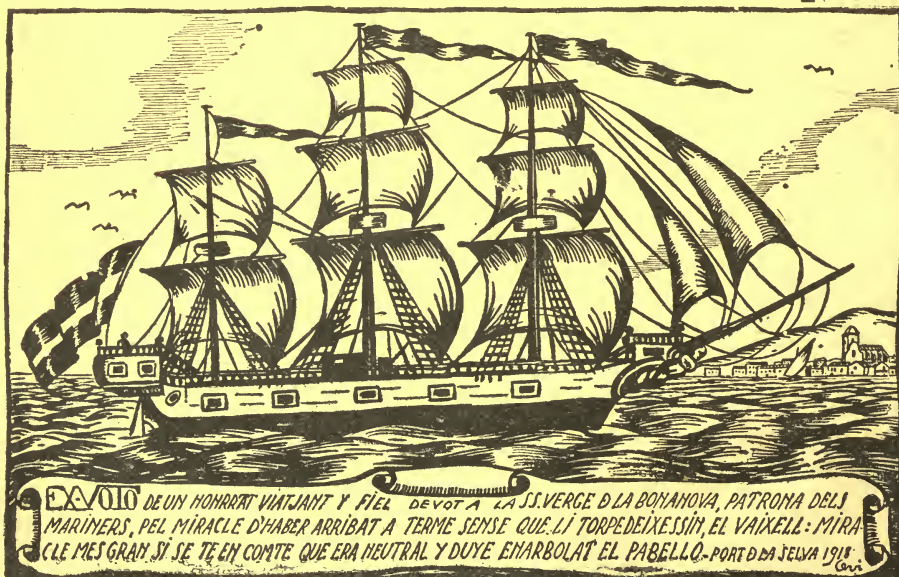
Escorting Him Home



—Passing Show, London.

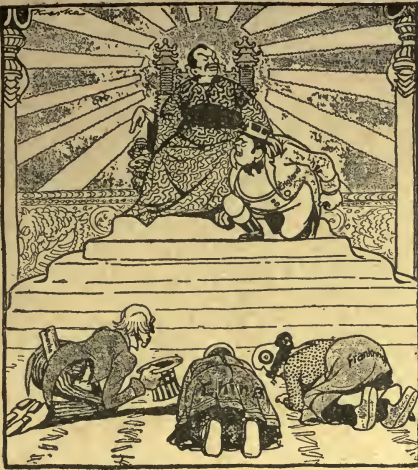
[Spanish Cartoon]

The Miracle of the Neutral Ship



Esquella of Barcelona issued a special number devoted to "Ex-Votos," or modernized versions of the mediaeval pictures with which pious persons celebrated unusual occurrences. The above picture bears the legend: "Ex-voto of an honest sailor, devoted to the Holy Lady of Bonanova, patroness of mariners, for the miracle of having arrived in port without being torpedoed, a miracle the more remarkable when it is remembered that the vessel was completely neutral."

The Lord of the World



—Ulk, Berlin.

[In accordance with Germany's plan to create enmity between Japan and America, this cartoon shows England, the United States, France, and China all kneeling to the Mikado.]

Her New Partner

"After the Sioux Indians the United States has sent the Apaches to France."—
German news item.



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

FRANCE: "Mon Dieu! the real Apache."

Wilson's Trip to the Front



—Ulk, Berlin.

[The German cartoonist represents the President as saying: "Though the whole world goes to ruin, I am not going to let *my* war be spoiled."]

Berlin's Boast



—Der Brummer, Berlin.

It does not matter how they screech, or how Poincaré crows
For victory they'll never reach—it never backward goes.

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Dance of Death



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

GERMANIA: "Enough! Enough! Have done!"

DEATH: "You chose me for a partner, you will continue to dance!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Chancellor and Belgium



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

VON HERTLING: "We hold Belgium as a PAWN."

[American Cartoon]

Paying the Debt



—From The Dayton News.

[American Cartoons]

"Peace—Kamerad!"



We Hit From the Shoulder



Grasping a Salient Feature!



Don't Try to Talk With Your Mouth Full!



—Brooklyn Eagle.

[French Cartoon]

The Rejected Gift



—From *La Baionnette*, Paris.

“It was a solid peace, too, for it came from the Krupp works.”

[Italian Cartoon]

The Kaiser's Change of Mind



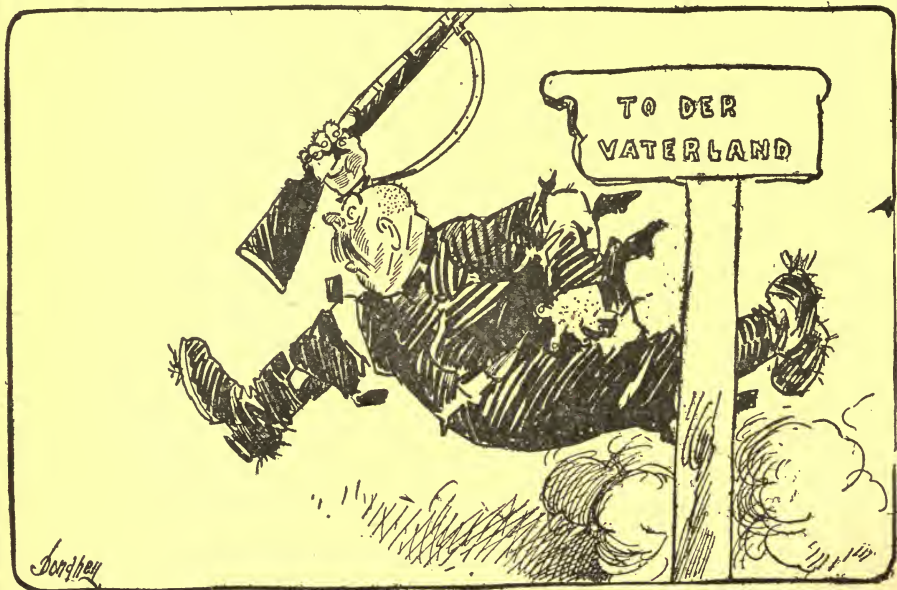
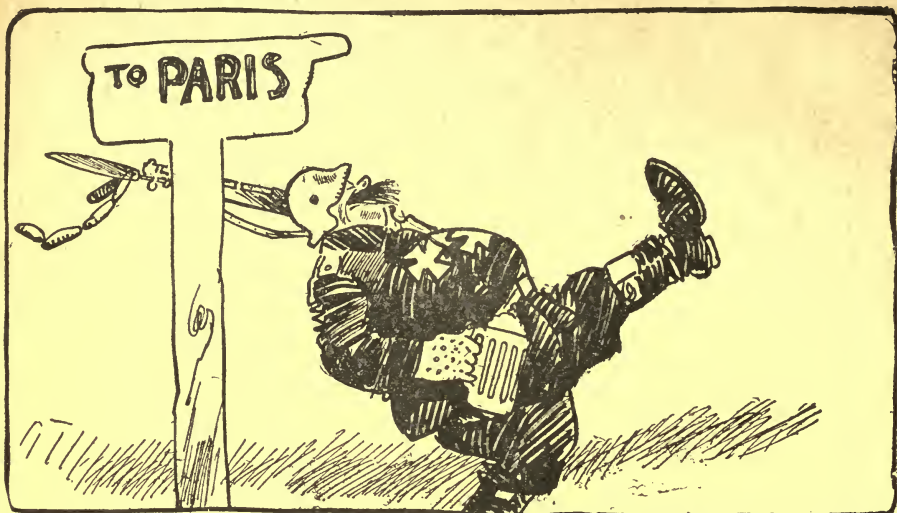
—From *Il 420*, Florence.

IN 1915: "The armies of the Entente are as mosquitos to Germany."

IN 1918: "Who would have thought those mosquitos could bite so hard!"

[American Cartoon]

Changing His Step



—From *The Cleveland Plain Dealer*.

The goose step and the Rhine trot.

[American Cartoon]

A Bird in the Hand



[American Cartoon]

A Fool There Was



—From The St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

DEFEAT (unmasking): "Kiss me, my fool, kiss me!"

Implacable Pursuit



—Central Press Association.

"Wilson Said 'No,' Your Majesty"



—New York World.

Line Out of Order]



—Central Press Association.

Goose-Stepping for Peace



—New York Tribune.

[American Cartoons]

Restrictions "Under There"



—San Francisco Chronicle.

Pity the Blind



—San Francisco Chronicle.

Feeding the Lion



—Newark Evening News.

"Treatin' 'em Rough"



—Newark Evening News.

[American Cartoons]

The Rats Are Beginning to Leave



—New York Tribune.

The Awakening



—New York Times.

Kultur in Russia



—New York Herald.

All in One Day



—New York World.

[American Cartoons]

The Fortune Teller



—Satterfield Syndicate.

Why We Are Fighting



—St. Louis Republic.

Coming Home to Roost



—Dallas News.

Peace for Christmas? Not in That Stocking!



—Detroit News.

Changes in the German Government

Amendments Made on Account of President Wilson's Peace Program

CHANGES were made in the German Cabinet and also in constitutional and franchise provisions affecting the Government, all tending to conform more or less with President Wilson's requirements respecting peace. Chancellor von Hertling, Vice Chancellor von Payer, and Foreign Minister Von Hintze tendered their resignations Sept. 29, 1918, and these were accepted by the Emperor.

Count von Hertling, a conservative by instinct and training, had tried to steer a middle course and thus had deprived himself of the support of all parties. His support of the electoral reform measure, even in its emasculated form, angered the Pan Germans. The Moderates charged that he had "no program and no will," while the Socialists distrusted his sincerity and declared that he was absolutely frigid toward democratization and parliamentarization. Dr. von Payer, who followed his chief into retirement, was regarded as sharing the same defects, though in a lesser degree. Von Hintze, though his appointment had met with the enthusiastic approval of the Junker element, had proved to be a colorless figure during his term of office.

On Oct. 2 Prince Maximilian of Baden was appointed Chancellor. He is the heir presumptive to the grand ducal throne of Baden, and was born July 10, 1867. His expressed views on the war have been moderate, and his elevation was largely due to the belief that he would be an acceptable spokesman for Germany in dealing with the allied nations. A speech that he made to the Upper Chamber in Baden, of which he was President, on Dec. 15, 1917, in which he declared that "the sword alone will never be able to tear down the opposition to us" lent color to this belief. Soon after his appointment, however, the publication of a private letter in which he cast ridicule upon the sincerity of his previous professions greatly weakened

his position, and at once rendered his tenure of office uncertain.

Dr. W. S. Solf, who succeeded von Hintze as Imperial Foreign Secretary, retained at the same time the Colonial portfolio. He has been a Moderate in politics and his speeches on the war have been marked by self-restraint.

Von Payer's functions were taken over by Mathias Erzberger, a leader of the Centrist Party, who opposed indemnities and annexations. Minor offices in the Cabinet were filled by the appointment of Dr. Eduard David, a Socialist leader in the Reichstag, as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and of Herr Bauer, also a Socialist, as Secretary of State for the Imperial Labor Office. Philipp Scheidemann, Majority Socialist leader, was made a Secretary of State without portfolio.

Shortly after the appointments, and in apparent harmony with the purpose that dictated them, it was announced on Oct. 16 that Germany's Federal Council had accepted the proposed amendment to the Constitution, Paragraph 2 of Article II., making it read:

The consent of the Federal Council and the Reichstag is required for a declaration of war in the empire's name, except in a case where imperial territory has already been invaded or its coasts attacked.

Paragraph 3 of Article II. was amended to read:

Treaties of peace and treaties with foreign States which deal with affairs coming under the competence of the imperial law-giving bodies require the consent of the Federal Council and the Reichstag.

Cabinet Ministers were no longer to be required to be members of the Federal Council, but were at all times to have the right to be heard by the Council. They were also to have the right to demand to be heard by the Reichstag.

It was explained by the semi-official Wolff Bureau that these changes were in accord with the Emperor's decree of Sept. 30, in which he declared his will to

be "that the German people shall henceforth more effectively co-operate in deciding the Fatherland's destinies."

The Election Commission of the Prussian House of Lords, in its reconsideration of the franchise measures, eliminated the clause granting an extra vote to men over 40 years of age. The period of residence required in an election district was reduced from one year to six months and other changes were made. The proportional franchise was accepted for a number of election districts containing large cities.

A decree by the Emperor, dated Oct. 4, was as follows:

On your proposal I decree that the social and political affairs of the empire, which heretofore have pertained to the Imperial Economic Ministry, shall henceforth be dealt with by a special central authority, under the name of the Imperial Labor Minister, under direct control of the Imperial Chancellor. You will have to provide for the allocation of work for the officials requisite in virtue of this decree.

Another step toward the reform of Prussia's antiquated three-class franchise was taken by the adoption, Oct. 12, of the following resolution by the Conservative faction in the Prussian Diet:

In the hour of the Fatherland's greatest distress and in realization that we must be equipped to fight hard battles for the integrity of the Fatherland's soil the Conservative Party of the Diet considers it a patriotic duty to lay aside all internal conflict and be ready to make heavy sacrifices to attain the ends in view. The members of the party believe that a far-reaching radicalization of the Prussian Constitution will not advance the welfare of the Prussian people, but are, nevertheless, prepared to abandon their opposition to the equal franchise in Prussia, in accordance with the latest decision of their friends in the House of Lords, in order to assure a harmonious front against the outside world.

The empire created by the German Constitution of April 14, 1871, consisted of four kingdoms, six grand duchies, five duchies, seven principalities, three free cities, and one territory, all under the Presidency of the King of Prussia, with the title of German Emperor. All the officials of the empire are appointed by him.

It is not a union of equal States, for

Prussia drew up the instrument, and some States declined to join except on their own terms. Thus Prussia has the hereditary right to the Presidency and her representation in the Federal Council is seventeen out of a possible sixty-one, and the number of her representatives in the Reichstag is 236 out of 397. Prussia also has the casting of a vote in case of a tie in the Federal Council, and the Chirmanship of all standing committees save one. Other States which have special privileges are Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and Saxony. The Constitution contains a guarantee that no State so privileged shall be deprived of its rights without its consent.

Just as the King of Prussia is the German Emperor, so the Prime Minister of Prussia is Chancellor of the Empire. The Chancellor, whose title is Reichskanzler, countersigns the laws passed by the Federal Council, which represents the individual States of the empire, and by the Reichstag, which represents the empire as a political entirety, after which they are promulgated by the Emperor, with whom they originated.

The Chancellor also presides at the Federal Council, and supervises a body of Secretaries, who independently attend to the business of the empire—foreign affairs, finance, justice, &c.,—but they do not, strictly speaking, form a Ministry or Cabinet, for they are responsible only to the Chancellor, who is responsible to the Emperor.

Whatever changes may be made in the method of appointing members to the Federal Council or electing the members of the Reichstag, whatever changes may be made in the Constitutions of the various States of the empire, so long as the articles in the Constitution of April 16, 1871, which pertain to the power of the German Emperor, remain as they are, the empire will continue, from father to son, under the absolute government, rule and reign of the Hohenzollerns.

The amendments made to the Constitution on Oct. 16 left this supreme power inviolate, while they made the Reichstag, in certain cases, a party to the responsibility of the Federal Council.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From September 18 Up to and Including October 18, 1918

UNITED STATES

The Fourth Liberty Loan campaign opened Sept. 28; closed Oct. 19, with more than \$6,000,000,000 subscribed.

Germany sent an ultimatum to the United States Government Sept. 29, demanding that America cease arming troops with shotguns, and threatening to execute prisoners in reprisal. The American Government replied, justifying the use of shotguns and announcing that if the threat of reprisals were carried out, America would retaliate.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The American steamship Tampa was sunk off the English coast on Sept. 26; 118 men lost.

The American steamer Ticonderoga was torpedoed Sept. 30, about 1,000 miles from the American coast, while on its way to France. Eleven naval officers and 102 men were lost, and two officers were made prisoners by the submarine.

The American transport Amphion, homeward bound, had a two hours' running fight with a submarine 800 miles off the Atlantic Coast on the morning of Oct. 12. Eight American men were wounded, but the ship reached port safely.

Norway lost eight vessels in September.

Word was received on Sept. 20 of the sinking of the French liner Amiral Charner, bound for Malta. Six lives were lost.

The Spanish steamer Francoli was torpedoed Oct. 4.

Three hundred lives were lost when the Japanese liner Hirano Maru was sunk off the Irish coast Oct. 5.

The Italian cargo carrier Alberto Treves was torpedoed 300 miles off the Atlantic Coast Oct. 8.

The Irish mail boat Leinster was torpedoed in the Irish Channel Oct. 10, with a loss of 408 lives.

Figures given out by the United States Shipping Board Sept. 21 showed that during the period from August, 1914, to September, 1918, German submarines sank 7,157,088 tons of shipping in excess of the tonnage turned out in that period by the allied and neutral nations; 3,795,000 tons of enemy ships were seized, the net loss to the allied and neutral nations on Sept. 1, 1918, being 3,362,088 tons. In all, the allied and neutral nations had lost 21,404,193 tons of shipping since the beginning of the war, and the total construction was 14,247,025 tons.

Sinkings in August amounted to 327,676

gross tons, of which 176,401 was British and 151,275 allied and neutral.

The British Admiralty announced on Oct. 2 that in the second quarter of 1917 the world's merchant shipping suffered a loss of 2,236,934 tons, but in the months of June, July, and August, the total was 932,556 tons—a reduction of 58 per cent.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Sept. 19—British advance into the Hindenburg line outposts northwest of St. Quentin and captured Lempire and Gauche Wood; French enter Contescourt and occupy Castres and Benay.

Sept. 20—American guns shell Metz forts; British recapture the fortified village of Moeuvres, seven miles west of Cambrai, advance their lines more than a mile, and advance on a front of more than two and a half miles northeast of La Bassée; French capture Essigny-le-Grand and gain northeast of Vailly.

Sept. 21—British break into the Hindenburg line east of Epehy and near Hargicourt.

Sept. 23—Germans give up Vendeuil, on the Oise; British capture strong positions northwest of St. Quentin.

Sept. 24—British and French attack on adjacent fronts, gaining about seven miles northwest, west, and southwest of St. Quentin.

Sept. 25—British capture Selency.

Sept. 26—First American Army launches an attack between the Meuse and the Aisne Rivers, on a twenty-mile front, smashing through the Hindenburg line for an average gain of seven miles and taking twelve towns.

Sept. 27—Americans continue their drive west of Verdun; French advance east of Rheims, gaining five miles in two days' fight and taking more than a dozen villages and important strategic points; British attack in Cambrai sector on a fourteen-mile front, crossing the Canal du Nord and piercing the Hindenburg line at several points.

Sept. 28—Americans reach the Kriemhilde line at Briailles and advance; French take Fort Malmaison, southeast of Laon, and gain in Champagne; Belgians and British attack on a ten-mile front in Flanders, from Dixmude to a point north of Ypres, advancing more than three and a half miles; British close in on Cambrai, taking many towns.

Sept. 29—British strike on a thirty-mile front from St. Quentin to the Sensée River, aided by the Americans, who capture

- Bellicourt and Nauroy; English division crosses the Scheldt and captures the garrison of Bellenglise; Americans fight on to the Kriemhilde line, capturing Brieuilles-sur-Meuse and Romagne; French advance two miles on the Chemin des Dames; Belgians take Dixmude and advance.
- Sept. 30—British force their way into the outskirts of Cambrai and St. Quentin; British take Messines Ridge and Gheluwe; Americans advance slightly in the Argonne; French advance on a front of seven and a half miles between the Aisne and the Vesle Rivers.
- Oct. 1—French troops enter St. Quentin and extend their lines east of the city; Germans driven from Aisne hills northwest of Rheims; British take northern and western suburbs of Cambrai; Americans push ahead in the Aisne-Meuse sector and repulse German counterattacks in the region of Cierges and at Apremont; Germans prepare to evacuate Belgium.
- Oct. 2—Germans begin evacuation of Lille and begin a retreat on a wide front on both sides of La Bassée Canal as Allies continue enveloping movement north and south of Lille, Roubaix, and Turcoing; Belgians take Hoogledede and Handzaeme; British take Le Bezet in move to encircle Armentières; last known German line of defense between Cambrai and St. Quentin broken by British capture of the front extending from Beaufort to Fossefontaine; Cambrai mined by the Germans, but British patrols enter the city; all of St. Quentin won by the French and positions south of the city carried; French advance north of the Vesle.
- Oct. 3—British break German line on an eight-mile front from Sequehart to the Scheldt Canal north of Bony, capturing several towns, and penetrate German positions about five miles; Germans evacuate Armentières and Lens, and retreat on twenty-mile front; French make sweeping gains from St. Quentin eastward to the Argonne region, clearing the country north and west of Rheims.
- Oct. 4—Americans break the Kriemhilde line and drive Germans back to a line two kilometers north of Binerville and Fleville; Americans join French in the Champagne and take part in operations north of Somme-Py; fighting in the streets of Cambrai; Germans continue to retreat on the Lens-Armentières front.
- Oct. 5—Germans evacuate Lille; British cross the Scheldt Canal on the eight-mile front between Crèvecœur and Le Catelet; Germans retreat on wide front north of Rheims and in Champagne.
- Oct. 7—British advance on a four-mile front north of the Scarpe and capture Oppy and Biache-St. Vaast; French take Berry-aux-Bac; Americans gain in the Argonne region, taking Châtel-Chehery and commanding positions on the Aire.
- Oct. 8—British, American, and French forces shatter twenty miles of Hindenburg defense system from Cambrai southward, advancing to an average depth of three miles.
- Oct. 9—British take Cambrai, and advance nine miles on a twenty-mile front, defeating thirty German divisions; Americans break through the Kriemhilde line between Cunel and Romagne; French take Vaux les Mauron and Bazancourt.
- Oct. 10—British push their lines to the banks of the Selle on the ten-mile reach between Solesmes and St. Souplet, capturing Le Cateau; French north of the Aisne gain the plateau of Croix-Sans-Tête and cross the Aisne Canal near Villers-en-Prayères; Americans press forward in the Argonne Forest.
- Oct. 11—British press in to the northeast of Cambrai, capturing Iwuy and Fressies; Germans abandon their line along the Sensée River; British close in on Douai; French force an evacuation of thirty-seven miles in a six-mile thrust on the Suipe front; Germans evacuate the Chemin des Dames; Americans clear the Argonne Forest.
- Oct. 12—French enter Vouziers and hold southern slopes of the Returne Valley; British capture more villages southeast of Cambrai.
- Oct. 13—Germans evacuate Laon without a fight; French take La Fère and occupy the massif of St. Gobain; British take suburbs of Douai.
- Oct. 14—French capture Roulers in allied drive on twelve-mile front between the Handzaeme Canal and the Roulers-Menin Road; British and French menace Courtrai; Americans advance west of the Meuse; French capture and pass beyond Sissonne.
- Oct. 16—Germans begin evacuation of the Belgian coast region; British forces drive closer to Lille; Americans capture Grand Pré.
- Oct. 17—British enter Lille and Douai; Germans evacuate Ostend and British naval forces enter harbor; Belgian patrols enter Bruges; British and American attack on a nine-mile front northeast of Bohain and advance two miles.
- Oct. 18—Allies occupy Zeebrugge, Blankenberghe, and Thielt; British occupy Roubaix and Turcoing, capture villages to the southeast of Douai, and advance east of Le Cateau; Americans advance north of Romagne and take Bantheville; Germans withdraw from Loges and Bantheville Forests and Bois Hadois.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

- Sept. 17-18—British and Greek troops begin drive in the region of Lake Doiran; Serbs, French, and Greeks capture forty-five villages, take a foothold on the hills of Kuchkov, and cross the Perez River.

- Sept. 21—Serbs east of Monastir advance nine miles, liberating ten villages.
- Sept. 23—Allied armies drive Germans and Bulgars back on a front of more than ninety miles; Italians on the left wing cut First Bulgarian Army at Prilep off from communication with Second Army in the Doiran section; Serb, French, and Greek forces in the centre cross the Drenska mountain range and cut the German-built railroad from Prilep to Gradsko.
- Sept. 24—Allies advance on a front of twenty miles in Macedonia; French and Serbs capture Prilep; British occupy Doiran and advance northward; passing Kara Oghular; Serbs establish themselves on the eastern bank of the Vardar between Demirkapu Pass and Krivolak.
- Sept. 25—Bulgars retreat toward Veles, pursued by Serbs, who cross the Vardar River northwest of Gradsko, Krivolak-Ishtib road cut.
- Sept. 26—Serbs capture Veles and Ishtib; British and Greek forces invade Bulgaria from the Doiran region.
- Sept. 27—British capture Strumnitza City; Serbs enter Kochana; Bulgaria asks for armistice.
- Sept. 30—French enter Uskub; Serbs Charevo; hostilities with Bulgaria officially ended as armistice is signed.
- Oct. 2—Bulgarian troops evacuate Serbia; Austrians resist vigorously in the region of the Albanian border.
- Oct. 3—Austrian troops withdrawn from Albania; Italians occupy Berat without a fight and advance beyond; German troops in Macedonia move northward and fortify the Rumanian bank of the Danube River.
- Oct. 4—Greek troops enter Seres and occupy the Demir-Hassar Pass; Teutons plan new front in Northern Serbia and Bulgaria.
- Oct. 8—Greeks occupy Drama.
- Oct. 9—Italians in Albania occupy Elbasan.
- Oct. 11—Teutons reinforced in Serbia; Serbs advance toward Nish.
- Oct. 13—Allies take Nish.
- Oct. 15—Italians take Durazzo.
- Oct. 17—Serbs capture Alexinatz and Kruшевatz; Teuton forces in Western Serbia retire into Montenegro, after evacuating Diakova.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

- Sept. 19—British and French forces in Palestine, under command of General Allenby, attack Turkish positions on a front of sixteen miles, breaking through the Turkish lines between Rafat and the sea and advancing twelve miles.
- Sept. 22—Turkish army between the Jordan and the Mediterranean virtually wiped out by the British, who advance sixty miles from their original positions and occupy Nazareth, El Afule, and Beisan; Hejaz Arabs east of the Jordan destroy railroads and bridges.
- Sept. 23—British cavalry, pushing up the

- Mediterranean coast, occupy Haifa and Acre; Turks east of the Jordan cut off on the Damascus-Medina railroad to the north, and retire southward on Amman.
- Sept. 26—British reach the Sea of Galilee and occupy Tiberias, Semakh, and Es-Samra, also Amman, on the east of the Jordan on the Hejaz Railway.
- Sept. 27—British cavalry drives Turks northward through Mezeris and joins hands with Arab forces of the King of the Hejaz.
- Oct. 1—Damascus taken by the British, aided by the Arabs.
- Oct. 6—British occupy Zahieh and Rayak.
- Oct. 16—British seize Tripoli and Homs.

AERIAL RECORD

- Mannheim, Karlsruhe, Boulay, Frescaty, and Morhange were bombed Sept. 19. One German machine was brought down and one allied machine was reported missing.
- American aviators performed noteworthy feats in the Argonne region. On the night of Oct. 9 an expedition of over 350 planes bombed many towns. One man was lost.
- British airmen destroyed 383 German airplanes on the western front in September.

NAVAL RECORD

- American, British, and Italian warships destroyed the Austrian naval base at Durazzo and the warships anchored there, Oct. 2.
- Beirut was entered by a French naval division, Oct. 7.

RUSSIA

- The American Government sent a communication to all neutral and allied Governments urging them to condemn the slaughter and barbarism involved in the Bolshevik reign of terror, Sept. 21. Appeals to this effect were also issued by the Ukrainian Council and the Russian Duma and Russian Imperial Council. A decree rescinding the reign of terror was issued by the Bolshevik Government, Sept. 26.

The allied and Czechoslovak forces made some progress in their fighting against the Bolsheviks in Siberia and in European Russia. On Sept. 18 the Japanese captured Blagoviestschenck, the capital of Amur, and Alexievsk. The Austro-German forces at Kopka laid down their arms, and another formation retreated to the upper reaches of the Zaya River. On Sept. 21 Entente naval units and allied troops operating along the River Dvina sank two enemy ships and captured three guns. Many towns along the Dvina River were occupied by American and allied forces. Kadish, in the Province of Archangel, was occupied, and Karelia was reported cleared of the enemy, who were driven back over the Finnish border, Oct. 18.

Martial law was declared in Vladivostok Sept. 25, by Colonel Butenko, Provisional Commander of the Armed Forces of the Maritime Province.

A new Government, with the controlling power vested in the Constituent Assembly, was organized at Ufa Sept. 24, at a conference which was attended by many members of the Pan Russian Constituent Assembly and presided over by the Socialist Revolutionary leader Avskentieff, former Minister of Agriculture and of the Interior. The conference was organized and supported by President Malinoff of the National Czech Council. It took over the reins of power in succession to the Provisional Government of 1917.

Russia abrogated the treaty of peace with Turkey Oct. 5.

PEACE MOVES

Germany announced her readiness to participate in the exchange of ideas on peace proposed by Austria Sept. 20. Bulgaria replied to the Austrian note, accepting President Wilson's views on the settlement of Balkan conflicts in accordance with the rights of nationalities.

On Sept. 28 Bulgaria asked the Allies for an armistice of forty-eight hours, with a view to making peace. Great Britain replied immediately, calling for unequivocal submission. Bulgaria surrendered unconditionally to the Allies. The armistice was signed at Saloniki Sept. 29, and hostilities ceased officially at noon Sept. 30. Bulgaria agreed to evacuate all occupied territory in Greece and Serbia, to demobilize her army immediately, and to surrender all means of transport to the Allies. The evacuation of Serbia was begun at once.

Austria-Hungary appealed to President Wilson, Oct. 5, to conclude an armistice immediately and to start negotiations for peace.

On Oct. 6 the German Chancellor, Prince Maximilian of Baden, sent a note to President Wilson proposing a peace parley on the President's principles, and asking for an armistice.

President Wilson replied, Oct. 8, asking if his terms were fully accepted, and if the Chancellor spoke for the people. He also called for the evacuation of invaded territory before an armistice could be asked.

On the same day Turkish emissaries were sent to the Allies from the Province of Smyrna to secure peace.

Germany replied to President Wilson's note, partially accepting his terms, Oct. 12, but asking for a mixed commission on the evacuation of invaded territory.

President Wilson answered this second note, Oct. 13, declaring that there would be no armistice so long as the armed forces of Germany continued their barbarous methods of warfare, that there would be no agreement with an autocratic German

Government, and that the evacuation of invaded territory would be under direction of the allied military chiefs alone.

President Wilson replied to Austria's request for peace on Oct. 19 by a refusal, stating that the independence of the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav nations had been recognized by the United States Government, and with these nations would rest the decision as to any terms proposed by Austria.

MISCELLANEOUS

German forces of occupation began to retire from Rumania Sept. 27.

German troops evacuated Finland at the request of the Finnish Government Oct. 11.

Talaat Bey, Turkish Minister of the Interior, resigned, Oct. 4.

The allied Governments decided formally to recognize the belligerent status of the Arab forces fighting with the Allies against the Turks in Palestine and Syria, Oct. 4.

The British Government recognized the Polish National Army as autonomous, allied, and co-belligerent, Oct. 16.

King Ferdinand of Bulgaria abdicated in favor of Crown Prince Boris, Oct. 4.

Emperor Charles of Austria-Hungary issued a manifesto announcing his decision to unite Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina in one State, Oct. 11. On the same day Dr. Alexander Wekerle, the Hungarian Premier, resigned.

A general strike broke out in Prague, and on Oct. 17 word was received that at a meeting of the Hungarian Parliament a proclamation was read declaring Hungary to be an independent State. It was also reported that Baron von Hussarek, the Austrian Premier, announced that Austria was to be transformed into Federal States.

On Oct. 18 Emperor Charles proclaimed steps for the organization of Austria on a federalized basis, Baron Burian resigned as Austrian Premier, the Provisional Government of the new Czechoslovak Nation proclaimed its independence of Austria-Hungary, and the Czechs seized Prague.

Count von Hertling, the Imperial German Chancellor, resigned, Sept. 27, and the German Cabinet was reorganized with Prince Maximilian of Baden at its head.

The Prussian upper house rejected a motion to introduce suffrage based on vocations and passed a direct suffrage measure, with the addition of an extra vote for persons over 50 years of age, Oct. 2.

The German Federal Council accepted the measure calling for further parliamentarization of Germany, Oct. 13.

On Oct. 16 the Prussian Diet withdrew opposition to equal franchise and the Federal Council accepted the proposed amendment to the Constitution restricting the right of the Emperor to declare war and make treaties.

WOODROW WILSON



President of the United States, Who Helped to Shape the Larger
Issues at the Peace Conference

(© Underwood & Underwood)

RAYMOND POINCARE



President of France, Who Held His Nation Steadfast for Victory
Through the War's Darkest Days

(Photo Brown Bros.)

KING GEORGE V.



Head of the British Empire, Who Won Increased Loyalty of All His Dominions During the War

KING VICTOR EMMANUEL



Italy's King, Who Broke the Triple Alliance and Joined the Entente
Against Germany

KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM



Ruler of the Little Nation That Received the First Blow of the War-
Mad German Invaders

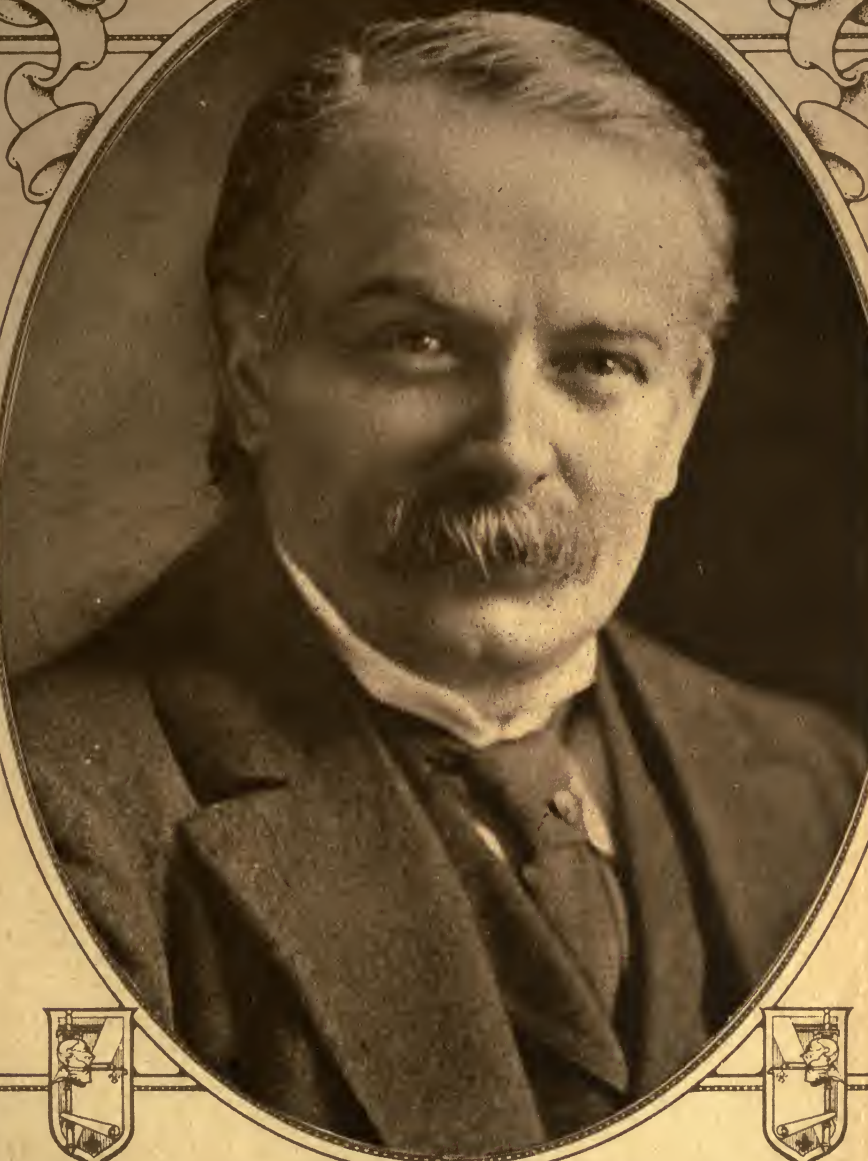
ROBERT LANSING



American Secretary of State and Head of the United States Delegation to the Peace Conference

(© Harris & Ewing)

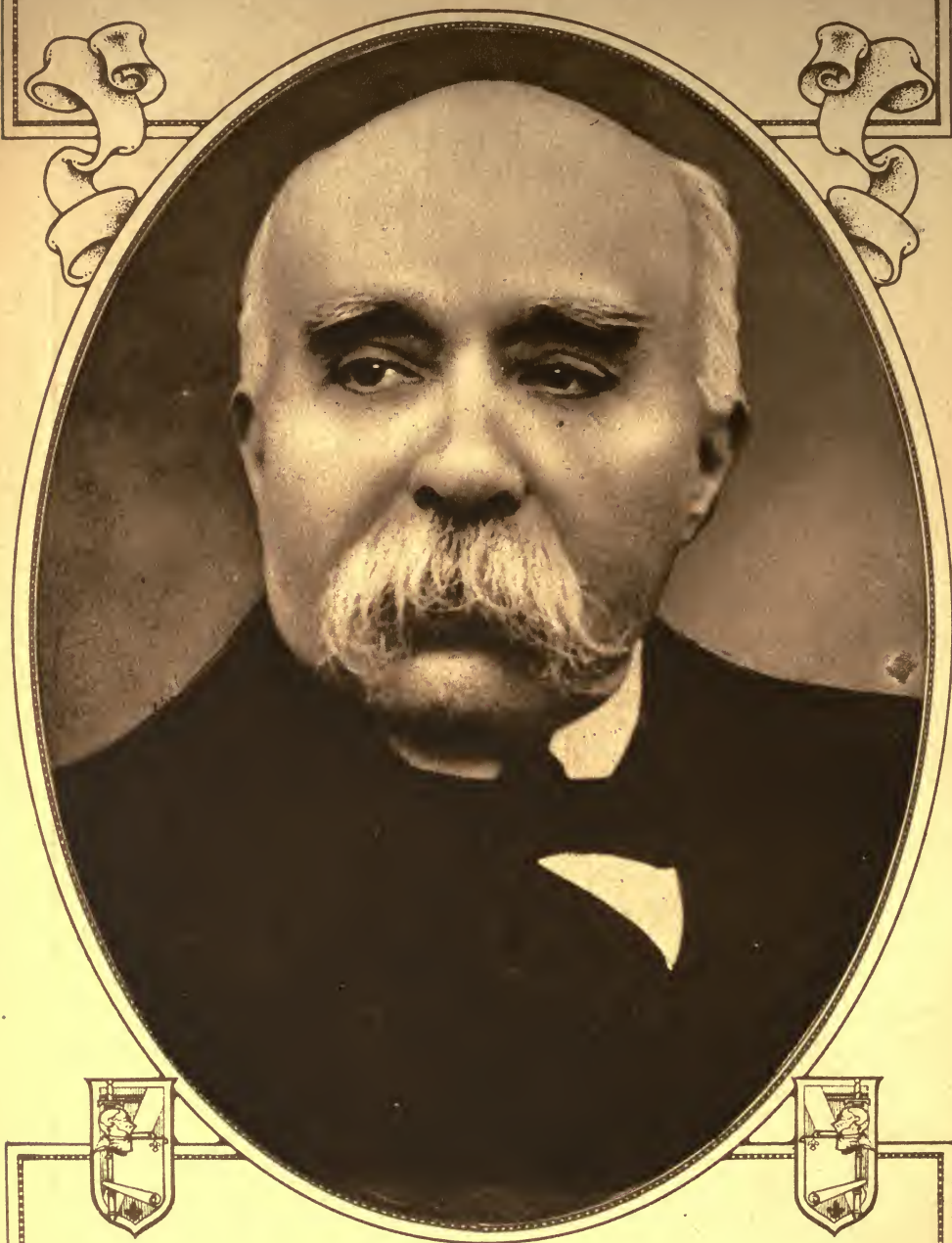
DAVID LLOYD GEORGE



British Prime Minister and the Most Conspicuous English Organizer
of Victory

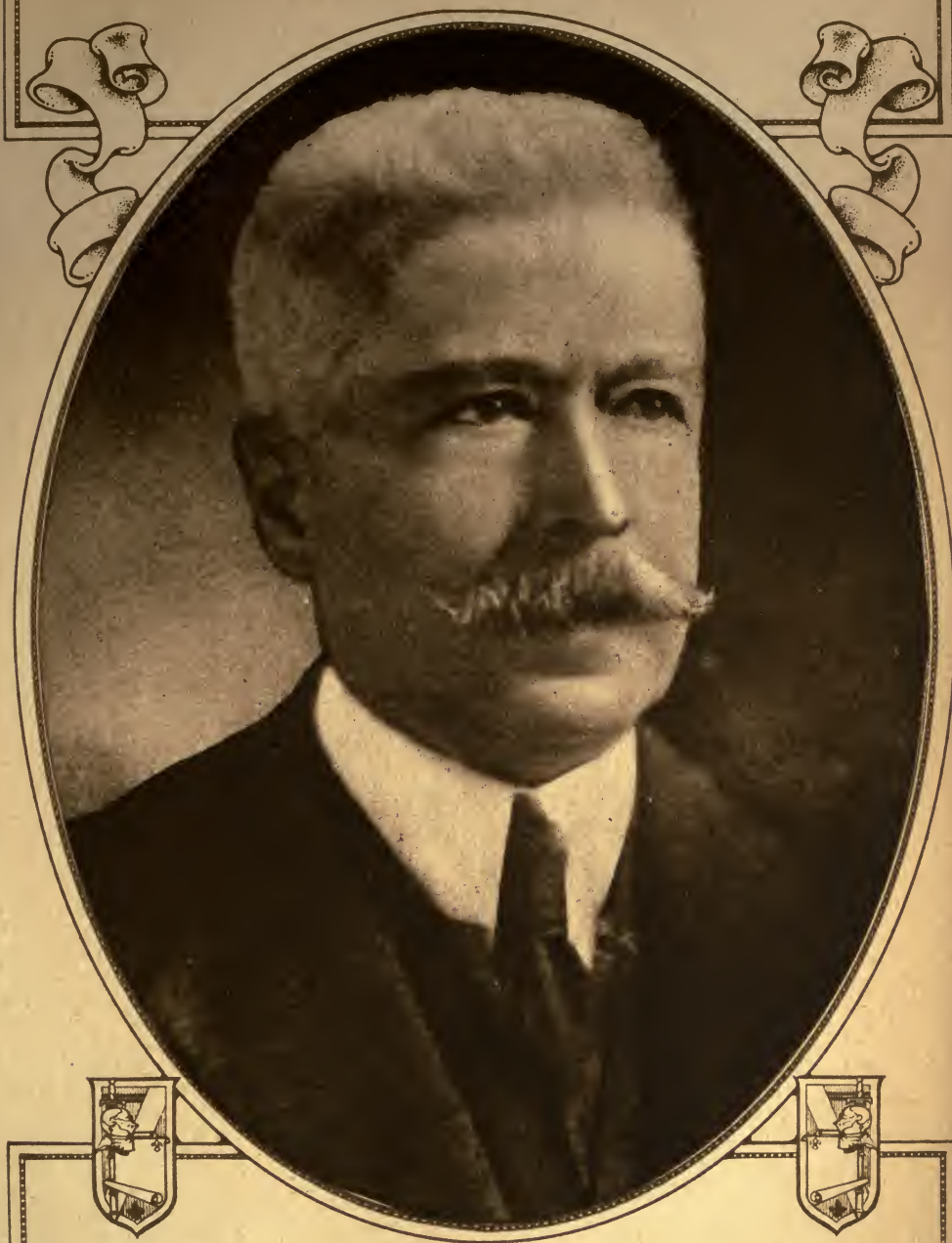
(Central News Photo Service)

GEORGES CLEMENCEAU



Premier of France, Whose Inspiring Courage Carried the Nation
Through the Last Crisis

VITTORIO ORLANDO



The Italian Premier, Who Helped to Organize the Victory Over
Austria-Hungary

ADMIRAL SIR DAVID BEATTY



Commander in Chief of the British Grand Fleet and Victor in the
Battle of Jutland

(Photo Central News Service)

VICE ADMIRAL WILLIAM S. SIMS



Commander of the United States Fleet in the Atlantic During the War
(© Western Newspaper Union)



Commander in Chief of all the Allied Armies and the Universally
Recognized Organizer of Victory

MARSHAL JOSEPH JOFFRE



Victor in the First Battle of the Marne, Which Saved France from
Conquest

FIELD MARSHAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG



Commander in Chief of the British Armies in France, Whose Military
Genius Is Everywhere Acclaimed

(© British Official Photo from Underwood & Underwood)

GENERAL ARMANDO DIAZ



Commander in Chief of the Italian Armies and Victor in the Second
Battle of the Piave

(International Film Service)

GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING



Commander of the American Armies, Who Personifies America's
Amazing Military Achievements

(Feldman Studios)

END OF THE WAR

Germany's Capitulation and the Historic Words and Acts That Preceded the Signing of the Armistice

THE war came to an end on Monday, Nov. 11, 1918, at 11 o'clock A. M., French time; 6 o'clock, Washington time. The armistice, which was imposed upon Germany by the Allies and the United States, was signed by the German plenipotentiaries at 5 o'clock A.M., Paris time; midnight, Washington time.

The conclusion of the armistice followed within three weeks after the dispatch of a note from the German Government to President Wilson, in which it was affirmed that a fundamental change had been made in the German Government in "complete accord with the principle of the representation of the people based on equal, universal, secret, direct franchise," with the further announcement that orders had been issued to submarine commanders precluding the torpedoing of passenger ships, and asking that steps be taken to arrange an armistice which would contain no "demand which would be irreconcilable with the honor of the German people and with the opening of the way to a peace of justice." This note was dispatched on Oct. 21, 1918.

On Oct. 23 President Wilson replied by agreeing to take up with the Allies the question of an armistice, but said the only armistice which he would submit for consideration would be one that would leave the Allies in a position to enforce any arrangement entered into and make a renewal of hostilities by Germany impossible, with the significant addition that if the Government of the United States "must deal with the military masters and the monarchical autocrats of Germany now, or if it is likely to have to deal with them later in regard to the international obligations of the German Empire, it must demand, not peace negotiations, but surrender."

On Oct. 25 the German War Cabinet

considered the reply of the President, and the note was discussed in sectional meetings of the Reichstag members. It was at this juncture that the first mutterings of serious discontent with the Government reached the outside world. On Oct. 25 a dispatch was allowed to go from Berlin stating that an enormous crowd had assembled before the Reichstag building calling for the abdication of the Kaiser and the formation of a republic. That the then existing Government did not contemplate the surrender of Alsace-Lorraine was indicated by a statement made by the Foreign Secretary, Dr. Solf, to the Reichstag that "the Cabinet would continue the reforms already undertaken in the government of Alsace-Lorraine, but would not anticipate the solution of that problem." The Foreign Secretary contended that "Polish annexation demands were not in accordance with the peace program of President Wilson."

A vote of confidence was given the Chancellor by the Reichstag on this day, the vote standing 193 to 52.

On Oct. 27 another note was sent President Wilson by the German Foreign Secretary declaring that far-reaching changes had occurred in Germany's constitutional structure and that peace negotiations were being carried forward by the people's Government, "in whose hands rests, both actually and constitutionally, the power to make the deciding conclusions," and closing with the statement that "the German Government now awaits the proposals for an armistice."

On Oct. 28 matters were advanced by receipt of a note from the Austrian Government declaring that all the conditions laid down by the President for the entry into negotiations for an armistice were accepted. This note was followed on the 29th by another from the Austrian Gov-

ernment urging that the negotiations for an armistice be hurried, thus indicating that Austria's complete surrender had been decided upon.

Meanwhile in Berlin the Crown Council was practically in continuous session under the Presidency of Emperor William and profound agitation was observed among Reichstag members and extreme nervousness in German military circles.

FORMULATING ARMISTICE TERMS

On Oct. 31 it was announced from Paris that the heads of the allied Governments and Colonel E. M. House, special representative of the United States Government, were holding informal meetings in Paris.

The following Ministers and military and naval chiefs of the Allies had arrived in Paris on the 30th: Premier Lloyd George, Foreign Minister Balfour, War Secretary Milner, Field Marshal Haig, Sir Eric Geddes, Admiral Wemyss, and General Wilson of Great Britain, Admiral Benson and Vice Admiral Sims of the United States, Premier Orlando, Vice Admiral di Revel, and Foreign Minister Sonnino of Italy.

Colonel House took a residence in Paris on the left bank of the Seine, not far from the French Ministry of War. He was in daily consultation with the Ministers and military heads of the allied Governments.

On Oct. 31 the representatives of the allied Governments held a formal meeting at Versailles to consider the armistice terms for Austria, which would foreshadow the terms to be submitted to Germany.

At Versailles the business was over in a couple of hours, and a long line of automobiles with the representatives of the powers returned to Paris. The reason for the trip to Versailles was that it was the headquarters of the Supreme War Council, which theoretically takes no decision except at Versailles.

The very atmosphere of Versailles was surcharged with the importance of the events. The presence of numerous uniformed officials of the allied nations, with Councilors, Prime Ministers, and

personages of high estate, lent to the scene a dignity which reflected the nature of the colossal questions to be decided, directing the destiny of the new order of world politics.

SCENES AT VERSAILLES

Automobiles glided over the asphalt and cobblestone streets of France's ancient seat of government bearing world figures. Some carried the highest army staffs in dazzling uniforms; others bore naval chiefs in their black uniforms, variegated with gold stripes in profusion and patterned according to their country's orders, while now and then limousines with distinguished civilians rushed by, claiming the right of way seemingly because of the high positions of the occupants in the world's affairs.

Trianon Palace was isolated. The deliberations of the Premiers, Ministers, and naval and military chiefs were conducted amid the quietude of a woodland dell, retained in all its beauty by the French Government since the days of Louis XIV., and used afterward by successive sovereign, including Napoleon.

Trianon Palace, nestling in clusters of giant trees, surrounded by a picturesque park and resplendent with flower gardens and serpentine walks, stands within the very shadow of the Louis XIV. Palace, in the north wing of which, in the "Galerie des Glaces," Wilhelm I., grandfather of the German Emperor and then King of Prussia, was proclaimed first German Emperor in 1871.

To make more secure the isolation of the palace for the conferences, all traffic in its direction was stopped. Guards of French soldiers, British, Americans, and Italians stood on duty at various posts. During the sessions the guard about the palace was considerably reinforced, so as to prevent the slightest possibility of any unauthorised person approaching the grounds.

PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE

An informal conference took place at the home of Colonel E. M. House, President Wilson's personal representative, in the forenoon prior to the assembling at Versailles. Among those present were

M. Clemenceau and M. Pichon, respectively the French Premier and Foreign Minister; Signor Orlando and Baron Sonnino, the Italian Premier and Foreign Minister, and David Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister. This gathering was preparatory to the formal meeting.

In addition to the French, Italian and British representatives, Dr. M. R. Vesnitch, the Serbian Minister to France, and Eleutherios Venizelos, the Greek Premier, attended.

The Americans present, in addition to Colonel House, were Arthur H. Frazier, Secretary of the American Embassy; Joseph C. Grew and Gordon Auchincloss, who acted as secretaries for Colonel House; General Tasker H. Bliss, the representative of the United States in the War Council, with General Lockridge and Colonel Wallace as secretaries, and Admiral Benson, with Commander Carter and Lieutenant Commander Russell as his secretaries.

The last to arrive at the conference was Marshal Foch. He was alone, without aid or orderly.

COUNCIL IN SESSION

The Supreme War Council resumed its sessions at Versailles on Nov. 1 to consider the armistice terms which would be submitted to Austria and Germany.

General Tasker H. Bliss, representative of the United States, was the first delegate to reach the Trianon Palace Hotel, arriving at 1:50 P. M. He was followed soon by Premier Clemenceau, Marshal Foch, Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, Colonel House, and David Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister.

The deliberations in connection with the armistice proposition were participated in by Belgian and Japanese representatives, the day's meeting having to do with Germany. When Austrian affairs were discussed the day before, Serbian and Greek representatives were in attendance, because of their particular interest in Austrian matters.

The session was held in the large chamber on the main floor of the Trianon

Palace, with windows overlooking the garden. The hall has little ornamentation beyond a marble clock and candelabra upon a mantel topped with massive mirrors. Immediately in front of this extends a wide mahogany table the entire length of the room, with the members facing one another on two sides.

The entire aspect was one of business, the meeting being devoid of formalities. Each member had before him a large blotting pad with all desk requisites. Colonel House sat on the left side next to Premier Orlando of Italy, with Premier Clemenceau directly opposite.

A stenographer at a desk in a corner took notes of the official proceedings. The uniforms of the Generals and Admirals participating gave a touch of color to the scene, but the prevailing tone was one of a civilian gathering, as the larger part of the membership was made up of Premiers and other high civilian officials.

The deliberations proceeded with complete privacy. Guards along the Boulevard of the Queen kept the crowds from approaching the iron gate leading to the palace.

CLOSING IN ON GERMANY

The conference continued its sessions daily, and during this period the political unrest in Germany continued to develop fresh intensity, with extreme agitation in all the larger cities and more pronounced and insistent demands by popular assemblies for the abdication of the Kaiser. During all this time the allied armies on the western front from the North Sea to Switzerland continued to deliver hammer blows on the shattered German lines and the latter were steadily retreating from Belgium and France with enormous losses.

On Nov. 3 the armistice with Austria was signed in the field, imposing drastic terms, which are given in full elsewhere, and on the same day the German Kaiser issued a decree addressed to the German Imperial Chancellor in which he accepted the transfer of "fundamental rights of the Kaiser's person to the people," and acknowledged the adoption of the changes in the German Government

which had been demanded by the Allies. The reports, however, indicated that he was firmly resisting the pressure coming from all sides that he abdicate.

On Nov. 4 the drastic terms of the Austrian armistice were made public and at the same time it was officially announced that the allied Governments and the United States had come to a complete agreement on the terms Germany must accept.

On Nov. 5 a note was handed to the Swiss Minister, who represented Germany at Washington, by Secretary of State Lansing, in which he stated that Marshal Foch had been authorized to receive German delegates and to communicate to them the terms of an armistice. [The text of this note appears on page 388.]

The German Government took instant action. On Nov. 6 it was announced from Berlin that a German delegation to conclude an armistice and take up peace negotiations had left for the western front.

PRELIMINARY TO THE ARMISTICE

On Nov. 7 the following documents relating to the armistice negotiations were made public at Paris:

"There was received the 7th of November at 12:30 A. M. the following from the German high command, by order of the German Government, to Marshal Foch:

The German Government, having been informed through the President of the United States that Marshal Foch had received powers to receive accredited representatives of the German Government and communicate to them conditions of an armistice, the following plenipotentiaries have been named by it:

Mathias Erzberger, General H. K. A. von Winterfeld, Count Alfred von Oberndorff, General von Grönnel, and Naval Captain von Salow.

The plenipotentiaries request that they be informed by wireless of the place where they can meet Marshal Foch. They will proceed by automobile, with subordinates of the staff, to the place thus appointed.

"A German wireless dispatch received Nov. 7 at 1 P. M. said:

German General Headquarters to the Allies' General Headquarters; the German Commander in Chief to Marshal Foch: The German plenipotentiaries for an armistice

leave Spa today. They will leave here at noon and reach at 5 o'clock this afternoon the French outposts by the Chimay-Fourmies-La Capelle-Guise road. They will be ten persons in all, headed by Secretary of State Erzberger.

"Orders were given to cease fire on this front at 3 o'clock P. M. until further orders.

"On Nov. 7 at 1:25 A. M. Marshal Foch sent the following to the German command:

If the German plenipotentiaries desire to meet Marshal Foch and ask him for an armistice, they will present themselves to the French outposts by the Chimay-Four-



WHERE THE GERMAN ENVOYS PASSED THROUGH THE BATTLELINES—ON THE LA CAPELLE ROAD.

mies-La Capelle-Guise road. Orders have been given to receive them and conduct them to the spot fixed for the meeting.

"The following wireless dispatch in German was received at 1:50 P. M.:

German General Headquarters to the Allied General Headquarters: The Supreme German Command to Marshal Foch: From the German outposts to the French outposts our delegation will be accompanied by a road-mending company to enable automobiles to pass the La Capelle road, which has been destroyed.

"The following wireless in German was received at 6 P. M.:

The German Supreme Command to Marshal Foch: By reason of delay the German delegation will not be able to cross the outpost line until between 8 and 10 o'clock tonight at Haudroy, two kilometres northeast of La Capelle.

ARRIVAL OF ENVOYS

The German plenipotentiaries sent to receive the armistice terms from Marshal Foch arrived at allied General Headquarters Nov. 8 at 6 A. M. The terms were delivered to them, with a

formal demand that they be accepted or refused within seventy-two hours.

A message from the German envoys to the Imperial Chancellor and the German high command, sent by the French wireless, was picked up at London Nov. 8. It asked that a courier be sent back as soon as possible with instructions. The message read:

From the German Plenipotentiaries for an Armistice to the Imperial Chancellor and the German High Command:

Friday morning at Allied General Headquarters the plenipotentiaries received the conditions of an armistice, as well as a formal demand that they be accepted or refused within seventy-two hours, expiring on Monday morning at 11 o'clock, French time.

The German proposal for an immediate conclusion and provisional suspension of hostilities was rejected by Marshal Foch.

Please acknowledge receipt and send back courier as soon as possible with your latest instructions. Sending of fresh delegates is not necessary for the moment.

A German courier bearing the text of the conditions of the armistice has been sent to Spa, no other means of communication being practicable.

The French Wireless Service gave out a dispatch sent by General Winterfeld of the armistice delegation, to the German high command, announcing that a courier, Captain Helldorff, would cross the lines between 6 o'clock and 8 o'clock P. M. Nov. 8, and that the French command had taken measures for his safety.

The delegates crossed the allied line near La Capelle late on the night of Nov. 7. The white flag bearers reached the left wing of General Debeney's army at 10 P. M. They arrived at the place indicated by the allied supreme commander within the French lines about 2 o'clock A. M. Nov. 8 and passed the remainder of the night there. They were taken to a house at Rethondes, six miles east of Compiègne and thirty miles from Marshal Foch's headquarters, where preparations had been made to receive them.

MEETING MARSHAL FOCH

The automobiles conveying the delegates carried white flags and were preceded by a trumpeter. Some French soldiers under an officer approached them on the road just outside the lines.

The delegates established their identity and showed their credentials. The members of the German party were then blindfolded and the delegates proceeded to the place where they spent the night.

Generals Winterfeld and von Grönnel wore uniforms of the rank of General. Von Salow was in the uniform of an Admiral of the fleet. Mathias Erzberger and Count von Oberndorff were in plain civilian dress.

They stayed over night at the house to which they were conducted, and were then taken to a place in the Department of the Aisne, which was the meeting place fixed by Marshal Foch. This trip required about four hours.

The delegates were received by Marshal Foch at Rethondes at 9 o'clock on the morning of Nov. 8 in a railroad car, in which the Commander in Chief of the allied force had his headquarters.

When the Germans' credentials had been opened and verified, Mathias Erzberger, leader of the enemy delegation, speaking in French, announced that the German Government had been advised by President Wilson that Marshal Foch was qualified to communicate to them the Allies' conditions and had appointed them plenipotentiaries to take cognizance of the terms and eventually sign an armistice.

HEARING THE TERMS

Marshal Foch then read the terms in a loud voice, dwelling upon each word. The Germans were prepared by semi-official communications for the stipulations as a whole, but hearing set forth in detail the concrete demands seemed to bring to them for the first time full realization of the extent of the German defeat.

They made a few observations, merely pointing out material difficulties standing in the way of carrying out some quite secondary clauses. Then Erzberger asked for a suspension of hostilities in the interests of humanity. This request Marshal Foch flatly refused.

The delegates, having obtained permission to send a courier to Spa and communicate with that place by wireless, withdrew. Marshal Foch immediately wrote an account of the proceedings and

sent it by an aid to Premier Clemenceau, who received it at noon.

With the Commander in Chief at the time of the interview were Major Gen. Maxime Weygand, his assistant; Vice Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss, First Lord of the British Admiralty, and the American Vice Admiral, William S. Sims. Admiral Sims took no part in the negotiations and soon afterward returned to London.

CROSSING THE LINES

When the French command received the German headquarters' wireless dispatch announcing the start of the armistice delegation, the delegates were directed to present themselves between 8 and 10 o'clock P. M. Nov. 7 at a certain point on La Capelle road. The crossroad was clearly marked by the beams of several searchlights. At the same time the order was given in the French lines that hostilities should be suspended over a distance of several miles in the region of the meeting place.

The three automobiles bearing the German delegates arrived at 9:15 P. M. at the crossroad, preceded by a group of German pioneers charged with making the shell-damaged road passable. The German delegates were received by officers whom Marshal Foch had sent to guide them. These officers got in the automobiles, and, with the window curtains drawn, proceeded to the Château Francfort in Compiègne Forest, belonging to the Marquis de l'Aigle.

Owing to the lateness of the hour, the delegates were conducted to the apartments assigned them, where they took refreshments. The next morning they again entered the automobiles and were taken to the station at Rethondes, where they found Marshal Foch in his special train.

The abdication of the Kaiser and the revolution in Germany occurred the day following the receipt of the armistice terms, Nov. 9, but no decision was announced respecting the acceptance of the armistice.

The German courier bearing the text of the armistice conditions arrived at German headquarters at 10 o'clock A. M.

Nov. 10. The courier, Captain Helldorf, was long delayed while the German batteries persisted in bombarding the route he had to follow.

The German delegates had suggested on Nov. 9 that the courier's mission might be attempted by airplane. The French high command saw no objection to this and offered to furnish a machine on condition that the German high command pledge itself that the airplane would not be fired at. A rapid message was sent to German headquarters, which was replied to without delay as follows:

"We grant free passage to the French airplane bringing our courier. We are issuing orders that it shall not be attacked by any of our machines. For the purpose of recognition it should carry two white flags very clearly marked."

The orders from the German headquarters staff, however, were inoperative as regarded the land batteries, for on La Capelle road the enemy's fire, despite reiterated requests to desist, went on without intermission.

A French airplane, piloted by an officer of the French Air Service, was soon available, and the pilot was ordered to hold himself ready to start on his journey. About that time a message came from General Headquarters, announcing that orders for the cessation of fire had been given to the batteries directed against La Capelle road, and that Captain Helldorf was at liberty to start by automobile. Almost immediately the German fire ceased, and the courier set out on the road for Spa at 3:20 o'clock in the afternoon.

German headquarters was notified of his departure, and informed that he might be expected to arrive in the evening. But the road was long and hard, and many delays occurred.

Nineteen hours after the German courier reached the German headquarters—at 5 o'clock A. M. Paris time, Nov. 11—the armistice was signed and the official announcement was made at Washington at 2:40 A. M., Nov. 11, by the Secretary of State. President Wilson was notified immediately by telephone.

Announcing the Armistice in America

PRESIDENT WILSON, in spite of his broken sleep, was up early in the morning of Nov. 11, and by his direction arrangements had soon been made for the joint session of the Senate and the House. Each legislative body met separately at noon in accordance with custom, and in a few minutes each had adopted the concurrent resolution essential to holding the joint meeting requested by the President. The time fixed was 1 o'clock P. M., Nov. 11, and at that hour the stage was all set in the hall of the House of Representatives for the historical event that was soon to pass.

The galleries were crowded with men and women. By far the greater proportion of the spectators were wives, daughters, and other female relatives or friends of Senators, Representatives, and high Government officials.

In the President's pew, the front row of the gallery to the left of the presiding officer's rostrum, sat Mrs. Wilson and the President's daughter, Mrs. William G. McAdoo, wife of the Secretary of the Treasury. Occupying chairs on the floor were members of the Cabinet, General March, the army's Chief of Staff, men engaged prominently in Government war activities, and many former Senators and Representatives. One member of the present House, La Guardia of New York, was there in the uniform of an army aviator.

SUPREME COURT JUSTICES

The very centre of the stage, as it were, was occupied by the nine Justices of the Federal Supreme Court. They sat in chairs placed in the area directly in front of the rostrum. If, in all the enthusiasm that punctuated the President's address, any one may be credited with having led the applause, the palm should go to the distinguished Chief Justice of the United States, Edward Douglass White. On a par with his enthusiasm was that of a former member of the highest judicial tribunal, Charles E. Hughes, the man who had lost the Presidency to Woodrow Wilson, whose triumph he now applauded.

Owing to the fact that many Senators and Representatives had not returned to Washington from their homes, where they had been participating in the political campaigns, hardly half the membership of Congress was present and there were scores of vacant benches on the floor.

The Representatives present seemed hardly a handful when they appeared at the opening of the House session. The Senators, led by Vice President Marshall, arrived in the hall of the House shortly before 1 o'clock, and after being duly announced took seats in the forward rows of benches. As it was a joint session, the Vice President sat beside Speaker Clark on the rostrum. Then the Speaker and the Vice President, each in turn, announced the appointment of a committee of Senators and Representatives to escort the President to the chamber, and everything was ready for the historic moment.

As usual, President Wilson reached the Capitol well before the time set for his appearance at the joint session. Outside the main entrance to the House wing a great crowd had gathered.

Before going to the Capitol the President had written in lead pencil on a half sheet of note paper a proclamation to the people announcing the conclusion of hostilities and had then given orders that the employes of all Government departments should have a holiday. The word had gone forth that he was to address the Congress and hundreds of Government workers made their way to Capitol Hill to get a peep at as much of the great show as it was their privilege to see.

PRESIDENT CHEERED IN STREETS

As the President, attended by his Secret Service guards, alighted from his motor car at the entrance to the House wing, a cheer went up from the people gathered there and he lifted his top hat and smiled in a way to show his happiness. It was two minutes past 1 o'clock when he appeared in the House Chamber escorted by a committee of Senators and Representatives.

"The President of the United States!" shouted Joseph Sinnott, Sergeant at Arms of the House, as the President stepped through a doorway to the left and rear of the rostrum.

In an instant the whole company was on its feet. There was handclapping, but this dignified, deferential mode of greeting did not satisfy those who were full of the enthusiasm that came from the knowledge that America and her European associates had won the great war. The cheering was mild at first, but it grew in volume, and the presiding officers made no attempt to enforce the rule that spectators in the galleries must not indulge in demonstrations.

During the minute—it seemed longer—that the cheering lasted, the President smiled the same happy smile that he had given those who had greeted him outside of the building. His face showed no effect of his broken rest. He seemed the personification of physical vigor and did not look his sixty-one years. He wore a trim-fitting black tailcoat of the sort known to fashion as a morning garment, and to the man on the street as a cutaway, light gray trousers, with a light cravat. He shook hands with Speaker Clark and Vice President Marshall, and as the applause ended took from his pocket some narrow typewritten sheets and began to read to an audience that held its breath in sheer intensive interest.

At the very outset of his address the President read the conditions that Germany was obliged to accept to obtain an ending of the war that her ambition had brought about. He read the written words without any effort at dramatic effect. At first his voice was low and a bit husky. But it soon cleared, and he could be heard in the furthest corners of floor and galleries.

The President's announcement that the German authorities had accepted and signed the terms of armistice brought a faint round of handclapping. But a moment later, when he made known that the second condition imposed upon Germany was the immediate evacuation of invaded countries, his auditors could not restrain their delight. He read the

names of the countries to be evacuated—Belgium, France, Alsace-Lorraine, Luxemburg.

It was the mention of Alsace-Lorraine that brought the spectators cheering to their feet. And how they cheered!—not very long—but heartily.

The President's audience listened intently, but with hardly any display of feeling, to the concluding portion of his address, in which he indicated that the Allies must be helpful to the conquered people of Germany.

When he told that the representatives of the victorious Governments in the Supreme War Council at Versailles had unanimously agreed to assure the peoples of the Central Empires "that everything that is possible in the circumstances will be done to supply them with food and relieve the distressing want that is in so many places threatening their very lives," some faint applause came.

The suggestions of a charitable and helpful attitude toward Germany, however, brought no demonstration from those who listened to the President.

It was 1:30 o'clock when the President completed the reading of his address. He had taken twenty-seven minutes to read it. As he turned to leave the House, after bowing to his auditors and again shaking hands with Speaker Clark and Vice President Marshall, another demonstration began that lasted until the President was well out of hearing. Then the Senate went back to its own chamber and the House adjourned, while the President, returning to the White House in his motor car, passed great throngs of joymakers, who cheered him without stint.

On Nov. 11 President Wilson issued the following proclamation prior to his address to Congress:

"My Fellow-Countrymen: The armistice was signed this morning. Everything for which America fought has been accomplished. It will now be our fortunate duty to assist by example, by sober, friendly counsel, and by material aid in the establishment of just democracy throughout the world.

"WOODROW WILSON."

The President's Address Announcing An Armistice

President Wilson, after reading in person the full terms of the armistice to the joint session of Congress, delivered the following address:

THE war thus comes to an end; for, having accepted these terms of armistice, it will be impossible for the German command to renew it.

It is not now possible to assess the consequences of this great consummation. We know only that this tragical war, whose consuming flames swept from one nation to another until all the world was on fire, is at an end and that it was the privilege of our own people to enter it at its most critical juncture in such fashion and in such force as to contribute, in a way of which we are all deeply proud, to the great result. We know, too, that the object of the war is attained; the object upon which all free men had set their hearts; and attained with a sweeping completeness which even now we do not realize. Armed imperialism such as the men conceived who were but yesterday the masters of Germany is at an end, its illicit ambitions engulfed in black disaster. Who will now seek to revive it?

The arbitrary power of the military caste of Germany, which once could secretly and of its own single choice disturb the peace of the world, is discredited and destroyed. And more than that—much more than that—has been accomplished. The great nations which associated themselves to destroy it have now definitely united in the common purpose to set up such a peace as will satisfy the longing of the whole world for disinterested justice, embodied in settlements which are based upon something much better and more lasting than the selfish competitive interests of powerful States. There is no longer conjecture as to the objects the victors have in mind. They have a mind in the matter, not only, but a heart also. Their avowed and concerted purpose is to satisfy and protect the weak as well as to accord their just rights to the strong.

FEEDING THE HUNGRY

The humane temper and intention of the victorious Governments have already been manifested in a very practical way. Their representatives in the Supreme War Council at Versailles have by unanimous resolution assured the peoples of the Central Empires that everything that is possible in the circumstances will be done to supply them with food and relieve the distressing want that is in so many places threatening their very lives; and steps are to be taken immediately to organize these efforts at relief in the same systematic manner that they were organized in the case of Belgium. By the use of the idle tonnage of the Central Empires it ought presently to be possible to lift the fear of utter misery from their oppressed populations and set their minds and energies free for the great and hazardous tasks of political reconstruction which now face them on every hand. Hunger does not breed reform; it breeds madness and all the ugly distempers that make an ordered life impossible.

For with the fall of the ancient Governments, which rested like an incubus on the peoples of the Central Empires, has come political change not merely, but revolution; and revolution which seems as yet to assume no final and ordered form, but to run from one fluid change to another, until thoughtful men are forced to ask themselves, With what Governments and of what sort are we about to deal in the making of the covenants of peace?

With what authority will they meet us, and with what assurance that their authority will abide and sustain securely the international arrangements into which we are about to enter? There is here matter for no small anxiety and misgiving. When peace is made, upon

whose promises and engagements besides our own is it to rest?

ORDER THE FIRST REQUISITE

Let us be perfectly frank with ourselves and admit that these questions cannot be satisfactorily answered now or at once. But the moral is not that there is little hope of an early answer that will suffice. It is only that we must be patient and helpful and mindful above all of the great hope and confidence that lie at the heart of what is taking place. Excesses accomplish nothing. Unhappy Russia has furnished abundant recent proof of that. Disorder immediately defeats itself. If excesses should occur, if disorder should for a time raise its head, a sober second thought will follow and a day of constructive action, if we help and do not hinder.

The present and all that it holds belong to the nations and the peoples who preserve their self-control and the orderly processes of their Governments; the future to those who prove themselves the true friends of mankind. To conquer with arms is to make only a temporary conquest; to conquer the world by earning its esteem is to make permanent conquest. I am confident that the nations that have learned the discipline of freedom and that have settled with self-possession to its ordered

practice are now about to make conquest of the world by the sheer power of example and of friendly helpfulness.

The peoples who have but just come out from under the yoke of arbitrary government and who are now coming at last into their freedom will never find the treasures of liberty they are in search of if they look for them by the light of the torch. They will find that every pathway that is stained with the blood of their own brothers leads to the wilderness, not to the seat of their hope. They are now face to face with their initial test. We must hold the light steady until they find themselves. And in the meantime, if it be possible, we must establish a peace that will justly define their place among the nations, remove all fear of their neighbors and of their former masters, and enable them to live in security and contentment when they have set their own affairs in order. I, for one, do not doubt their purpose or their capacity. There are some happy signs that they know and will choose the way of self-control and peaceful accommodation. If they do, we shall put our aid at their disposal in every way that we can. If they do not, we must await with patience and sympathy the awakening and recovery that will assuredly come at last.

Text of Armistice Terms Signed by Germany

The corrected text of the armistice between Germany and the Allies and United States, as it finally stood when the envoys signed it, is in full as follows:

I.—MILITARY CLAUSES ON WESTERN FRONT

One—Cessation of operations by land and in the air six hours after the signature of the armistice.

Two—Immediate evacuation of invaded countries: . Belgium, France, Alsace-Lorraine, Luxemburg, so ordered as to be completed within fourteen days from the signature of the armistice. German troops which have not left the above-mentioned territories within the period fixed will become prisoners of war. Occupation by the allied and United States forces jointly will keep pace with evacuation in these areas. All movements of evacuation and occupation will be

regulated in accordance with a note annexed to the stated terms.

Three—Reparation beginning at once to be completed within fifteen days of all the inhabitants of the countries above enumerated, (including hostages, persons under trial or convicted.)

Four—Surrender in good condition by the German armies of the following war material: Five thousand guns, (2,500 heavy, and 2,500 field,) 25,000 machine guns, 3,000 minenwerfer, 1,700 airplanes, (fighters, bombers—firstly, all of the D 7's and all the night bombing machines.) The above to be delivered in situ to the allied and United States troops in accordance with the detailed conditions laid down in the note (annexure No. 1) drawn up at the moment of the signing of the armistice.

Five—Evacuation by the German armies of the countries on the left bank of the Rhine. The countries on the left bank of the Rhine

shall be administered by the local troops of occupation. The occupation of these territories will be carried out by allied and United States garrisons holding the principal crossings of the Rhine, (Mayence, Coblenz, Cologne,) together with the bridgeheads at these points of a thirty-kilometer radius on the right bank and by garrisons similarly holding the strategic points of the regions. A neutral zone shall be reserved on the right bank of the Rhine between the stream and a line drawn parallel to the bridgeheads and to the stream and at a distance of ten kilometers, from the frontier of Holland up to the frontier of Switzerland. The evacuation by the enemy of the Rhinelands (left and right bank) shall be so ordered as to be completed within a further period of sixteen days, in all, thirty-one days after the signing of the armistice. All the movements of evacuation or occupation are regulated by the note (annexure No. 1) drawn up at the moment of the signing of the armistice.

Six—In all territories evacuated by the enemy there shall be no evacuation of inhabitants; no damage or harm shall be done to the persons or property of the inhabitants. No person shall be prosecuted for offenses of participation in war measures prior to the signing of the armistice. No destruction of any kind shall be committed. Military establishments of all kinds shall be delivered intact, as well as military stores of food, munitions, and equipment, not removed during the time fixed for evacuation. Stores of food of all kinds for the civil population, cattle, &c., shall be left in situ. Industrial establishments shall not be impaired in any way and their personnel shall not be removed.

Seven—Roads and means of communication of every kind, railroads, waterways, main roads, bridges, telegraphs, telephones, shall be in no manner impaired. All civil and military personnel at present employed on them shall remain. Five thousand locomotives and 150,000 wagons in good working order, with all necessary spare parts and fittings, shall be delivered to the associated powers within the period fixed in annexure No. 2, and total of which shall not exceed thirty-one days. There shall likewise be delivered 5,000 motor lorries (camion automobiles) in good order, within the period of thirty-six days. The railways of Alsace-Lorraine shall be handed over within the period of thirty-one days, together with pre-war personnel and material. Further, the material necessary for the working of railways in the countries on the left bank of the Rhine shall be left in situ. All stores of coal and material for the upkeep of permanent ways, signals, and repair shops shall be left in situ. These stores shall be maintained by Germany in so far as concerns the working of the railroads in the countries on the left bank of the Rhine. All barges taken from the Allies shall be restored to them. The note, annexure No. 2, regulates the details of these measures.

Eight—The German command shall be re-

sponsible for revealing within the period of forty-eight hours after the signing of the armistice all mines or delayed action fuses on territory evacuated by the German troops and shall assist in their discovery and destruction. It also shall reveal all destructive measures that may have been taken, (such as poisoning or polluting of springs and wells, &c.) All under penalty of reprisals.

Nine—The right of requisition shall be exercised by the allied and United States armies in all occupied territories, subject to regulation of accounts with those whom it may concern. The upkeep of the troops of occupation in the Rhineland (excluding Alsace-Lorraine) shall be charged to the German Government.

Ten—The immediate repatriation without reciprocity, according to detailed conditions which shall be fixed, of all allied and United States prisoners of war, including persons under trial or convicted. The allied powers and the United States shall be able to dispose of them as they wish. This condition annuls the previous conventions on the subject of the exchange of prisoners of war, including the one of July, 1918, in course of ratification. However, the repatriation of German prisoners of war interned in Holland and in Switzerland shall continue as before. The repatriation of German prisoners of war shall be regulated at the conclusion of the preliminaries of peace.

Eleven—Sick and wounded who cannot be removed from evacuated territory will be cared for by German personnel, who will be left on the spot with the medical material required.

II.—DISPOSITION RELATIVE TO THE EASTERN FRONTIERS OF GERMANY

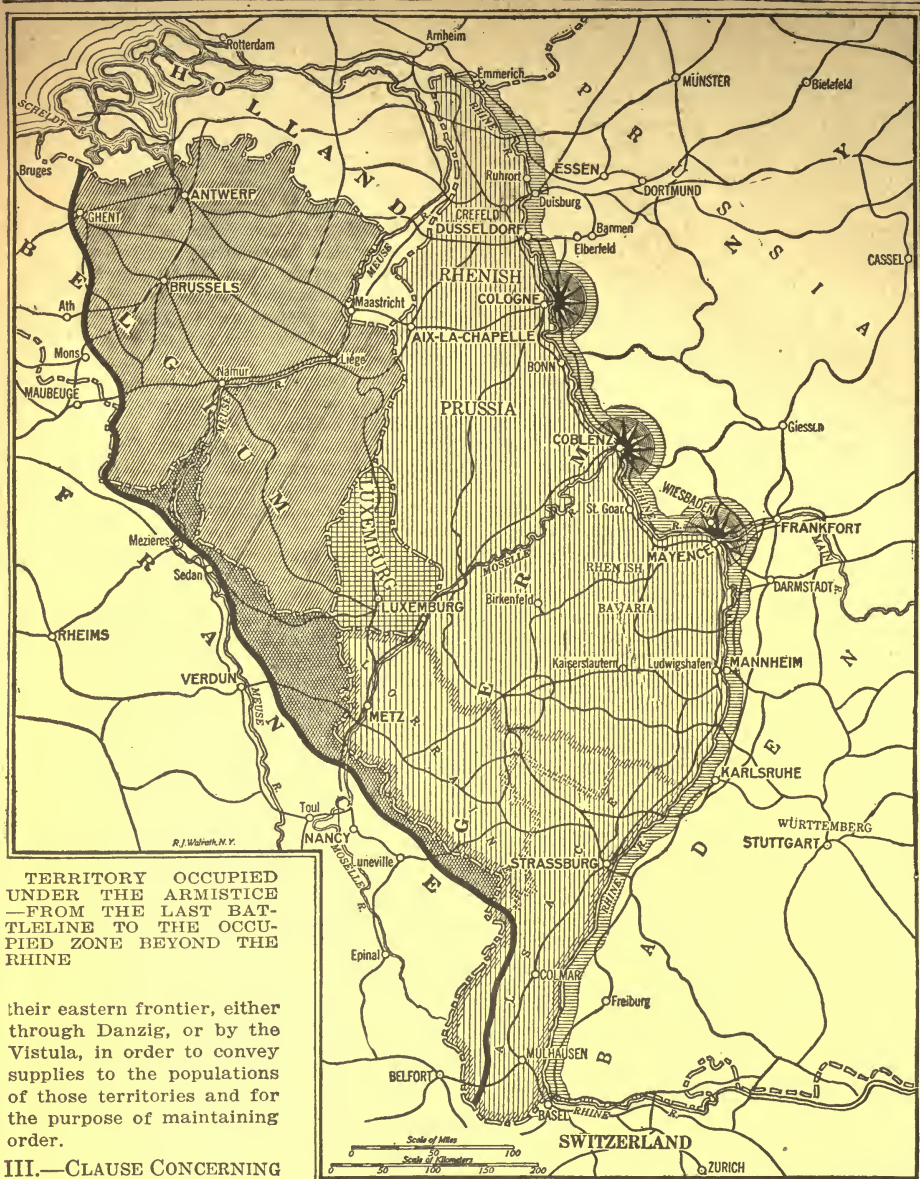
Twelve—All German troops at present in the territories which before belonged to Austria-Hungary, Rumania, Turkey, shall withdraw immediately within the frontiers of Germany as they existed on August First, Nineteen Fourteen. All German troops at present in the territories which before the war belonged to Russia shall likewise withdraw within the frontiers of Germany, defined as above, as soon as the Allies, taking into account the internal situation of these territories, shall decide that the time for this has come.

Thirteen—Evacuation by German troops to begin at once, and all German instructors, prisoners, and civilians as well as military agents now on the territory of Russia (as defined before 1914) to be recalled.

Fourteen—German troops to cease at once all requisitions and seizures and any other undertaking with a view to obtaining supplies intended for Germany in Rumania and Russia, (as defined on Aug. 1, 1914.)

Fifteen—Renunciation of the treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk and of the supplementary treaties.

Sixteen—The Allies shall have free access to the territories evacuated by the Germans on



in trust to the Allies until the signature of peace.

V.—NAVAL CONDITIONS

Twenty—Immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea and definite information to be given as to the location and movements of all German ships. Notification to be given to neutrals that freedom of navigation in all territorial waters is given to the naval and mercantile marines of the allied and associated powers, all questions of neutrality being waived.

Twenty-one—All naval and mercantile marine prisoners of the allied and associated powers in German hands to be returned without reciprocity.

Twenty-two—Surrender to the Allies and United States of all submarines (including submarine cruisers and all mine-laying submarines) now existing, with their complete armament and equipment, in ports which shall be specified by the Allies and United States. Those which cannot take the sea shall be disarmed of the personnel and material and shall remain under the supervision of the Allies and the United States. The submarines which are ready for the sea shall be prepared to leave the German ports as soon as orders shall be received by wireless for their voyage to the port designated for their delivery, and the remainder at the earliest possible moment. The conditions of this article shall be carried into effect within the period of fourteen days after the signing of the armistice.

Twenty-three—German surface warships which shall be designated by the Allies and the United States shall be immediately disarmed and thereafter interned in neutral ports or in default of them in allied ports to be designated by the Allies and the United States. They will there remain under the supervision of the Allies and of the United States, only caretakers being left on board. The following warships are designated by the Allies: Six battle cruisers, ten battleships, eight light cruisers, (including two mine layers,) fifty destroyers of the most modern types. All other surface warships (including river craft) are to be concentrated in German naval bases to be designated by the Allies and the United States and are to be completely disarmed and classed under the supervision of the Allies and the United States. The military armament of all ships of the auxiliary fleet shall be put on shore. All vessels designated to be interned shall be ready to leave the German ports seven days after the signing of the armistice. Directions for the voyage will be given by wireless.

Twenty-four—The Allies and the United States of America shall have the right to sweep up all mine fields and obstructions laid by Germany outside German territorial waters, and the positions of these are to be indicated.

Twenty-five—Freedom of access to and from

the Baltic to be given to the naval and mercantile marines of the allied and associated powers. To secure this the Allies and the United States of America shall be empowered to occupy all German forts, fortifications, batteries, and defense works of all kinds in all the entrances from the Cattegat into the Baltic, and to sweep up all mines and obstructions within and without German territorial waters, without any question of neutrality being raised, and the positions of all such mines and obstructions are to be indicated.

Twenty-six—The existing blockade conditions set up by the allied and associated powers are to remain unchanged, and all German merchant ships found at sea are to remain liable to capture. The Allies and the United States should give consideration to the provisioning of Germany during the armistice to the extent recognized as necessary.

Twenty-seven—All naval aircraft are to be concentrated and immobilized in German bases to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America.

Twenty-eight—In evacuating the Belgian coast and ports Germany shall abandon in situ and in fact all port and river navigation material, all merchant ships, tugs, lighters, all naval aeronautic apparatus, material and supplies, and all arms, apparatus, and supplies of every kind.

Twenty-nine—All Black Sea ports are to be evacuated by Germany; all Russian war vessels of all descriptions seized by Germany in the Black Sea are to be handed over to the Allies and the United States of America; all neutral merchant vessels seized are to be released; all warlike and other materials of all kinds seized in those ports are to be returned and German materials as specified in Clause Twenty-eight are to be abandoned.

Thirty—All merchant vessels in German hands belonging to the allied and associated powers are to be restored in ports to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America without reciprocity.

Thirty-one—No destruction of ships or of materials to be permitted before evacuation, surrender, or restoration.

Thirty-two—The German Government will notify the neutral Governments of the world, and particularly the Governments of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, that all restrictions placed on the trading of their vessels with the allied and associated countries, whether by the German Government or by private German interests, and whether in return for specific concessions, such as the export of shipbuilding materials, or not, are immediately canceled.

Thirty-three—No transfers of German merchant shipping of any description to any neutral flag are to take place after signature of the armistice.

VI.—DURATION OF ARMISTICE

Thirty-four—The duration of the armistice

is to be thirty days, with option to extend. During this period if its clauses are not carried into execution the armistice may be denounced by one of the contracting parties, which must give warning forty-eight hours in advance. It is understood that the execution of Articles 3 and 18 shall not warrant the denunciation of the armistice on the ground of insufficient execution within a period fixed, except in the case of bad faith in carrying them into execution. In order to assure the execution of this convention under the best conditions, the principle of a permanent international armistice commission is admitted. This commission will act under the authority of the allied military and naval Commanders in Chief.

VII.—THE LIMIT FOR REPLY

Thirty-five—This armistice to be accepted or refused by Germany within seventy-two hours of notification.

This armistice has been signed the Eleventh of November, Nineteen Eighteen, at 5 o'clock [A. M.] French time.

F. FOCH.

R. E. WEMYSS.

ERZBERGER.

A. OBERNDORFF.

WINTERFELDT.

VON SALOW.

Notes That Led Up to the Armistice

Conclusion of Diplomatic Correspondence Between the German Government and President Wilson

THE first two notes from Germany and the first two replies of President Wilson in the interchange begun by Prince Maximilian on Oct. 6, 1918, relative to an armistice and peace, were printed in the preceding issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. This diplomatic correspondence with Berlin and Vienna was continued by President Wilson up to a point where he handed over the further formulation of terms of surrender to the Interallied War Council at Versailles. The concluding notes in the series, beginning with Germany's third, written in reply to the President's note of Oct. 14, are given below.

GERMANY'S THIRD NOTE

This German reply was dated Oct. 20; it became public unofficially by wireless on Oct. 21, and the official German text was handed to President Wilson by the Swiss Chargé d'Affaires at Washington on the 22d, along with an English translation sent by the German Government. This official translation read as follows:

In accepting the proposal for an evacuation of the occupied territories the German Government has started from the assumption that the procedure of this evacuation and of the conditions of an armistice should be left to the judgment of the military advisers and that the actual standard of power on both sides in the field has to form the basis for ar-

rangements safeguarding and guaranteeing this standard. The German Government suggests to the President to bring about an opportunity for fixing the details. It trusts that the President of the United States will approve of no demand which would be irreconcilable with the honor of the German people and with opening a way to a peace of justice.

The German Government protests against the reproach of illegal and inhumane actions made against the German land and sea forces and thereby against the German people. For the covering of a retreat, destructions will always be necessary, and they are in so far permitted by international law. The German troops are under the strictest instruction to spare private property and to exercise care for the population to the best of their ability. Where transgressions occur in spite of these instructions the guilty are being punished.

The German Government further denies that the German Navy in sinking ships has ever purposely destroyed lifeboats with their passengers. The German Government proposes with regard to all those charges that the facts be cleared up by neutral commissions. In order to avoid anything that might hamper the work of peace, the German Government has caused orders to be dispatched to all submarine commanders, precluding the torpedoing of passenger ships, without, however, for technical reasons, being able to guarantee that these orders will reach every single submarine at sea before its return.

As a fundamental condition for peace the President prescribes the destruction of every arbitrary power that can separately, secretly, and of its own single

choice disturb the peace of the world. To this the German Government replies: Hitherto the representation of the people in the German Empire has not been endowed with an influence on the formation of the Government. The Constitution did not provide for a concurrence of representation of the people in decisions of peace and war. These conditions have just now undergone a fundamental change. A new Government has been formed in complete accordance with the wishes of the representation of the people, based on equal, universal, secret, direct franchise. The leaders of the great parties of the Reichstag are members of this Government. In the future no Government can take or continue in office without possessing the confidence of a majority of the Reichstag. The responsibility of the Chancellor of the empire to the representation of the people is being legally developed and safeguarded. The first act of the new Government has been to lay before the Reichstag a bill to alter the Constitution of the empire so that the consent of the representation of the people is required for decisions on war and peace. The permanence of the new system is, however, guaranteed not only by constitutional safeguards, but also by the unshakable determination of the German people, whose vast majority stands behind these reforms and demands their energetic continuance.

The question of the President—with whom he and the Governments associated against Germany are dealing—is therefore answered in a clear, unequivocal manner by the statement that the offer of peace and an armistice has come from a Government which, free from any arbitrary and irresponsible influence, is supported by the approval of an overwhelming majority of the German people.

(Signed) SOLF,

*State Secretary of Foreign Affairs.
Berlin, Oct. 20, 1918.*

Germany's reply was universally regarded in Entente countries as unsatisfactory, especially in its lack of guarantees of genuine reforms in the Kaiser's Government. In some quarters there was a sentiment in the United States against the continuance of these long-distance parleys, and Senator Poindexter of Washington offered a resolution on Oct. 21 to make it unlawful for "any official of this Government to answer in any way" any note from Germany regarding peace or an armistice until Germany had surrendered unconditionally. This sentiment did not crystallize into definite action, but President Wilson got into close communication with the Supreme

War Council at Paris before replying to the note.

MAXIMILIAN TO THE REICHSTAG

Meanwhile the new German Chancellor appeared before the Reichstag on Oct. 22 and delivered a speech in which he said:

The President's first answer to the peace move of the German Government has in all countries brought the question of a peace of justice or a peace of violence to the highest point. President Wilson's last note did not make clear to the German people how this public agitation will end. His next answer will, perhaps, bring definite certainty. Until then we must in all our thoughts and in our actions prepare for both eventualities—first, that the enemy Governments are anxious for war, in which case there is no choice for us but to put ourselves in a posture of defense with all the strength of our people driven to the last extremity.

Should this necessity arise, I have no doubt that the German Government, in the name of the German people, will issue a call for national defense in the same way that it spoke for the German people when it took action for peace. He who honestly took a stand on the basis of peace will also undertake the duty of not submitting to a peace of violence without a fight. The Government which would act otherwise would be left to the mercy of the fighting and working people. It would be swept away by public opinion.

There is also another possibility. The German people must not be blindly brought to the conference table. The German people today has the right to ask, if peace is realized on the basis of President Wilson's conditions, what they mean for our future. Our answers to the President's question must be framed on the German people's understanding of that question. What it now wants is clearness.

The decision will be of stupendous import. It will not be our strength that will decide, but it will be what is thought to be right in free discussion with our opponents that will give the decision. This is a great effort for a proud people accustomed to victory. The legal questions involved will not stop at our national boundaries, which we will never of our own accord open for violence.

The principles upon which we have agreed as a rule of conduct also involve internal questions. From many quarters it has been represented to me that an acceptance of President Wilson's conditions would mean submission—anti-German submission—to an anti-German court of justice which would decide legal questions entirely from the viewpoint of its own interests. If that is the case, why then is it the extreme apostles of force

in the Entente fear the council chamber as the guilty fear the court of justice?

The essence of President Wilson's program for a League of Nations cannot be achieved when all peoples have not the right of national self-determination. This realization of community law means the abandonment of part of the unqualified independence which hitherto has been the indication of sovereignty, both by us and others. Should we at home maintain as fundamental the national egoism which until a short time ago was the dominating force of the people's life, there would be no restitution and no renovation for us. There would be a feeling of bitterness which would cripple us for generations.

But if we comprehend that the significance of this frightful war is, above all, victory for the idea of justice, and if we do not resist this idea, but submit with all good faith, then we shall find in it a cure for our present wounds and a reservoir of future strength.

Field Marshal von Hindenburg issued a general order stating that he approved the peace move, and was supporting the Government in it. The Crown Prince issued a briefer order to his army group referring to the exchange of diplomatic notes, and warning his officers not to modify their battle lines without express orders. Another order emanating from the German high command said:

Diplomatic negotiations with a view to terminating the war have begun. Their conclusion will be all the more favorable in proportion as we succeed in keeping the army well in hand, in holding the ground conquered, and in doing harm to the enemy. These principles should guide the direction of the combat in the days that are to follow.

All these documents were captured from the 5th Bavarian Division.

PRESIDENT'S THIRD ANSWER

Secretary Lansing sent President Wilson's reply to Germany's third note the day after the official copy had been received. It was inscribed "From the Secretary of State to the Chargé d'Affaires of Switzerland, ad interim in charge of German interests in the United States." Following is the text:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 23, 1918.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 22d transmitting a communication under date of the 20th from the German Government

and to advise you that the President has instructed me to reply thereto as follows:

Having received the solemn and explicit assurance of the German Government that it unreservedly accepts the terms of peace laid down in his address to the Congress of the United States on the 8th of January, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses, particularly the address of the 27th of September, and that it desires to discuss the details of their application, and that this wish and purpose emanate, not from those who have hitherto dictated German policy and conducted the present war on Germany's behalf, but from Ministers who speak for the majority of the Reichstag and for an overwhelming majority of the German people; and having received also the explicit promise of the present German Government that the humane rules of civilized warfare will be observed both on land and sea by the German armed forces, the President of the United States feels that he cannot decline to take up with the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated the question of an armistice.

He deems it his duty to say again, however, that the only armistice he would feel justified in submitting for consideration would be one which should leave the United States and the powers associated with her in a position to enforce any arrangements that may be entered into and to make a renewal of hostilities on the part of Germany impossible.

The President has, therefore, transmitted his correspondence with the present German authorities to the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated as a belligerent, with the suggestion that, if those Governments are disposed to effect peace upon the terms and principles indicated, their military advisers and the military advisers of the United States be asked to submit to the Governments associated against Germany the necessary terms of such an armistice as will fully protect the interests of the peoples involved and insure to the associated Governments the unrestricted power to safeguard and enforce the details of the peace to which the German Government has agreed, provided they deem such an armistice possible from the military point of view. Should such terms of armistice be suggested, their acceptance by Germany will afford the best concrete evidence of her unequivocal acceptance of the terms and principles of peace from which the whole action proceeds.

The President would deem himself lacking in candor did he not point out in the frankest possible terms the reason why extraordinary safeguards must be demanded. Significant and important as

the constitutional changes seem to be which are spoken of by the German Foreign Secretary in his note of the 20th of October, it does not appear that the principle of a Government responsible to the German people has yet been fully worked out or that any guarantees either exist or are in contemplation that the alterations of principle and of practice now partially agreed upon will be permanent. Moreover, it does not appear that the heart of the present difficulty has been reached. It may be that future wars have been brought under the control of the German people, but the present war has not been; and it is with the present war that we are dealing. It is evident that the German people have no means of commanding the acquiescence of the military authorities of the empire in the popular will; that the power of the King of Prussia to control the policy of the empire is unimpaired; that the determining initiative still remains with those who have hitherto been the masters of Germany. Feeling that the whole peace of the world depends now on plain speaking and straightforward action, the President deems it his duty to say, without any attempt to soften what may seem harsh words, that the nations of the world do not and can not trust the word of those who have hitherto been the masters of German policy, and to point out once more that in concluding peace and attempting to undo the infinite injuries and injustices of this war the Government of the United States cannot deal with any but veritable representatives of the German people who have been assured of a genuine constitutional standing as the real rulers of Germany.

If it must deal with the military masters and the monarchical autocrats of Germany now, or if it is likely to have to deal with them later in regard to the international obligations of the German Empire, it must demand, not peace negotiations, but surrender. Nothing can be gained by leaving this essential thing unsaid.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

Mr. Frederick Oederlin, Chargé d'Affaires of Switzerland, ad interim in charge of German interests in the United States.

The President's action in calling for surrender and in turning over the matter to the military commanders in France met with unmxim approval in Paris and London. In Washington a like sentiment prevailed, though some Congressmen and Senators held that there should have been

no discussion whatever with the enemy. Ex-President Taft declared that the note was so near to being a demand for unconditional surrender that "even a German can see it, and, we hope, will stop sending notes." Ex-President Roosevelt the next day sent a telegram to Republican leaders in various parts of the country assailing Mr. Wilson's "fourteen points" as a "thoroughly mischievous" basis for peace negotiations. "Let us dictate peace by the hammering guns," he wrote, "and not chat about peace to the accompaniment of the clicking of typewriters."

FOURTH GERMAN NOTE

The German War Cabinet discussed President Wilson's note in a long session on Oct. 24, and on Friday, Oct. 25, there was a meeting of the Crown Council, in which the Crown Prince as well as the Kaiser took part, with all the Secretaries of State, including the Chancellor and the War Cabinet Ministers. The resignation of General Ludendorff followed the next day, and on Oct. 27 the results of the Crown Council meeting were embodied in a brief reply to President Wilson, which reached him on the 28th through the same channels as its predecessors. The official German text was translated by the Swiss Embassy as follows:

The German Government has taken cognizance of the reply of the President of the United States. The President knows the far-reaching changes which have taken place and are being carried out in the German constitutional structure. The peace negotiations are being conducted by a Government of the people, in whose hands rests, both actually and constitutionally, the authority to make decisions. The military powers are also subject to this authority. The German Government now awaits the proposals for an armistice, which is the first step toward a peace of justice, as described by the President in his pronouncements.

(Signed) SOLF,

State Secretary of Foreign Affairs,
Berlin, Oct. 27, 1918.

Diplomatic and press comment in the Entente countries was almost unanimous in regarding this note as an acceptance of the idea of surrender. The President had laid down the principle that the armistice must be on terms which,

would preclude Germany from renewing hostilities, and to that principle the German reply gave tacit consent. Nothing remained but for the Entente War Office and Admiralties to formulate the program of military and naval measures with which the Central Powers must comply before an armistice could be granted.

Though neither President Wilson nor Secretary Lansing had answered the latest communications from Berlin, the German Government sent a fifth note, which reached Washington on Oct. 30, through the Swiss Legation. It was officially described as a memorandum, and its contents were not given to the public at the time.

From this point onward the German Government's communications were carried on directly with Marshal Foch until the signing of the armistice.

Secretary Lansing issued this statement at 9 o'clock in the evening of Nov. 4:

According to an official report received this evening, the terms of the armistice to be offered to Germany have just been agreed to unanimously and signed by the representatives of the Allies and the United States in Paris. The report further states that diplomatic unity has been completely achieved under conditions of utmost harmony.

PRESIDENT'S FINAL NOTE

The diplomatic correspondence begun by Prince Maximilian on Oct. 5 was closed on Nov. 5 by the following note, which Secretary Lansing handed to the Swiss Minister for transmission to Germany:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Nov. 5, 1918.

From the Secretary of State to the Minister of Switzerland, in charge of German interests in the United States.

Sir: I have the honor to request you to transmit the following communication to the German Government:

In my note of Oct. 23, 1918, I advised you that the President had transmitted his correspondence with the German authorities to the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated as a belligerent with the suggestion that, if those Governments were disposed to accept peace upon the terms and principles indi-

cated, their military advisers and the military advisers of the United States be asked to submit to the Governments associated against Germany the necessary terms of such an armistice as would fully protect the interests of the peoples involved and insure to the associated Government the unrestricted power to safeguard and enforce the details of the peace to which the German Government has agreed, provided they deem such an armistice possible from the military point of view.

The President is now in receipt of a memorandum of observations by the allied Governments on this correspondence, which is as follows:

"22—The allied Governments have given careful consideration to the correspondence which has passed between the President of the United States and the German Government. Subject to the qualifications which follow, they declare their willingness to make peace with the Government of Germany on the terms of peace laid down in the President's address to Congress of January, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses.

"They must point out, however, that Clause 2, relating to what is usually described as the freedom of the seas, is open to various interpretations, some of which they could not accept. They must, therefore, reserve to themselves complete freedom on this subject when they enter the peace conference.

"Further, in the conditions of peace laid down in his address to Congress of Jan. 8, 1918, the President declared that invaded territories must be restored as well as evacuated and freed. The allied Governments feel that no doubt ought to be allowed to exist as to what this provision implies. By it they understand that compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air."

I am instructed by the President to say that he is in agreement with the interpretation set forth in the last paragraph of the memorandum above quoted. I am further instructed by the President to request you to notify the German Government that Marshal Foch has been authorized by the Government of the United States and the allied Governments to receive properly accredited representatives of the German Government and communicate to them terms of an armistice.

*The number "22" attached to this memorandum is the index number of the statement, each of those adopted by the allied conference being numbered.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

MR. HANS SULZER,

Minister of Switzerland,

In charge of German interests in the United States.

The next day the German Government sent peace plenipotentiaries to receive the terms of armistice from Marshal Foch, and on Nov. 11 the terms were signed. The terms imposed and the story of Germany's surrender appear elsewhere in these pages.

The March to the Rhine

As the Germans Withdrew, the Allied Armies Advanced
Toward Germany Amid Popular Rejoicings

THE withdrawal of the German armies from the occupied portions of France and Belgium, in accordance with the terms of the armistice, began on Tuesday, Nov. 12, the allied armies and the Americans moving forward into the evacuated regions. The departure of the invaders, with their surrender of munitions and the liberation of prisoners in the occupied territory, was accomplished without a hitch and in apparent good faith.

A period of fifteen days after the signing of the armistice had been granted the Germans to evacuate Belgium, Luxemburg, and Alsace-Lorraine. On Nov. 21, after ten of the fifteen days allotted the allied armies had passed beyond Brussels, had penetrated into Luxemburg, and had reached Saarbrücken and the line of the Rhine to the Swiss border. In these ten days the Belgians had advanced fifty miles, the Americans and British thirty, and the French forty, and the entire front was being advanced from eight to ten miles a day. Antwerp was formally occupied Nov. 17, Mülhouse Nov. 17, Antwerp Nov. 18, Brussels, by the King of the Belgians on Nov. 22, and Strassbourg on Nov. 23. Everywhere the advancing troops were welcomed by the inhabitants. The demonstrations by the people in Alsace and Lorraine were marked by undisguised joy; even in Luxemburg, which was believed to have strong German leanings, the American troops were cordially received. The occupation of Antwerp, Brussels, and Metz produced scenes of unexampled enthu-

siasm, which were participated in wholeheartedly by all the population.

ADVANCE OF AMERICANS

The actual advance of the American Army began at 5:30 o'clock Sunday morning, Nov. 17. Units forming the American Army of occupation were chosen with regard to their military accomplishments since they came to France. The advance was made in columns and not in the order of battle so long followed. But it was not forgotten that, technically, at least, there was still a state of war. Nothing was left to chance, and every precaution was taken to guard against surprises.

Care was taken to have the force well echeloned. The advance guard, well in advance of the main force, was followed by engineers, who were instructed not only to repair roads, reconstruct bridges, and clear the way generally, but to inspect keenly every object and position that might be a trap. The Germans sent word that the way was open and the mines removed, except in cases which they designated. Water also was inspected carefully and none permitted to be used until pronounced pure.

The arrangements in force were such that, although advancing much as it might along the country roads of the United States, the entire formation could be altered almost in minutes to battle formation. Divisions moving on the front had others in support, and the flanks were carefully covered. In addition, a long line of observation balloons

was maintained behind the lines, moving slowly forward, observing the movements of the retreating Germans. The aviators, however, had little to do. They moved up somewhat later, ready for immediate action.

The advancing Americans were flanked by the armies of France, and on Sunday evening the advanced elements of the Americans crossed the Belgian border. The French Fifth Army, on the left, and the French Tenth Army, on the right, advanced abreast the Americans, while far along the line to the left and right the allied troops continued to march toward the line agreed on in the armistice. It was arranged that the armies should march two days and rest two.

BRIEY BASIN OCCUPIED

The first important town reached by the advancing Americans was Montmédy. The entrance into this city, in the Briey coal basin, was witnessed by Edwin L. James, correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES and CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, who wrote on Nov. 17:

"When the doughboys reached this once pretty little city French flags were flying from every window, and 800 or 900 townsfolk, dressed in their sorry best, with tears streaming down their faces, welcomed their deliverers. Those French flags had been hidden in little nooks and corners unknown to the Germans for four years, hidden and guarded, against this glorious day, which the brave French folk never doubted was coming to them. The Stars and Stripes floated from the City Hall. There was no set ceremony—there had been no time for that, for the enemy had left but twelve hours before we entered.

"The celebration was the better because spontaneous. Every soul in the town just stood by and cheered for the Americans. When it was learned they would stop there for the night every home was thrown open to them, and apologies were made for the plight the Germans had left the houses in. Two hours after the Americans got there—it was the 2d Division—the 5th Marines had their good band out in the square playing 'Hail! Hail! The Gang's All Here!'

"All the shops in town were open,

their windows filled, for the most part, with empty boxes, for the Germans had left little, but it showed the spunky nature of the French people. When the Germans left Montmédy they looted and pillaged everything lootable and pillageable. They took all food, all cattle, even supplies sent to the civilians by the American relief. They tore the furnishings of houses to pieces in those last hours.

"All day thousands after thousands of released prisoners passed our advancing soldiers, coming into our lines. There were Americans, British, French, Italians, men of all the armies which had been fighting against the Germans. Some said they had been released and told to move in this direction. Others said the Germans just went away and left them unguarded.

MARCH TOWARD GERMANY

"It was in the cold, gray dawn this morning that the army started on the march to Germany. Moving northeast from the line where the First and Second Armies stopped fighting at 11 o'clock on Nov. 11, the victorious troops got under way for one of the most notable marches ever made under the Stars and Stripes. Our army went forward as to battle. It went forward prepared for whatever might come. No brass bands were playing at the head of the troops, no flags waving. The Americans went up the roads as if the enemy might be around the next turn, for, although the armistice has stopped fighting and no one really expects it to start again, we are still at war with Germany, and if the army of occupation has to start war again it can do it.

"No conquering General rode at the head of our troops. Patrols of eight men under Sergeants went first. Then came marching squads of infantry, and back of them light artillery, followed by supply trains. In the vanguard went all the equipment of an army going to war. The whole movement was made on a war footing. We moved forward from a line running roughly from Mouzon, Stenay, Damvillers, Fresnes, and Thiaucourt, on a front of fifty-six miles.

"Thrills came to the Americans, all

veterans of this war, as they marched over the land which the Germans had fought so hard to hold, over the heights from which 77s and machine guns had pumped murderous fire into their ranks. The men felt exultation that their easy march was the reward of victories of the soul-trying days of the last month and the month before."

AMERICAN THIRD ARMY

The American army of occupation was designated as the Third Army, under command of Major Gen. John T. Dickman. The divisions leading were the 2d and 32d of the corps commanded by General Hines, and some divisions of the 3d and 4th Corps, General Muir commanding.

Supporting the 3d Corps went the 42d Division, commanded by General MacArthur, and in support of the 1st and 3d Divisions the 4th Corps, commanded by General Hirschey. The divisions on the line were carefully selected. The 2d was commanded by Major Gen. John A. Lejeune, commander of the marines, who won honors beginning at Belleau Wood and added to them at Château-Thierry, St. Mihiel, and Champagne. On the right was the 32d Division, renowned for its work north of the Marne, later at Soissons, and also in the recent operations. It was made up of men from Michigan and Wisconsin and commanded by General Haan.

The 1st Division was one of regulars, commanded by General Frank Parker. The 3d Division, also made up of regulars, was commanded by General Preston Brown. Both these regular divisions were made up of picked men.

Along the road from Verdun to Spincourt, a distance of about twenty-five miles, released prisoners of various nationalities traveled toward Verdun in great streams, passing the Americans going in the opposite direction. Many of the former prisoners were attired in cast-off German uniforms and had their effects in wheelbarrows, carts, hand trucks, and baby carriages. For the most part the prisoners were well clothed, but hungry.

The American troops entered Briey,

the heart of the Lorraine iron fields, at 11 o'clock, Nov. 18. There were arches across the main street and the town was bedecked with flags. Fifteen hundred civilians greeted the troops. After a welcome by the Briey officials, the 38th Infantry Band of the 3d Division gave a concert. Then the Americans lunched from rolling kitchens, a large number of released Russians also being fed. Outwardly Briey showed few indications of the war, the buildings being intact, but there were German signs everywhere pointing in the direction of ammunition dumps and the various headquarters. On a decorated arch, under which the Americans passed, was a home-made American flag four feet in length flanked by the French colors. The flag, which had been made by three French girls, had eleven stars and seven red and white stripes.

Before the war the population of Briey numbered about 2,500. Civilians employed in the mines by the Germans received pay of four to six francs a day. The Germans abandoned a large number of trucks and portable dynamos in Briey, owing to their haste to withdraw their troops.

Smoke, streaming from the chimneys of many mines greeted the advancing Americans, for a number of mines were in actual operation, and there were fires under the boilers in other mines so as to keep the pumps going. Several mines had been flooded by seepage, having been idle for two or three years. The Germans had removed the machinery for other purposes. Most of the mines had been operated until Nov. 10, when the Germans began to release the Russians and others who had been employed in this work.

RECEPTION AT VIRTON

Mr. James, cabling on Nov. 18, described as follows the reception at Vinton, a Belgian border town, as typical of the attitude of the people:

"This pretty little Belgian city of Vinton belongs to the Americans tonight, it and everything in it, the willing gift of 4,000 inhabitants, to whom the doughboy from America today brought deliverance after fifty months under the yoke of the

boches, who left it so little ahead of the Americans' entry that some of them were overtaken.

"When I reached here at 11 o'clock this morning the 9th Regiment of the 2d Division had arrived. Standing in the town in marching formation, the troops were the centre of cheering and weeping Belgians, dressed in their best clothes, who at once notified the American Major that their homes were open to him. They told us that the boche had just left. Later I learned that a Lieutenant, leading the advance patrol, had reached Virton before the last German infantry had left, and that a German Major, about to leave, had got out of his automobile and shaken hands with the American Lieutenant and said: 'Well, I must be going.' The Major got into his car and sped away.

"A few moments after my arrival at Virton I saw a German Major and three Lieutenants walking nonchalantly up the street. The Americans who saw them gasped and grasped their rifles, until their commander told them that German surgeons had been left behind by agreement with the American commander.

"It is fair to state that Virton is in excellent condition. It is untouched by the ravages of war. No shell holes, no bomb craters, no burned houses were seen. The little city looked beautiful in the clear sunshine. It has as many residents as before the war. But they tell bad tales of the boche. They say that he kept the city in good shape because he had headquarters there and didn't expect to leave so soon.

"I could not help comparing Virton with pillaged Montmédy, which I saw yesterday, where everything worth looting had been stolen. In Virton the shops were well stocked with German and Dutch goods, and I actually went into a hotel, ordered lunch, and had an excellent meal. They had bread left by the Germans in exchange for white flour they had taken. They had meat killed this morning, sugar sent by the American Relief Committee, and tea which the landlady assured me had been hidden for four years.

"The Germans took practically all

food from Virton, but left everything else. In Montmédy they had destroyed everything of value, even burning a warehouse full of cabbages which they couldn't take away. There was another interesting difference in the German policy in the two places. In Montmédy all payments were made by the Germans in French money, in Virton in German money. My conclusion is that the Germans believed that for years to come Virton would be a German city. In the last hours they did not loot it out of policy."

THROUGH LUXEMBURG

The advance of the Americans through Luxemburg on Nov. 20, 21, and 22 was in the nature of a parade. Everywhere the troops were warmly welcomed. Mr. James cabled on Nov. 20:

"The American troops shoved their lines across the German frontier today. The frontier was crossed opposite Briey and Audun-le-Roman, and at points between these two places. On the left American marines occupied the town of Arlon, Belgium, where the day was proclaimed a holiday. Thousands of civilians greeted the Americans, who entered Arlon early in the morning. To the south the Americans went into Fontoy and Vitry in Lorraine and several villages to the northeast of Vitry.

"Swinging northward from Metz the American 1st Division crossed into Luxemburg just before noon, [Nov. 20,] entering Esch, a mining town of 20,000 inhabitants. The civilians expected the Americans Thursday, but when the vanguard appeared the news spread quickly. The whistles at the mines were blown, bells were rung, children were excused from schools, stores were closed, and the afternoon was proclaimed a holiday.

"In the store windows and public buildings along the principal streets there were pictures of President Wilson, drawn by an artist of Esch, who had worked night and day to complete by hand as many drawings as possible. Pictures of President Poincaré, Marshal Foch, and King Albert also were prominently displayed.

CROSSING THE BOUNDARY

"To the 1st Division fell the honor of crossing the Lorraine line, the advance guard entering Aumetz soon after 9 o'clock. For three days the civilians of Aumetz had been looking for the Americans, expecting them every minute. There had been no school all week, and the children had been drilled in singing and flag-waving to receive the advancing army.

"Two hundred pupils, attired in fancy dress, that of the girls being of the colors of France, and the boys carrying the red and yellow colors of Lorraine, a home-made American flag and tricolored bunting of France, met the troops at the archway over the road entering the town from Audun-le-Roman. By the time the marching troops reached Esch the civilians were ready to receive them. The children tossed flowers at the soldiers as they passed through the streets.

"The Esch Band, which had been called to assemble in a hurry, led the march of the civilians to the City Hall, where the Mayor and officials received the military officers. After midday even the mines closed in order to give the workers, many of whom are women and girls, an opportunity for assembling in the square, where formal ceremonies were held. The advance guard later advanced beyond Esch, but division headquarters was established there for the night.

"At Fontoy the streets were decorated and civilians were out in force to receive the Americans. Fontoy is a railroad centre. Here the Americans found twenty-one locomotives in good condition and a yard full of passenger cars, flat-cars, and freight cars. The round-house also is in such condition that it can be used by the Americans.

"It may be said in passing that the Luxembourg towns were left in good shape. There were no signs of looting or wrecking. The shops were well stocked, and food seemed plentiful, though dear. Luxembourg appears to stand not to be a loser by the American occupation. It doesn't seem to have suffered from the German occupation, either. A cynic might be excused for

saying that Luxembourg was playing both ends against the middle.

JOY IN ARLON

"For real, downright joy I never saw anything to equal the sights at Arlon today. Arlon is a little Belgian city of some 20,000 inhabitants, and is beautiful beyond compare. Today they had hundreds and hundreds of fête trees, just like our Christmas trees, all along the streets, and they bore tinsel and Japanese lanterns. Overhead were bowers of fir tree branches, and along the streets were pretty girls and handsome women and cheering men and brass bands and the gendarmes. Don't forget the gendarmes. Their uniforms, not worn for four years, had been dug up and burnished so that each 'copper' looked no less than a Major General.

"When the 6th Marines came marching up the main street pandemonium broke loose. While over in Luxembourg one had wondered if they meant it, there was no room for doubt in Arlon. There were a thousand home-made American flags, and everywhere banners and big signs reading, 'Hail, generous Americans!' They had not been able to get cloth enough to make all the flags they wanted, and so hundreds had been painted on big sheets of paper. What if the paint did run—the flags were still recognizable.

"Just a final touch was given to the picture when a wizened old woman ran up the street waving an edition of a newspaper, with the ink still wet, and across the front page in big type, 'The Day of Glory Has Arrived.' The marines quickly bought all her papers and read what noble fellows they were.

CLEANING AFTER THE FOE

"The German withdrawal is losing some of its first neatness. More and more trucks are being left behind, and a considerable number of stragglers are trying to enter our lines. Reports say that the German officers, who seem to be trying to observe all the provisions of the armistice, are having increasing trouble with their men, most of whom think only of getting home and away from the army, of which they are sick.

This does not apply to the Prussians, but, generally to all the other elements of the enemy's forces.

"About two-thirds of our front is moving through Luxemburg, with the rest passing across Lorraine. The French are on our right and left.

"Residents of French and Belgian towns are busy cleaning up after the Germans. In every village one sees fires burning the clothes and other personal equipment which the invaders left behind them. The rooms they occupied in private houses are being aired and fumigated, while the towns are busy cleaning the public buildings they used, in many of which is found indescribable filth. Beasts could not have left more disgusting evidences of their presence than the German officers left in the Hôtel de Ville at Arlon."

GREETED BY GRAND DUCHESS

When the Americans passed through Luxemburg they were reviewed by General Pershing from the balcony of the palace of the youthful Grand Duchess, who stood beside him with members of the Cabinet and gave evidences of gratification at the withdrawal of the Germans.

Prior to the entry of the troops General Pershing in a proclamation assured the public that the American Army would remain only as long as was necessary, and while it was in Luxemburg would conduct itself in conformity with the civil law. The proclamation was distributed among the troops as well as among the population.

General Pershing entered the city ahead of his troops. The American Commander in Chief and his staff drove into the capital in automobiles. The General was greeted by thousands of cheering Luxemburgers and with the blowing of sirens and the ringing of church and school bells.

The 18th Infantry of the 1st Division were the first American troops to enter the city. The Americans were greeted by thousands of civilians, who lined all the streets through which the troops marched, school children tossed flowers in their pathway, and to each soldier was presented a bouquet of chrysanthemums.

Forty civic societies participated in the parade of welcome. Every building flew the flag of Luxemburg with here and there American flags. The chief political party of Luxemburg issued a proclamation which referred to the troops as "our deliverers, the glorious troops of the Entente and America." The declaration protested against the invasion of Luxemburg in 1914 by the Germans, asserted that their country had been humiliated, affirmed that the people at all times were pro-ally, expressed gratification over delivery from German oppression, and urged that they be allowed "to remain what we are."

FRENCH ENTRY INTO METZ

General Pétain, Commander in Chief of the French Armies, who was made a Marshal of France by the French Cabinet on Nov. 19, entered Metz at the head of the Tenth Army the same day. The official French report of the entry tersely said:

The entire population went out to meet our troops, loudly acclaiming them. The old city of Lorraine, captive for forty-seven years and finally reunited to France, has manifested in a never-to-be-forgotten way its love for the mother country. In Alsace our soldiers received yesterday the same moving welcome in the loyal town of Colmar.

Mr. James, in describing the occupation, wrote as follows:

"I went to Metz to see the historic entry of the conquering French fighting men. The thing was too big to grasp, too much for the 70,000 population to realize. They seemed dazed. Down the faces of aged men and women who were French before Germany stole Lorraine tears of joy ran in streams. But the great mass of the population seemed dazed. They cheered and cheered, these younger folks, but I thought the tears of the old folks best told the story of Metz. It was incongruous to hear voices in German praising the appearance of French poilus, but they meant it, none the less, with few exceptions.

"The streets and squares were packed when early this afternoon the blast of trumpets told that the conquering heroes were coming. Overhead swept fifty airplanes, dropping miniature French flags,

and from a distance came the strains of the 'Marche Lorraine.' And then French cavalry, and then French Generals and more officers, and then the poilus.

"As they swept into the square before the great cathedral—those hand-somest soldiers God ever made—the real French and mongrel French broke into a great demonstration of joy. Then there came some trusty 75s and more infantry and more bands; and so on for two hours Mangin's soldiers swept through the city and the barracks the Germans had built and had just left, and Metz was French again."

Another correspondent thus described the entry into Metz:

When Marshal Pétain appeared on the Esplanade, mounted on a fine white charger and followed by the entire General Staff, with American and British officers attached, a shout went up that drowned the whirr of the dozen or more airplanes flying overhead, and the crowd surged forward, breaking the line of guards in places, to get a glimpse of the victorious commander.

Still mounted, Marshal Pétain, surrounded by a brilliant group of Generals and superior officers, took up his position in front of the statue of Marshal Ney to review the troops, comprising the 38th Division of Infantry, with its artillery, under General Pougny; a detachment of the 1st Corps of Cavalry, under General Feraud; other mounted troops under General de Bollssieu, two escorting squadrons from the 1st Moroccan Division, and a detachment of tanks.

The staff of the Tenth Army, which General Mangin was prevented from heading because of the accident he had met with, was lined up directly in front of the Marshal, while General Fayolle, commanding the central group of armies, stood near the Commander in Chief just in front of the Ney statue, which the various superior officers saluted in passing. Enthusiastic cheers of "Long live France!" greeted every flag as it appeared.

The day was one of notable enthusiasm throughout, which thus failed to diminish. Bands, with torches, appeared as soon as the light began to fade, and jubilant processions continued gayly to circulate through the town until a late hour. Meanwhile, from the French lines all around the fortress there was a display of fireworks, which brightly lighted the sky, signal fuses and star shells serving as skyrockets.

People unaccustomed to any other

tongue than the German for years began many days ago brushing up their knowledge of French in preparation for this occasion, and although the majority of the population undoubtedly has a perfect acquaintance with no other tongue than the German, little of that language is now heard in the streets.

Other things German had disappeared over night, including the statues of the German rulers, which had been hauled down by the citizens. William I. had toppled over from the horse of his equestrian monument, while Frederick III., who for many long years had pointed a menacing finger at France from the pedestal upon which he stood, had come down with a rope around his neck.

KING ALBERT IN GHENT

The King of the Belgians formally entered Ghent on Nov. 13. On that day Philip Gibbs wrote:

"Today in Ghent there are vast cheering crowds, and King Albert is making his triumphal entry into his city, and the sun is shining with a golden light upon all the old roofs of Ghent and upon the crowded balconies from which banners hang.

"The King and Queen came riding in with the young Prince, escorted by Belgian, French, and British Generals, and as they came white flowers were thrown from all the balconies, and their petals fell about like confetti. They took up a position outside the old club in the Place d'Armes, and cheers swept round them in storms. Then there was a march past of Belgian troops, men who had fought on the Yser in the old bad days of mud and blood and those who, in the last days, had stormed their way through with guns and cavalry. They had flowers in their rifles and on their helmets and looked like veterans as they marched under their heavy packs.

"The Queen of the Belgians wore a light habit with a little linen cap and was a simple figure. There next to her was the tall King, whose face has been bronzed and hardened by four years in the field with his men. It is a great day for Belgium, and the air is full of music and the gladness of a brave people whose courage has won through to victory.

"Ghent was the last Belgian town to be rescued before the armistice. The

Germans had clung to it as the pivot of their retreat, holding the canal in front of it by machine-gun fire, and it was not until 2 o'clock on Monday morning (Nov. 11) that they went away. Twelve Belgian soldiers were the first to enter, at 7 o'clock, led by a young Belgian Lieutenant, whom I met last night, and a few minutes afterward all the streets were filled with the citizens of Ghent shouting, cheering, embracing these soldiers and each other.

"The enemy had gone after four years of oppression, and as dawn came it rose upon a day of liberty. Bells rang out from all the churches and from the old belfries of Ghent there were joyful carillons. The Belgian troops marched in, and their artillery passed through, and the people covered them with flags, and the music of their bands was overwhelmed by shouts of 'Vive la Belgique.'"

OCCUPATION OF ANTWERP

Mr. Gibbs also witnessed the entry of the King and Queen into Antwerp on Nov. 19. He cabled under that date:

"To the pealing of bells in the great cathedral and the cheers of massed crowds, the King of the Belgians made a state entry into the City of Antwerp today by the bridge across the Scheldt, known as the Tête de Flandres, and with the Queen drove around the streets to the Hôtel de Ville in an open carriage.

"Antwerp is a noble old city, with broad streets and squares and big public buildings, and these were all draped with long banners, and across the highways were streamers and flags. In a village, outside, through which the King passed, the people had placed Christmas trees adorned with little flags and Chinese lanterns, as if for the coming of Father Christmas with the spirit of peace.

"Physically the people of Antwerp have not suffered in this war, but their joy at liberation, the enthusiasm with which they greeted King Albert, the stories they told me, are proof enough that they suffered in a mental way severely enough to make them feel that a horror had been lifted from them by the retreat of the Germans. The first man I met had been in prison three

months for jostling a German officer while he was disputing with a friend over a point of grammar, and then he was suspended by the arms to a wall for fourteen days because he received a packet of chocolate and would not sell it to the Prison Governor who coveted it, saying: 'I do not make commerce with Germans.' Thousands of people went to prison for trivial offenses like this or for their refusal to pay fines.

ENTRY OF RULERS

"During the formal entry of the King and Queen into Antwerp their cars were laden with flowers, which had been given to them. On the steps of the Hôtel de Ville the sun glinted on the gold work on that masterpiece of the Flemish guilds; and now from scores of windows more flowers fell, so that they drove through a flurry of red and white petals.

"Before they went to the saluting base there was a procession which made emotion pass down the lines of the people like a wave. It was a crowd of men walking very slowly by the help of crutches and sticks, with a banner above them. Some of them were in the uniform of the Belgian Army of 1914, and others wore armlets of the Belgian colors. They were the men who had been in the siege of Antwerp in October of the first year of the war, and with their bodies had barred the way for a little while to the invading hordes.

"The march past of the Belgian troops who had fought in the later battles at Dixmude and at Pervyse, on the mud banks of the Yser and at Merckem, a month or two ago, was a stirring thing to see. The people had been waiting for them to come into this city again after four long years. Just four years ago I used to see men like this, covered with mud and blood, laid out in rows on stretchers. I saw many of them die. These men, who marched through Antwerp today, had lived to see the liberation of their country, and they were the lucky ones.

"There was a Te Deum in the cathedral, but I could get no further than the transport, because of the crowds there straining to get a glimpse of the King.

Before the high altar I could see the "Descent from the Cross," with its rich color like a great bouquet or painted window through which the light shines, and above the people long silken banners were draped from the tall pillars. The air was heavy with incense; and music and the murmur of voices came down the aisles, meeting the murmurous whispering of those about me; and through the open door out there in the square, where other crowds were around the statue of Peter Paul Rubens.

"All over Antwerp bells were ringing, their notes mingling in a strange clashing melody, and from the belfry of the cathedral the chimes of the gay carillons came tinkling down. They were playing 'The Marseillaise.'"

BRUSSELS EVACUATED

A demonstration occurred at Brussels on Nov. 10 in sympathy with the revolutionary outbreaks in Germany. Several thousand German soldiers were making manifestations, and at length got beyond control of their officers and hoisted the red flag from the balcony of the Governor's house. Rioting ensued, and a number of soldiers and civilians were killed.

The last detachment of German troops left Brussels on Nov. 17.

The ceremony proclaiming the liberation of Brussels was performed that day in the Grand Place at 10 o'clock. The square was packed with people and former prisoners, while the windows and balconies were crowded with onlookers. Newsboys were shouting the names of newspapers which had been suppressed by the Germans and which reappeared that day.

Burgomaster Le Monier, heralded by a fanfare of trumpets, appeared at the Leon Staircase, accompanied by an Alderman, and announced the liberation of the capital. His speech was continually interrupted by cheers from the crowd, which swore that the murders and robberies committed by the Germans would never be forgotten.

The Belgian flag was then hoisted over

the Hôtel de Ville, while the great mass of people in the square waved the national colors. The "Brabançonne" was sung and this was followed by the anthems of the Allies.

The excitement of the people reached its zenith when a procession was formed. It was headed by an old banner of the revolution of 1830, a symbol of Belgian liberty. The procession, ever growing larger, marched to the Place des Martyrs, where there is a monument to the heroes of the 1830 revolution. Here Burgomaster Le Monier made a patriotic speech.

After fifty months of captivity in Germany, Burgomaster Max came into his own again. The Municipal Council met to receive him at the Hôtel de Ville. The Dutch Minister, many prominent citizens, and officers of the allied armies were present. Burgomaster Max was loudly cheered when he entered the hall and took his seat at the Aldermen's table. Acting Burgomaster Le Monier welcomed him with a flattering address and formally relinquished the Burgomaster's seat to Max, who made a short address.

KING ALBERT IN BRUSSELS

King Albert formally entered Brussels, accompanied by the Queen and their children, on Nov. 22. He entered his capital in brilliant Autumn sunshine, amid the joyous demonstrations of the populace. On the preceding evening the Belgians had again formally reoccupied the city of Louvain, which had been practically destroyed by the Germans. President Wilson sent the following congratulatory telegram to King Albert of Belgium, at Brussels:

"At the moment that you re-enter Brussels at the head of your victorious army, may I not express the great joy that it gives to me and to the American people to hail your return to your capital, marking your final triumph in this war, which has cost your nation so much suffering, but from which it will arise in new strength to a higher destiny?"

Surrender of German High Seas Fleet

Seventy-one Warships and Two Squadrons of U-Boats Delivered to Britain and Interned in the Orkneys

THE first surrender of German naval vessels under the armistice was the delivery of twenty submarines to Admiral Tyrwhitt of the British Navy off Harwich at sunrise on Nov. 20, 1918. The following day nineteen more were delivered. The most spectacular event, however, was the surrender of the German High Seas Fleet to Admiral Beatty and the allied armada off the Firth of Forth on the morning of Nov. 21, the greatest naval capitulation in history. The vessels surrendered were nine battleships, five battle cruisers, seven light cruisers, and fifty destroyers. One destroyer, while on its way across the North Sea, had struck a mine and sunk.

The rendezvous appointed for the act of surrender was thirty to forty miles east of May Island, opposite the Firth of Forth. The forfeited ships were sighted by the allied columns at 9:20 o'clock docilely following their British pilot, the light cruiser Cardiff, which, with destroyers and other small craft, had ranged ahead of the allied fleet. The enemy studiously complied with Admiral Beatty's orders. Every vessel steaming out to meet the German vessels flew battle ensigns and was ready for instant action, with its men at battle stations and guns in position for the prompt annihilation of the enemy's forces if their mission proved to be other than peaceful. Five American battleships, the New York, Texas, Arkansas, Wyoming, and Florida, were prepared to fire every gun in forty seconds after the signal was given.

The main allied fleet extending over a line fourteen miles long in the Firth of Forth began to weigh anchor at 1 o'clock A. M., Nov. 21. The Scotch mist which for days had obscured the harbor was swept away by a stiff breeze and the moon shone brilliantly out of a clear sky. The ships quickly took their stations in the long double line they held throughout

the day. British battle cruisers led the way, followed by dreadnoughts. Admiral Beatty's flagship, the Queen Elizabeth, led the squadron in the northern column. The American warships fell into line behind Admiral Beatty's craft, balancing a British squadron similar in power to the opposite file.

The rendezvous was approximately fifty miles distant, and the ships gauged their speed to arrive at the appointed place at 8 o'clock. At 5 o'clock a signal summoned the men into battle stations and, except for the officers on the bridges, the ships' companies were hidden behind the bulwarks of steel. When dawn broke the sea was again covered with mist, which reduced the visibility to less than 8,000 yards.

ENEMY FLEET SIGHTED

Eyes straining through the murky haze finally were rewarded. Off the starboard bow the Cardiff, trailing an observation kite balloon, came steaming in. Close behind her came the first of the German ships, the great battle cruiser Seydlitz, which was flying the flag of Commodore Togert. After her came four others of the same type, the Derflinger, Von der Tann, Hindenburg, and Moltke. They moved along three cable lengths apart.

Immediately following them were nine dreadnoughts, the Friedrich der Grosse, flagship of Rear Admiral von Reuter; the Koenig Albert, Kaiser, Kronprinz Wilhelm, Kaiserin, Bayern, Markgraf, Prinzregent Luitpold, and the Grosser Kurfürst.

Three miles astern of the battleships came seven light cruisers, the Karlsruhe, bearing the ensign of Commodore Harder; the Frankfort, Emden, Burnberg, Brummer, Köln, and Bremen.

Then came another gap of three miles and German destroyers came steaming in five columns abreast, with ten destroyers to a column.

Six miles separated the allied columns, and squarely between them the Cardiff brought her charges, all steaming at the stipulated speed of ten knots. As ordered, their guns were in regular fore-and-aft positions, and, as far as powerful glasses could determine, there was no sign to provoke suspicion. Until all the major ships had been swallowed up in the enveloping allied columns the latter never for a moment relaxed their alert watch. Over the Germans circled a British dirigible, which acted as eyes for the allied ships.

INTERNED IN ORKNEYS

When the leading German ship had reached the western end of the flanking columns, the allied ships put about in squadrons. Quickly re-forming their lines, they proceeded to escort the enemy into the Firth of Forth. By noon the last wisp of fog had dispersed and a splendid view of the vast array of war craft could be obtained. Holding steadily to its course, the great fleet reached May Island at 2 o'clock. The captive Germans were piloted to anchorages assigned to them and British ships from the southern column closed in as guards. The northern column steamed on to the regular anchorages higher up the Firth.

Inspection parties from the Grand Fleet boarded the Germans to make sure that all conditions of the armistice were observed. The enemy vessels were later interned in Scapa Flow in the Orkney Islands. Part of the crews remained for maintenance work and the remainder were returned to Germany.

Admiral Beatty's signal, after the German fleet had been moored at the appointed place, was: "The German flag is to be hauled down at 3:57, and is not to be hoisted again without permission." A surrender on such a gigantic scale had no precedent in naval history.

The tonnage of the vessels surrendered approximated 410,000, divided as follows:

BATTLE CRUISERS—	Tons.
Seydlitz	25,000
Derflinger	28,000
Hindenburg	27,000
Moltke	23,000
Von der Tann.....	18,000

DREADNOUGHTS—	Tons.
Friedrich der Grosse.....	24,113
König Albert	24,113
Kaiser	25,000
Kronprinz Wilhelm	25,000
Kaiserin	24,113
Bayern	28,000
Markgraf	25,293
Prinzregent Luitpold	24,113
Grosser Kurfürst	25,293

LIGHT CRUISERS—	
Karlsruhe	(?) 4,000
Frankfort	5,400
Emden	5,400
Broomberg (?).....	4,000
Breslau (?).....	4,000
Köln	(?) 4,500
Bremen	4,000

DESTROYERS—	
Fifty—Averaging 600 tons.....	30,000

THE U-BOAT SURRENDER

The first twenty German submarines were surrendered to Rear Admiral Reginald W. Tyrwhitt thirty miles off Harwich at sunrise on Nov. 20. The Admiral received the formal surrender on board his flagship, the Curacao.

The submarines went some twenty miles further in the North Sea in charge of their own crews. They were then boarded by British crews and interpreters and proceeded to Parkeston Quay, near by. The British naval force that received them consisted of five light cruisers and twenty destroyers. High above the squadron hung a big observation balloon.

The squadron, headed by the flagship, then steamed toward the Dutch coast, followed by the Coventry, Dragon, Danale, and Centaur. Other ships followed in line, with their navigation lights showing. The picture was a fine one as the great vessels, with the moon still shining, plowed their way to take part in the surrender of the German U-boats.

Soon after the British squadron started the "paravanes" were dropped overboard. These devices are shaped like tops and divert any mines which may be encountered, for the vessels were now entering a mine field. Almost every one on board donned a life belt and just as the sun shone above the horizon the first German submarine appeared in sight. Soon after 7 o'clock twenty submarines were seen in line accompanied

by two German destroyers, the *Tibania* and the *Sierra Ventana*, which were to take the submarine crews back to Germany after the transfer.

All the submarines were on the surface, with their hatches open and their crews standing on deck. The vessels were flying no flags whatever and their guns were trained fore and aft, in accordance with the terms of surrender.

A bugle sounded on the *Curacao* and all the gun crews took up their stations ready for any possible treachery. The leading destroyer, in response to a signal from the Admiral, turned and led the way toward England and the submarines were ordered to follow. They immediately did so. The surrender had been accomplished.

STEAMING TO HARWICH

Each cruiser turned, and, keeping a careful lookout, steamed toward Harwich. On the deck of one of the largest of the submarines, which carried two 5.9 guns, twenty-three officers and men were counted. The craft was estimated to be nearly 300 feet in length. Its number had been painted out. Near the *Ship Wash Lightship* three large British seaplanes, followed by an airship, were observed. One of the submarines was seen to send up a couple of carrier pigeons and at once a signal was flashed from the Admiral that it had no right to do this. When the ships had cleared the minefield and entered the war channel the "paravanes" were hauled aboard. On reaching a point some twenty miles off Harwich the ships dropped anchor and Captain Addison came out on the warship *Maidstone*.

When the enemy boats were sighted there were only two or three members of each crew on deck, but as the details of the surrender worked out during the morning and early afternoon more Germans appeared from below decks. They appeared a sullen, but well fed, lot when

the first British officers stepped aboard and curtly saluted. British sailors followed the officers, and the Germans went to the forward deck as the British and German officers went below to examine the first submarine to be taken over. The German commander briefly answered questions regarding the machinery, but said nothing else. Evidence of strain and deep chagrin was unmistakably written on the faces of the German officers. The machinery was generally in good shape, but the vessels were extremely dirty and devoid of all unessentials. Everything indicating the names of the craft had been removed, although the Germans, conforming to instructions, readily told the names of their boats.

British crews were then put on board the submarines to take them into the harbor. With the exception of the engine staffs, all the German sailors remained on deck. The submarines were then taken through the gates of the harbor and the German crews transferred to the vessels which were to take them back to Germany. As the boats went through the gates the white ensign was run up on each of them, with the German flag underneath.

Each German submarine commander at the transfer was required to sign a declaration to the effect that his vessel was in running order, that its periscope was intact, that its torpedoes were unloaded, and that its torpedo heads were safe.

Orders had been issued forbidding any demonstration, and these instructions were obeyed to the letter. There was complete silence as the submarines surrendered and as the crews were transferred. So ended a historic event and the first portion of the German submarine fleet was in the hands of the British Navy.

Nineteen additional submarines surrendered on Nov. 21.



Germany in Revolution

Abdication of the Kaiser and Organizing of Republican States Follow Military Collapse

OCT. 27, 1918, dawned a fateful day for Germany. For many it signified a parting of the ways. The previous week had closed with the resignation of Ludendorff, and astonishing freedom of speech by the Socialist Deputies Ebert, Ledebour, and Kühle in the Reichstag. Demand for peace and popular government had risen to an open summons to the Kaiser to abdicate. Deputy Kühle even went so far as to voice the threat that "abdication would not save the Kaiser from trial as the man who caused the war." But with the Kaiser still "watching events calmly," and Hindenburg remaining as chief of the General Staff, much uncertainty was manifest in the current of events, shot through, as it was, by "the wild propaganda of the Conservatives in favor of the old régime." Mainly outstanding, the resignation of Ludendorff signified the downfall of militarism in Germany.

The day following, Oct. 28, two men occupied the centre of the political stage, Dr. Karl Liebknecht and von Hindenburg. On Dr. Liebknecht's release from prison, around him had gathered the extreme Radicals of Bolshevik tendencies. Moderate Socialists, for whom Vorwärts was the spokesman, viewed with alarm the swiftly rising tide of the extremists under Liebknecht's leadership. By them it was hoped Ludendorff's military head would act as a popular tranquilizer. "If von Hindenburg went, the Kaiser would be the next to fall, slithering the whole political power into the hands of the extreme Socialists and the four million disgruntled soldiers returning from the front."

As straws in the current, reports of mutinous German troops in garrison came through to the outer world. Also, there was said to have been a panic in the Rhine Provinces at the prospect of the enemy being permitted to occupy Coblenz and Cologne.

On the Wednesday following Ludendorff's retirement, Lieut. Gen. Groener was appointed to occupy the position of First Quartermaster General of the German Army. General Groener's proved capability as a transport organizer was held to point to his competence for the task of withdrawing the German armies from France and Belgium. In 1916 he had been bitterly attacked in the Reichstag for his ruthless suppression of munition strikers, and later for oppression in collecting food and raw materials in the Ukraine.

DISCUSSING ABDICATION

A telegram from Berlin quoted the Kaiser as saying, with reference to his possible abdication: "In any case, if the moment comes when the interest of Germany demands it, I should abdicate and would do so without hesitation; but the moment does not seem to have come yet."

From Nov. 1 to Nov. 4 a political storm raged with increasing fury around the question of the Kaiser's abdication. On Thursday the Berlin Vossische Zeitung stated that the abdication question was discussed at the latest meeting of the War Cabinet, and Vice Chancellor Delbrück had left for the front on an important mission for Chancellor Maximilian, presumably to present the Emperor with an abdication document.

What seemed to be a singularly inauspicious claim to the Imperial Crown of Germany was promptly put forward by the Bavarian Premier on behalf of the Bavarian royal family, should Emperor William abdicate. The claim, whatever it might have been worth in those shadowy hours for German royalty, was based mainly on the fact that two members of the Wittelsbach family of Bavaria had worn the imperial purple of the Holy Roman Empire of the Germans.

Presently the wildest reports sped one after the other out of Germany. Imme-

diate peace was demanded by Socialist organizations in flaming manifestoes. The Kaiser had slipped away in the dead of night from Berlin and taken refuge at Army Great Headquarters. This was after the War Cabinet had debated his abdication. Complete submission to the Allies was said to be advised by Count Reventlow, the violent exponent of Pan-Germanism and bitter reviler of all things English. The Kaiser was said to be surrounded by pessimists of the species of Scheidemann, Secretary of State without portfolio. A majority of the War Cabinet was declared to be in favor of the Kaiser's remaining on the throne. No sign of the Kaiser's abdication. All seemingly chaos and confusion.

KAISER'S REFORM DECREE

On Nov. 3 Prince Maximilian officially released a decree of the Kaiser, giving his full support to reforms, dated Oct. 28. It read as follows:

Your Grand Ducal Highness:

I return herewith for immediate publication the bill to amend the Imperial Constitution and the law of March 17, 1870, relative to the representation of the Imperial Chancellor, which has been laid before me for signature.

On the occasion of this step, which is so momentous for the future history of the German people, I have a desire to give expression to my feelings. Prepared for by a series of Government acts, a new order comes into force which transfers the fundamental rights of the Kaiser's person to the people.

Thus comes to a close a period which will stand in honor before the eyes of future generations. Despite all struggles between invested authority and aspiring forces, it has rendered possible to our people that tremendous development which imperishably revealed itself in the wonderful achievements of this war.

In the terrible storms of the four years of war, however, old forms have been broken up, not to leave their ruins behind but to make a place for new, vital forms.

After the achievements of these times, the German people can claim that no right which may guarantee a free and happy future shall be withheld from them.

The proposals of the allied Governments which are now adopted and extended owe their origin to this conviction. I, however, with my exalted allies, indorse these decisions of Parliament in firm determination, so far as I am concerned, to co-operate in their full development, convinced that I am thereby promoting the weal of the German people.

The Kaiser's office is one of service to the

people. May, then, the new order release all the good powers which our people need in order to support the trials which are hanging over the empire and with a firm step win a bright future from the gloom of the present.

WILHELM, I. R.

Berlin, Oct. 28, 1918.

(Countersigned.)

Max, Prince of Baden.

The Associated Press correspondent at Amsterdam on Nov. 4 summarized popular sentiment in Germany as follows:

The Kaiser question is the topic of general discussion in Germany. The German War Cabinet has gone into the problem very fully during the last few days, and, *inter alia*, it decided to allow press and public discussion of the question.

People who come from Germany tell me that among the masses a highly inflamed feeling is shown toward the Crown Prince. "I don't think he could walk in safety down Unter Den Linden," is what one traveller says. The Kaiser has few of the people on his side, but the hottest hate of the people is reserved for his son.

The most democratic members of the Government, I learn, insist on both of them going, and there is a section of the Ministry which has openly told Prince Max that it would be well to do away with the crown altogether, now that the people's representatives have put their hands to the plow of reform.

SECESSION OF STATES

Meanwhile, it was reported that some of the South German States, particularly Bavaria, had threatened to secede and proclaim independent republics. A panic had swept over financial centres, causing a widespread hoarding of currency. The German Moderate press again showed concern over the Bolshevik danger, attributed to the propaganda of the Russian Embassy. The formation of a 'Workers' and Soldiers' Committee was noted for the first time in Berlin.

On Nov. 5 the Chancellor, Prince Max, issued a manifesto to the people, beseeching them to believe that the Government was working for an early peace and comprehensive democratic reforms, reminding them that equal suffrage in Prussia was already "assured."

At the same moment such papers as the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, the *Cologne Volkszeitung*, and the *Tageblatt* asserted that Germany was not beaten in the field, that "the German armies could

resist Foch's armies," and that there were "weak spots in the Allies' political liaison" which enabled Germany to reject impossible armistice terms.

With the appearance of red flags on the streets of Stuttgart and shouts of "Down with the war—Long live the Social Revolution," the Kaiser was declared to have decided to keep his throne as a democratic monarch after the pattern of the Kings of England and Italy. In response to an ultimatum of abdication from the Socialist Party the Kaiser replied that "he could not at the moment of peace undertake the terrible responsibility of handing over Germany to the Entente and delivering up the country to anarchy."

On Nov. 8 it was telegraphed from Munich that at a great popular meeting, which included soldiers, fiery speeches were delivered demanding the abdication of the Kaiser, renunciation of the right to succession by the German Crown Prince, and the formation of a republican form of government in Bavaria. The crowd, a mile long, marched to the palace, where the Ministers endeavored to appease them.

REVOLT IN THE NAVY

On the same day news came through via Amsterdam of widespread revolts in Germany. Practically the whole German fleet had fallen into the hands of revolutionary sailors, who, in conjunction with Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils ashore, had gained control of Kiel, Wilhelmshaven, Heligoland, Borkum, and Cuxhaven. Initial fighting began on the battleship Kaiser on Friday, the 7th. After resistance on the part of the officers, two of whom were killed, the Imperial flag was hauled down and the red flag of the revolution hoisted in its place. Other ships immediately followed suit, together with all the submarine crews. On the following day the Governor of Kiel capitulated to the revolutionaries, on these terms:

1. Recognition of the Soldiers' Council.
2. Better treatment of the men on ships and ashore.
3. Abolition of the salute.
4. Equality for officers and men as regards victuals.
5. Abolition of the officers' casinos.

6. Release of all persons in prison for refusal to obey orders.

7. No punishment for men who had not returned to their ships.

During the excitement Prince Henry of Prussia, the Kaiser's brother, made a spectacular escape from Kiel in an auto flying the red flag. He was shot at by marines. After some further adventures he managed to reach the Danish border and pass over into safety. There he was joined by Count zu Reventlow. Almost simultaneously a strike of workers was declared in Hamburg, which quickly developed into a revolt. Artillery firing between royal and revolutionary combatants took place in the streets. Several casualties were reported.

THE KAISER'S ABDICATION

On Nov. 9 a wireless message from Berlin announced that the German Imperial Chancellor, Prince Max of Baden, had issued the following decree:

The Kaiser and King has decided to renounce the throne. The Imperial Chancellor will remain in office until the questions connected with the abdication of the Kaiser, the renouncing by the Crown Prince of the throne of the German Empire and of Prussia, and the setting up of a regency have been settled. For the regency he intends to appoint Deputy Ebert as Imperial Chancellor, and he proposes that a bill shall be brought in for the establishment of a law providing for the immediate promulgation of general suffrage and for a constitutional German National Assembly, which will settle finally the future form of government of the German Nation and of those peoples which might be desirous of coming within the empire.

This was the only document or official utterance of any kind given to the world in proof of the assertion that the Kaiser had abdicated. Even after his retirement to Holland there was widespread disbelief in the genuineness of his permanent renunciation of the throne. A general upheaval throughout Germany, however, immediately followed Prince Max's issuance of the Kaiser's decree. A Socialist republic was proclaimed in Bavaria, with Herr Kurt Eisner at its head. Throughout the Rhine industrial regions the movement spread like wildfire, the hoisting of the red flag over public buildings in numerous cities being accompanied by a stoppage of work. Thus,

Hamburg, Bremen, and Altona went over to the revolution. While contested in some places, on the whole it was accomplished with an astonishing lack of disorder.

REVOLUTION IN BERLIN

In Berlin but a few hours on Sunday, the 10th, sufficed for a complete triumph. It began at 9 o'clock in the morning. At that hour a general strike was started, and shortly afterward thousands of soldiers, carrying red flags and accompanied by armed motor cars, began to pour into the centre of the city from the outskirts. With them came workers from outlying factories. A little later trains began to arrive, bringing 3,000 sailors from Kiel. They were received in the streets with the utmost enthusiasm.

Presently these arrivals broke up into detachments and occupied the bridges, public buildings, street corners, &c., fraternizing with the populace. Almost as by magic red flags appeared everywhere, and officers in the streets and barracks stripped off their cockades and epaulettes—in very few cases was compulsion necessary—and threw them away. Hundreds of Iron Crosses could be picked up in the streets.

Scheidemann, in announcing the abdication of the Kaiser from the front of the Reichstag building, was accorded a tremendous reception. The hoisting of the red flag over the Kaiser's palace was greeted with thunderous cheers. From the Wolff Bureau a message of democratic triumph was transmitted to the whole world. "The revolution has gained a glorious and almost bloodless victory."

NEW CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS

Friedrich Ebert, the new Chancellor, immediately issued the following address:

Citizens: The ex-Chancellor, Prince Max of Baden, in agreement with all the Secretaries of State, has handed over to me the task of liquidating his affairs as Chancellor. I am on the point of forming a new Government in accord with the various parties, and will keep public opinion freely informed of the course of events.

The new Government will be a Govern-

ment of the people. It must make every effort to secure in the quickest possible time peace for the German people and consolidate the liberty which they have won.

The new Government has taken charge of the administration, to preserve the German people from civil war and famine and to accomplish their legitimate claim to autonomy. The Government can solve this problem only if all the officials in town and country will help.

I know it will be difficult for some to work with the new men who have taken charge of the empire, but I appeal to their love of the people. Lack of organization would in this heavy time mean anarchy in Germany and the surrender of the country to tremendous misery. Therefore, help your native country with fearless, indefatigable work for the future, every one at his post.

I demand every one's support in the hard task awaiting us. You know how seriously the war has menaced the provisioning of the people, which is the first condition of the people's existence. The political transformation should not trouble the people. The food supply is the first duty of all, whether in town or country, and they should not embarrass, but rather aid, the production of food supplies and their transport to the towns.

Food shortage signifies pillage and robbery, with great misery. The poorest will suffer the most, and the industrial worker will be affected hardest. All who illicitly lay hands on food supplies or other supplies of prime necessity or the means of transport necessary for their distribution will be guilty in the highest degree toward the community.

I ask you immediately to leave the streets and remain orderly and calm.

At the same time Field Marshal von Hindenburg placed himself and the German Army at the disposal of the new People's Government, having asked the Cologne Workmen's and Soldiers' Council to send delegates to German Main Headquarters.

SWING OF PENDULUM

News of these events had scarcely been flashed over the cables when a struggle between the Moderate Socialists and the Extremists or "Reds" developed. First, control of the new Government rested in the hands of the Moderate triumvirate—Ebert, Landsberg, and Scheidemann. But the Extremists quickly proceeded to make their power felt. Concession to Extremists resulted in places in the Government being offered to Haase, Lieb-

knecht, and Barth. Erzberger of the Centrist Party and Gothein of the Progressive People's Party were also offered seats.

That the Revolutionary Government was resisted in spots was evidenced by reports from Antwerp and elsewhere of fighting between royalist and revolutionary troops, and the Third German Squadron persisted in keeping the Imperial flag at the masthead. Also, Field Marshal von Mackensen, in command of the army of occupation in Rumania, announced his refusal to recognize the Revolutionary Government as constitutional.

On Nov. 9 and 10 fighting broke out in Berlin around the Royal Castle and spread to other parts of the city. Its origin was a demand for a Constitutional Assembly by the Extremists. What threatened a triumph for the "Reds" was, however, quickly dissipated. "Kultur" reasserted itself. The party of Dr. Karl Liebknecht was relegated to political obscurity, and the Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates were said to be well under control. The demand for a Constituent Assembly was held to be unnecessary at the moment. Presently a new government sprang into being entitled the Government of Plenipotentiaries.

Meanwhile, German crowns continued to fall like overripe fruit in late Autumn, as the following list shows:

King of Bavaria.....	Nov. 8
Duke of Brunswick.....	Nov. 9
King of Württemberg.....	Nov. 10
King of Saxony.....	Nov. 11
Grand Duke of Oldenburg.....	Nov. 11
Grand Duke of Mecklenburg.....	Nov. 11
Prince of Reuss.....	Nov. 12
Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar.....	Nov. 13
Prince of Lippe-Detmold.....	Nov. 13
Prince of Waldeck-Pyrmont.....	Nov. 14
Duke of Anhalt.....	Nov. 14
Grand Duke of Baden.....	Nov. 14

FLIGHT OF THE KAISER

Nov. 9 was the date when the German Emperor signed his letter of abdication at German Grand Headquarters at Spa in the presence of the Crown Prince and Field Marshal von Hindenburg. Up till the last hour the Kaiser had refused to yield to the inevitable, and had gone so far as to try to prevent the German

armistice delegation from reaching the French lines. In this attitude he was supported by a group of his personal staff officers. Hindenburg, however, was insistent that delay would have the most terrible results. An urgent message from Philipp Scheidemann presented to the Kaiser a hopeless situation. The Kaiser signed the abdication. "It may be for the good of Germany," were reported to have been his words as he appended his signature. He was "deeply moved" and "his hand shook" as he read the fateful document. Thereupon the Crown Prince signed away his imperial birthright.

Early on the following Sunday morning the Kaiser, accompanied by his personal staff, arrived in automobiles at Eysden, near Maastricht, on the Dutch frontier. A royal train of sleeping and dining cars rolled into the station of the quiet little village an hour and a half later. While waiting for official permission to enter Holland as a refugee, the Kaiser was the object of much curiosity among the country folk gathered to the spot. The former ruler was seen by them in a General's uniform, impatiently striding up and down, chafing over formalities to which he had never before been subjected. When these were finally settled, there was again a long wait on the royal train before arrangements were made for him to take up his residence at Count Goddard Bentinck's château of Amerongen. Three weeks previously forty large cases had arrived at Count Bentinck's castle containing various treasures, including crown jewels, and on Nov. 18 more than 200 sacks, each containing a hundredweight of German gold, were delivered there. It is noteworthy that Amerongen had housed a former monarch in exile, Charles II. of England.

The Crown Prince, after being several times reported shot by his own soldiers, finally reached the Holland border and was temporarily interned at Maastricht. On Nov. 21 he left for Mosterland, an isolated fishing hamlet on the little island of Wieringen, near the Dutch naval station at Helder. In this lonely spot he was to be interned.

The Situation in Germany Summarized

A correspondent of The New York Times succeeded in sending the first direct cables from Berlin on Nov. 16 and 17, 1918, which were copyrighted for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. From these the following details were procured:

Nov. 16.—A week ago Berliners went to bed to a painful degree in an absolute monarchy, and when they awoke the next morning they found themselves in a most radical republic. It was like a dream, people said; but after celebrating and wondering, as the case might be, for twelve hours, the people have sobered up quickly under the pressure of the awful realities of the general situation, and almost everybody today is resolutely putting his shoulder to the wheel, or at least trying to readjust his shattered conception of the world to the hard facts. The long war and its fearful sacrifices have schooled this people, and, of course, after the fearful and absolutely unexpected military catastrophes, nothing whatever could really stun them any more.

Today the revolution is an accepted fact, and everybody, to outward appearances, goes quietly about his business. True, many, even among the uninitiated, saw it coming, and nearly the whole people, excepting the very small reactionary percentage, had for weeks been asking: "Why doesn't he go? Why doesn't he quit?"

And this for his once so terrible Majesty, William the Second! When finally he went, it was too late to prevent a complete change of everything. The revolution was already progressing, Max von Baden's so-called People's Government being far too weak to stop the silently swelling tide of liberty.

Though many would have liked to see emerge from the catastrophe a Government more on the lines of the Western democracies, for the present nearly all intelligent people are thankfully recognizing that none but the strong organization of the Social Democratic Party could possibly have saved the situation from the utter chaos to which the ex-Kaiser's criminally selfish attitude seemed to doom the German people.

So far the Socialist Government certainly has made good. Everything is orderly and quiet. The masses of the people, after the first few days, returned to work. There were no flowers, no music, no alcohol about this revolution, nor were there bonfires, or much gunpowder spent, as proved by the scant traces at the Royal Palace and the cafés in Unter den Linden.

It is only just to state that the present Government is extremely fair in its attitude toward the employes of the former régime, leaving as many as possible in their old positions. Perhaps too many, the extremists claim, since there is the danger of laying a viper on one's own bosom; for there cannot be any doubt that many of the old officials, especially of the higher ranks, would rejoice in the failure of the present Government, no matter at what cost to their own country.

Despite all these tremendous difficulties, things are going astonishingly smoothly, considering the appalling difficulties. What seemed the most immediate danger to the Ebert Government, namely, the rupture of the two large groups of Socialists which support it, has happily been avoided by their making common cause.

Around Cologne, Berlin, and other great cities cordons of soldiers are being formed to divert the threatening flood of returning soldiers into harmless channels, if possible. Much has been done for reform in municipal government in Berlin, Hamburg, and all other cities. Everywhere the old form of election for city parliaments has been replaced by a secret, universal ballot. In Berlin the people's new Police President, Eichhorn, has abolished the much-hated political branch, and also abolished the hated name of "Schutzmann" ("protector,") which has been replaced by "Watchman."

The watchmen no longer carry sabres, but go unarmed until they can be furnished with rubber clubs. Meanwhile, they are aided by members of the Council of Soldiers, who are carried through the streets on autos formerly in the mili-

tary service. They carry rifles and machine guns and are the terror of house-breakers and plunderers, with whom they make very short work.

Considering the circumstances, however, there have been astonishingly few cases of robbery and similar crimes. Among the autos now employed in patrolling the city are some that formerly belonged to the ex-Kaiser, and their horns, sounding the combination of notes familiar to all Berliners, created no little astonishment and mirth when they were heard on their new duty as they raced for the first time along the crowded Rotten Linden, (Red Lindens,) as that famous street—the Unter den Linden that was—is named now.

For weeks, even before the revolution, there had been a steady run on German banks all over the country, not only causing an extremely painful dearth of currency, but the banks in many cities, among them Berlin, being compelled to print so-called Notgeld, ("money of necessity," or substitute for paper money,) which will be canceled after the present stringency.

Since the revolution certain little groups of Independent Socialists have done much to increase alarm by making irresponsible statements in their organs regarding certain aggressive measures against individual wealth, insisting, for instance, that iron, coal, and potash mines and other industrial concerns be taken over by the Government before the National Convention takes place. Freiheit, one of these new organs of the Independent Socialists, said that by doing so now the National Convention would face accomplished facts that would be extremely difficult to change.

To reassure the public the Government on Nov. 17 made public the following statement, signed by Ebert and Haase:

First, we do not intend to confiscate any bank or savings bank deposits nor any sums in cash or banknotes or other valuable papers deposited in the bank safes.

Secondly, we do not intend to cancel any subscriptions to the Ninth War Loan, or any other war loan, or in any other way to impair the legitimacy of those loans. The Government, however, is determined to enforce the strictest measures

that large fortunes and great incomes shall contribute appropriately toward the public expense.

Thirdly, salaries, pensions, and other claims on the State, held by officials, employes, officers, wounded and other soldiers and their relatives, will remain absolutely valid.

The members and employes of the former Royal Theatre and Opera House formed a council for the administration of the two houses until Dr. Suedekum, now Minister of Finance, is ready to take them over.

The Council of Waiters is another creation of the demands of the new times. In the first session this council decided on the abolition of the tips system. In future regular salaries will be demanded by the waiters. It was also decided to induce restaurant and hotel keepers gradually to discharge the waitresses who took the men's positions during the war, in order that there should be room for the men returning from the war.

The Centrist and all parties other than the Socialists sent out appeals to their members, urging them not to stand passively aside, but to take part in the reconstruction of the country. On Nov. 19 a large number of well-known men and women of all classes in all parts of the country published a similar document, urging organization of the democratic party, which is to take the place of the old party forms that crumbled to dust on Nov. 9. Extracts from this document read:

What is desired now is that all those circles of men and women who do not wish to be pushed aside should unite and recognize the new order of things and emphasize their right to co-operate for the common welfare. This union must constitute itself as the great democratic party of the united nation. No program shall be announced today, but our fundamental principle must be faith in the republican form of State, which we are to defend against any reaction. The decision of the new Constitution must be left to the National Convention.

Our second principle shall be that liberty is inseparable from law and order and the political equality of all citizens, and that Bolshevik or reactionary terrors will not be tolerated. Today only sweeping efforts will be effective, and wealth must make great sacrifices if unhappy or reactionary results are to be avoided from the outset.

Socializing ideals must take the place of monopolistic systems. Large State domains and great estates of landlords must be parceled out to the peasants. War profiteers must be properly assessed, while the rights of laborers, officials, and employes must be adequately readjusted, as also those of war prisoners and their dependents. Every able individual of whatever class must have his chance. To ward off any attempts of a dictator and arbitrary force, steps must immediately be taken for the election of a National Convention.

The document is signed by many men

of high repute, among them Franz von Liszt, Hugo Preuss, who has just been appointed State Secretary of the Interior; Bernhard Dernburg, Frau Theodor Barth, Herr Dove, Vice President of the Reichstag; Herr Fischbeck, State Secretary; Theodor Wolff, the editor; Hellmuth von Gerlach, an editor, who has just been appointed Under Secretary; Rudolph Mosse, and von Richthofen. There are also bank Directors, well-known merchants, officers, and high officials among the signers.

The Collapse of Austria-Hungary

Utter Defeat in Second Battle of the Piave Leads to Surrender and Break-up of the Empire

[See maps on Pages 430 and 432]

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY was the third and last of Germany's allies to surrender and make a separate peace with the Entente. The débâcle that led swiftly to this ending was one of the most overwhelming in history. In the second battle of the Piave the Italians in a single week swept the Austrian forces out of Northern Italy, entered Trent in the Alps and Trieste on the Adriatic, captured 300,000 Austrians, and forced Austria-Hungary's unconditional surrender on Nov. 3, 1918, a date immediately added to the list of Italian holidays. Following this overwhelming military defeat and surrender Emperor Charles abdicated and the Dual Empire began disintegrating into separate States representing the various nationalities formerly held together under Hapsburg rule.

The story of this amazing climax begins with the sudden blow struck by General Diaz on Oct. 24 and 25 against the Austrian lines in the Monte Grappa region, between the Brenta and Piave Rivers, while a British unit attacked along the lower Piave and a French unit took Monte Seisemol on the Asiago Plateau. Nearly 3,000 prisoners were taken the first day. By Oct. 30 the Italians

had captured Monte Grappa, with 33,000 prisoners, and were driving the Austrians back along the whole front from the Alps to the sea. The 332d American Infantry Regiment by that time was taking an active part in the fighting in the Brenta region.

With the fall of Monte Grappa the enemy army in the mountains was definitely cut off from the one in the plains, and both began to flee in increasing confusion. By Nov. 1 the one in the south was in utter rout, and the Italians, already across the Livenza River, had taken 80,000 prisoners and 1,600 guns. Vienna was imploring an armistice. Meanwhile the pursuing Italians were inflicting terrific losses on the invaders, and the whole stretch of country, in the mountains and on the plains for a distance of seventy miles, was littered with the bodies of Austrian dead.

There were tumbled heaps everywhere of the fantastic debris of abandoned war material, colossal stores, mounds of food-stuffs, and equipment of every kind, some of which had been hidden away in caves and underground labyrinths of the Grappa and Asiago Plateau. The total value of those war hoards alone amounted to many millions of dollars.

The fleeing enemy had to pass through Feltre, which was dominated by Italian guns, and here his losses were very heavy. To prevent the Austrians from burning their enormous food depots in that city the inhabitants, especially the women, assailed the foe ferociously with weapons of all kinds, which they had managed to conceal since the days of invasion, and succeeded in saving the stores. On Nov. 3, the day of the signing of the armistice, the Italian War Office announced that both Trent and Trieste had been captured, and that Italian cavalry had entered Udine. Church bells were run all over Italy, and parades and illuminations followed in Rome and elsewhere. American officers met in the street were greeted with "Viva America! Viva Wilson!" by the jubilant throngs.

OFFICIAL SUMMARY

An official summary of the battle issued by the Italian War Office on Nov. 4 read as follows:

The war against Austria-Hungary, which, under the high guidance of the King, the supreme leader of the Italian Army, inferior in numbers and material, began May 24, 1915, and which, with unbending faith and tenacious valor, has been conducted uninterruptedly and bitterly for forty-one months, has been won.

The gigantic battle engaged in on Oct. 24, in which fifty-one Italian divisions and three British, two French, one Czechoslovak, and one American regiment participated against sixty-three Austro-Hungarian divisions, is ended.

The daring and very rapid advance of the 29th Army Corps on Trent, closing up the enemy's armies in Trentino, who were overcome to the west by troops from the Seventh Army and to the east by the First, Sixth, and Fourth Armies, brought about the total collapse of the enemy's front.

From the Brenta to the Torre, with irresistible dash, the Twelfth, Eighth, and Tenth Armies and cavalry divisions are driving the fleeing enemy constantly further away. On the plains the Duke of Aosta is advancing rapidly at the head of his unconquered Third Army, with the purpose of reclaiming those positions which the enemy holds.

The Austro-Hungarian Army is destroyed. It suffered very heavy losses in the fierce resistance of the first days of the struggle, and in pursuit it has lost an immense quantity of material of all kinds, nearly all its stores and depots, and has left in our hands about 300,000 prisoners,

with their commands complete, and not less than 5,000 guns.

This defeat has left what once was one of the most powerful armies in the world in disorder and without hope of returning along the valleys through which it descended with haughty assurance.

An Associated Press dispatch from the Italian headquarters in the direction of Trieste declared that this defeat of the Austrians had been ten times as costly to the enemy as the defeat suffered a year earlier at Caporetto had been to the Italians. A correspondent with the Italian Army in the mountains at Trent wrote on Nov. 6 that, while the redeemed city was rejoicing, the fleeing Austrian troops were suffering horrors comparable to those of Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. He continued:

Great masses of men wait for long hours to move a few feet or a few hundred yards, to halt anew on a road littered with the carcasses of horses, pieces of shells, pistols, rifles, broken down auto trucks, and machine guns. Many Austrians are dying from sheer fatigue and starvation and not wounds. The Italians are doing all they can to hurry up food supplies. This is difficult, and in the meantime dead horses are eaten, the flesh being cooked by the roadside by fires kindled by the soldiers.

Large bodies of Austrians are helpless. The correspondents passed between Overto and Trent, a distance of sixteen miles, an unending column of men marching none knew whither. They asked orders from an officer who was with the correspondents. When asked if they knew about the armistice, they said: "We want food. Food is the only thing we are interested in. We are indifferent to war and peace and death—everything but food."

It is estimated that nine Austrian divisions were taken with their staffs. Thirty-nine divisions were partially disorganized and fifteen, although in bad condition, are retreating from the advancing Italians. These troops, while equipped for their retreat, are without orders, and go traveling here and there like droves of sheep.

President Wilson sent the following message to the King of Italy on Nov. 4:

May I not say how deeply and sincerely the people of the United States rejoice that the soil of Italy is delivered from her enemies? In their name I send your Majesty and the great Italian people the most enthusiastic congratulations.

WOODROW WILSON.

Secretary Lansing, through Ambassador Sharp at Paris, also sent the following message to Baron Sonnino, Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, then in Versailles, attending the sessions of the Supreme War Council:

At the moment of the complete victory of the Italian arms I take this means of conveying to you my most sincere congratulations. The Government of the United States admires the valor of the Italian armies and unites with the Italian

Nation in this hour of rejoicing and of triumph.

The Italian Government on the same day named a parliamentary mission to carry to the United States certain precious manuscripts as gifts to show the appreciation of Italy for the help given by the Americans. The manuscripts were original codices written by Christopher Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, and Giovanni da Verrazano.

Armistice and Preliminary Notes

Austria-Hungary's first note of the series leading up to the armistice had been handed to President Wilson on Oct. 7, and the text of it, along with the President's reply of the 18th, was printed on Page 249 of the preceding issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. On Oct. 29 the Vienna Government answered President Wilson, asking that immediate negotiations for peace and an armistice be entered into without awaiting the results of exchanges with Germany. This note was sent through the Swedish Government at Stockholm and read as follows:

LEGATION OF SWEDEN,
Washington, D. C., Oct. 29, 1918.

Excellency: By order of my Government, I have the honor to beg you to transmit to the President the following communication from the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary:

"In reply to the note of the President, Mr. Wilson, to the Austro-Hungarian Government, dated Oct. 18 of this year, and about the decision of the President to take up, with Austria-Hungary separately, the question of armistice and peace, the Austro-Hungarian Government has the honor to declare that it adheres both to the previous declarations of the President and his opinion of the rights of the peoples of Austria-Hungary, notably those of the Czechoslovaks and the Yugoslavs, contained in his last note. Austria-Hungary having thereby accepted all the conditions which the President had put upon entering into negotiations on the subject of armistice and peace, nothing, in the opinion of the Austro-Hungarian Government, longer stands in the way of beginning those negotiations. The Austro-Hungarian Government therefore declares itself ready to enter, without waiting for the outcome of other negotiations, into negotiations for a peace between Austria-Hungary and the Entente States, and for an immediate armistice

on all the fronts of Austria-Hungary, and begs the President, Mr. Wilson, to take the necessary measures to that effect."

Be pleased to accept, Excellency, the assurances of my high consideration.

W. A. F. EKENGREN.

His Excellency, Robert Lansing, Secretary of State of the United States, Washington, D. C.

The Austro-Hungarian Government communicated this note also to the French, British, Japanese, and Italian Governments, begging the approval and support of these nations. The note was generally interpreted as indicating both the approaching dissolution of the Dual Empire and the abandonment of the alliance with Germany. Referring to the phrase "without awaiting the result of other negotiations," the Paris Temps said: "In these words the son of the Minister who concluded the Austro-German alliance gives official notification that the alliance has been torn up." The Journal des Débats said: "If Secretary Lansing answers the appeal made to him, it will be easy for him to say, 'There is no occasion to pursue the subject, as neither Austria-Hungary nor a common Minister of Foreign Affairs exists.'"

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

The same day, Oct. 29, Count Andrássy had sent a supplementary note addressed directly to Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State, and asking for his personal intervention with President Wilson for an armistice on all fronts. The text, as telegraphed from Vienna via Basle, Switzerland, read as follows:

Immediately after having taken direction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

and after the dispatch of the official answer to your note of Oct. 18, 1918, by which you were able to see that we accept all the points and principles laid down by President Wilson in his various declarations and are in complete accord with the efforts of President Wilson to prevent future wars and to create a League of Nations, we have taken preparatory measures, in order that Austrians and Hungarians may be able, according to their own desire and without being in any way hindered, to make a decision as to their future organization and to rule it.

Since the accession to power of Emperor-King Charles his immovable purpose has been to bring an end to the war. More than ever this is the desire of the sovereign of all the Austro-Hungarian peoples, who acknowledge that their future destiny can only be accomplished in a pacific world, by being freed from all disturbances, privations, and sorrows of war.

This is why I address you directly, Mr. Secretary of State, praying that you will have the goodness to intervene with the President of the United States in order that in the interest of humanity, as in the interest of all those who live in Austria-Hungary, an immediate armistice may be concluded on all fronts, and for an overture that immediate negotiations for peace will follow.

SEMI-OFFICIAL STATEMENT

The following semi-official statement regarding the Austro-Hungarian Government's reply to President Wilson was issued at Vienna on Oct. 29:

How Austria-Hungary Signed the Armistice

Meanwhile revolution was agitating the whole of the Dual Empire, and its dissolution had begun. Emperor Charles and Empress Zita arrived in Vienna from their palace near Budapest on Sunday morning, Oct. 27, and the Emperor at once received Count Julius Andrássy, his new Foreign Minister, and Professor Lammasch, the Austrian Premier. The Premier was instructed to form a "liquidation Ministry" of impartial officers whose duty should be to bring about a speedy peace and transfer the reins of power from the imperial to the various National Governments during the transition period. At the same time orders were given for a military capitulation to General Diaz, the victorious Italian commander.

Austria was obliged to conform to the methods of President Wilson, who had successively replied to the three members of the Triple Alliance, and act apart from her allies. The monarchy, which has formally adopted President's Wilson's line of action, shares his opinion, as was shown by the Emperor's manifesto to the peoples, which, in proclaiming the federalization of the monarchy, exceeded President Wilson's program.

However, the complete reorganization of Austria can only be carried out after an armistice. If Austria-Hungary has declared herself ready to enter into negotiations for an armistice and for peace, without awaiting the result of negotiations with other States, that does not necessarily signify an offer of a separate peace. It means that she is ready to act separately in the interests of the re-establishment of peace.

Austria-Hungary's offer to negotiate a separate peace caused anger and dismay in the German Reichstag, especially among members of the National Party, who held that such action was unnecessary, as the situation was assuming a form in which co-operation with Germany would be possible. In other German quarters a certain sense of relief was expressed, on the ground that Count Andrássy's action would leave Germany free to act in her own interest. A movement looking toward the joining of Austrian Germans with Germany was at the same time in evidence.

Toward the evening of Oct. 29 an Austrian officer was seen coming from the enemy trenches close to Serravalle, above Ala, in the Adige Valley. He bore a white flag, and several Italian officers advanced to meet him. He proved to be a Captain, who said he had come to discuss the steps necessary for an armistice. As he had no authoritative papers he was sent back with a message that a more fully accredited mission should be sent before the subject could be discussed. The next day a white flag was again hoisted, and at the head of a group that approached the Italian trenches appeared General von Weber, an Austrian corps commander. The party consisted of eight persons and included another General and naval and military officers.

There were also civilians, either diplomatic or Government representatives, and secretaries and typists.

They were treated with courtesy, and when General von Weber had formally stated his mission and shown that he was the bearer of proper credentials he and his party were driven in motor cars on Oct. 31 to the Villa Giusti, close to General Diaz's headquarters. At 9 o'clock in the morning General Badoglio, the Chief of Staff, drove with an escort of cavalry to the villa, and on his arrival all the troops present saluted and bugles were sounded.

Entering the villa, General Badoglio found all the Austrian mission standing in a line in the drawing room awaiting him. General von Weber was in full uniform, wearing the stars and ribbons of his orders. General Badoglio saluted him and upon seating himself asked the Austrian General his errand. General von Weber replied that he had come to ask the conditions upon which an armistice would be granted. General Badoglio answered that within an hour he would let him know the general lines of such an armistice contained in a written message. He then left the room, and the written message in question was at once sent to the villa.

Meanwhile telegrams were exchanged with Versailles, and during the afternoon the precise details under which an armistice would be granted were received from Signor Orlando, the Italian Prime Minister, and again in written form handed to General von Weber. During the evening one of the Austrian envoys left by motor car for Serravalle with a draft of the conditions to communicate to the Austrian Government.

TEXT OF ARMISTICE

As a result of these pourparlers the following armistice was signed by General Diaz on Nov. 3, to go into effect at 3 o'clock Nov. 4:

One—The immediate cessation of hostilities by land, by sea, and by air.

Two—Total demobilization of the Austro-Hungarian Army and immediate withdrawal of all Austro-Hungarian forces operating on the front from the North Sea to Switzerland.

Within Austro-Hungarian territory, limited

as in Clause Three, below, there shall only be maintained as an organized military force a (?) reduced to pre-war effectiveness.

Half the divisional, corps, and army artillery and equipment shall be collected at points to be indicated by the Allies and United States of America for delivery to them, beginning with all such material as exists in the territories to be evacuated by the Austro-Hungarian forces.

Three—Evacuation of all territories invaded by Austro-Hungary since the beginning of the war.

Withdrawal within such periods as shall be determined by the Commander in Chief of the allied forces on each front of the Austro-Hungarian armies behind a line fixed as follows: From Pic Umbrail to the north of the Stelvio it will follow the crest of the Rhetian Alps up to the sources of the Adige and the Eisach, passing thence by Mounts Reschen and Brenner and the heights of Oetz and Zoeller. The line thence turns south, crossing Mount Toblach and meeting the present frontier Carnic Alps. It follows this frontier up to Mount Tarvis, and after Mount Tarvis the watershed of the Julian Alps by the Col of Predil, Mount Mangart, the Tricorno, (Terglou,) and the watershed of the Cols di Podberdo, Podlaniscam, and Idria. From this point the line turns south-east toward the Schneeberg, excludes the whole basin of the Save and its tributaries. From the Schneeberg it goes down toward the coast in such a way as to include Castua, Mattuglia, and Volosca in the evacuated territories.

It will also follow the administrative limits of the present province of Dalmatia, including in the north Lisarica and Trilvania, and to the south territory limited by a line from the (Semigrad) Cape Planca to the summits of the watersheds eastward, so as to include in the evacuated area all the valleys and water courses flowing toward Sebenico, such as the Cicola, Kerka, Butisnica, and their tributaries. It will also include all the islands in the north and west of Dalmatia from Premuda, Selve, Ulbo, Scherda, Maon, Paga, and Puntadura, in the north, up to Meleda, in the south, embracing Santandrea, Busi, Lisa, Lesina, Tercola, Curzola, Cazza, and Lagosta, as well as the neighboring rocks and islets and passages, only excepting the islands of Great and Small Zirona, Bua, Solta, and Brazza.

All territory thus evacuated shall be occupied by the forces of the Allies and the United States of America.

All military and railway equipment of all kinds, including coal belonging to or within those territories to be left in situ and surrendered to the Allies, according to special orders given by the Commander in Chief of the forces of the associated powers on the different fronts. No new destruction, pillage, or requisition to be done by enemy troops in the territories to be evacuated by

them and, occupied by the forces of the associated powers.

Four—The Allies shall have the right of free movement over all road and rail and water ways in Austro-Hungarian territory and of the use of the necessary Austrian and Hungarian means of transportation. The armies of the associated powers shall occupy such strategic points in Austria-Hungary at times as they may deem necessary to enable them to conduct military operations or to maintain order.

They shall have the right of requisition on payment for the troops of the associated powers wherever they may be.

Five—Complete evacuation of all German troops within fifteen days, not only from the Italian and Balkan fronts, but from all Austro-Hungarian territory.

Internment of all German troops which have not left Austria-Hungary within the date.

Six—The administration of the evacuated territories of Austria-Hungary will be intrusted to the local authorities, under the control of the allied and associated armies of occupation.

Seven—The immediate repatriation without reciprocity of all allied prisoners of war and internal subjects of civil populations evacuated from their homes, on conditions to be laid down by the Commander in Chief of the forces of the associated powers on the various fronts. Sick and wounded who cannot be removed from evacuated territory will be cared for by Austro-Hungarian personnel, who will be left on the spot with the medical material required.

NAVAL CONDITIONS

One—Immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea and definite information to be given as to the location and movements of all Austro-Hungarian ships.

Notification to be made to neutrals that freedom of navigation in all territorial waters is given to the naval and mercantile marine of the allied and associated powers, all questions of neutrality being waived.

Two—Surrender to the Allies and the United States of fifteen Austro-Hungarian submarines completed between the years 1910 and 1918, and of all German submarines which are in or may hereafter enter Austro-Hungarian territorial waters. All other Austro-Hungarian submarines to be paid off and completely disarmed and to remain under the supervision of the Allies and the United States.

Three—Surrender to the Allies and the

United States with their complete armament and equipment of three battleships, three light cruisers, nine destroyers, twelve torpedo boats, one mine layer, six Danube monitors, to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America. All other surface warships, including river craft, are to be concentrated in Austro-Hungarian naval bases to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America and are to be paid off and completely disarmed and placed under the supervision of the Allies and the United States of America.

Four—Freedom of navigation to all warships and merchant ships of the allied and associated powers to be given in the Adriatic and up the River Danube and its tributaries in the territorial waters and territory of Austria-Hungary.

The Allies and associated powers shall have the right to sweep up all mine fields and obstructions, and the positions of these are to be indicated.

In order to insure the freedom of navigation on the Danube, the Allies and the United States of America shall be empowered to occupy or to dismantle all fortifications or defense works.

Five—The existing blockade conditions set up by the allied and associated powers are to remain unchanged and all Austro-Hungarian merchant ships found at sea are to remain liable to capture, save exceptions which may be made by a commission nominated by the Allies and the United States of America.

Six—All naval aircraft are to be concentrated and impactionized in Austro-Hungarian bases to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America.

Seven—Evacuation of all Italian coasts and of all ports occupied by Austria-Hungary outside their national territory and the abandonment of all floating craft, naval materials, equipment and materials for inland navigation of all kinds.

Eight—Occupation by the Allies and the United States of America of the land and sea fortifications and the islands which form the defenses and of the dockyards and arsenal at Pola.

Nine—All merchant vessels held by Austria-Hungary belonging to the Allies and associated powers to be returned.

Ten—No destruction of ships or materials to be permitted before evacuation, surrender, or restoration.

Eleven—All naval and mercantile marine prisoners of the allied and associated powers in Austro-Hungarian hands to be returned without reciprocity.

Break-up of the Empire—The Emperor's Abdication

The irretrievable disaster of the Austro-Hungarian armies in Italy led swiftly to the dissolution of the Dual Empire. By the end of October the Hus-

sarek Ministry at Vienna had resigned and the empire was already breaking up into independent States. Emperor Charles acquiesced in the inevitable by appoint-

ing Professor Lammasch as head of a liquidation Ministry to hand over the former imperial powers to the various national Governments.

Serious rioting took place in Budapest on Oct. 28 when the followers of Count Michael Karolyi sent a deputation to ask Archduke Joseph to appoint Karolyi Premier. This was the beginning of a swift and comparatively bloodless revolution that aimed to make Hungary a republic. On Oct. 30 a considerable body of revolted troops, armed with machine guns and munitions, made public demonstrations and acclaimed the new order. The troops were acting in agreement with the Hungarian National Assembly. Count Stephen Tisza, the former reactionary Hungarian Premier, was assassinated on Nov. 1 by three soldiers who entered his home in Budapest.

Announcement of the success of the revolution in Budapest was made in a message sent by Count Michael Karolyi to the Berliner Tageblatt. This read:

Revolution in Budapest and National Council took over Government. Military and police acknowledge National Council completely. Inhabitants rejoicing.

(Signed) KAROLYI,
President National Council.

Count Karolyi announced to the Hungarian National Council on Nov. 2 that Emperor Charles had freed the Hungarian Government of its oath of fidelity and left it free to decide its future form of government. A republic was formally proclaimed on Nov. 16, with Karolyi as Governor.

Meanwhile Vienna had become the centre of a revolution which aimed to create "the German State of Austria" under a distinct Government. The movement began on Oct. 30 with a demonstration of students and workmen in front of the Parliament building, when President Dinghofer of the National Council announced from the steps of the Diet that the National Government would take over the whole administration the next day. "But without the Hapsburgs!" shouted the crowd. An officer in uniform then called on the officers to remove their imperial cockades, which was done "with enthusiasm," and the imperial standard, flying before the Parlia-

ment building, was hauled down upon the order of President Gross of the Austrian lower house. There were strong elements in favor of union with Germany under a republican form of government.

Similar movements of independence were in progress among other nationalities. The Galician Poles moved to join Poland, and the Galician Ruthenians desired to unite with the Ukraine. The Jugoslavs were planning to join Serbia, and the Croats, having seized Fiume, had started to revolt from the Magyars. The Czechs of Bohemia had already organized their republic, as related elsewhere in these pages.

The proclamation announcing the abdication of Charles V. as Emperor of Austria-Hungary was issued on Nov. 11 and read as follows:

Since my accession I have incessantly tried to rescue my peoples from this tremendous war. I have not delayed the re-establishment of constitutional rights or the opening of a way for the people to substantial national development. Filled with an unalterable love for my peoples I will not, with my person, be a hindrance to their free development. I acknowledge the decision taken by German Austria to form a separate State. The people has by its deputies taken charge of the Government. I relinquish every participation in the administration of the State. Likewise I have released the members of the Austrian Government from their offices. May the German Austrian people realize harmony from the new adjustment. The happiness of my peoples was my aim from the beginning. My warmest wishes are that an internal peace will be able to heal the wounds of this war. (Signed) CHARLES.

(Countersigned) LAMMASCH.

After signing his abdication the ex-Emperor and his family went in an automobile to his castle at Eckhartsau, fifteen miles away, where he remained for some time in retirement.

The most disturbing element everywhere was the lawlessness of the radical "Green Guards," who gained many dangerous recruits from the hundreds of thousands of hungry soldiers from the battlefronts. By the last week in November some portions of the former empire were reported in a state bordering on chaos.

Turkey's Surrender to the Allies

Text of the Terms Under Which Turkey Laid Down Her Arms
on Oct. 31, 1918

TURKEY was the second of the Central Powers to surrender to the Allies. General Allenby's capture of Damascus and his rout of two Turkish armies at the end of September and beginning of October opened the way to Aleppo and to final Turkish defeat. His British cavalry and armored cars entered Aleppo on Saturday morning, Oct. 26, and cut off the Turkish traffic on the Constantinople-Bagdad railway at that point. This railroad, the artery that fed the Turkish forces opposing General Marshall on the Tigris and Euphrates, had already been cut off from Berlin by the surrender of Bulgaria. On Oct. 29 General Marshall's forces on the Tigris, after a stubborn fight, defeated the Turks at Kaleb Sherghat and cut off their communications with Mosul. The main objectives of both the Mesopotamian and Palestine expeditions had been attained. The remaining Turkish forces were checkmated and helpless.

Turkey laid down her arms on Oct. 31, 1918, after signing an armistice which, like that of Bulgaria a month before, was tantamount to unconditional surrender.

The armistice was signed at Mudros, on the Island of Lemnos, in the Aegean Sea, and one of the leading actors in the preliminary events was General Townshend, the British commander who had surrendered to the Turks at Kul-el-Amara two years and a half before. When the Turkish authorities saw that their cause was lost they liberated General Townshend and sent him to inform the British Admiral in command in the Aegean Sea that they wished to open immediate negotiations for an armistice. The British replied that if the Turkish Government sent fully accredited plenipotentiaries, Vice Admiral Calthorpe, the British commander, was empowered to inform them of the conditions upon which the Allies would agree to stop hos-

tilities and could sign an armistice on these conditions in their behalf. The Turkish plenipotentiaries arrived at Mudros, and after three days of parley, concerning which General Allenby as well as the Entente Governments were kept fully informed, the armistice was signed on the evening of Oct. 30, to take effect at noon the next day.

Meanwhile the hard fighting on the Tigris, which had begun on Oct. 24, had ended on the 30th with the capture of the entire Turkish force on that river. The prisoners were estimated at 7,000, with much material. Ismail Hakki had surrendered with one entire division and the best part of two others.

TERMS OF ARMISTICE

The terms imposed upon Turkey by the allied powers were as follows:

First—The opening of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus and access to the Black Sea. Allied occupation of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus forts.

Second—The positions of all minefields, torpedo tubes, and other obstructions in Turkish waters are to be indicated and assistance given to sweep or remove them, as may be required.

Third—All available information concerning mines in the Black Sea is to be communicated.

Fourth—All allied prisoners of war and Armenian interned persons and prisoners are to be collected in Constantinople and handed over unconditionally to the Allies.

Fifth—Immediate demobilization of the Turkish Army, except such troops as are required for surveillance on the frontiers and for the maintenance of internal order; the number of effectives and their disposition to be determined later by the Allies, after consultation with the Turkish Government.

Sixth—The surrender of all war vessels in Turkish waters or waters occupied by Turkey. These ships will be interned in such Turkish port or ports as may be directed, except such small vessels as are required for police and similar purposes in Turkish territorial waters.

Seventh—The Allies to have the right to occupy any strategic points in the event

of any situation arising which threatens the security of the Allies.

Eighth—Free use by allied ships of all ports and anchorages now in Turkish occupation and denial of their use by the enemy. Similar conditions are to apply to Turkish mercantile shipping in Turkish waters for the purposes of trade and the demobilization of the army.

Ninth—Allied occupation of the Taurus Tunnel system.

Tenth—Immediate withdrawal of Turkish troops from Northern Persia to behind the pre-war frontier already has been ordered and will be carried out.

Eleventh—A part of Transcaucasia already has been ordered to be evacuated by Turkish troops. The remainder to be evacuated if required by the Allies after they have studied the situation.

Twelfth—Wireless, telegraph, and cable stations to be controlled by the Allies. Turkish Government messages to be accepted.

Thirteenth—Prohibition against the destruction of any naval, military, or commercial material.

Fourteenth—Facilities are to be given for the purchase of coal, oil fuel, and naval material from Turkish sources, after the requirements of the country have been met. None of the above materials is to be exported.

Fifteenth—The surrender of all Turkish officers in Tripolitania and Cyrenica to the nearest Italian garrison. Turkey agrees to stop supplies to and communication with these officers if they do not obey the order to surrender.

Sixteenth—The surrender of all garrisons in Hedjaz, Assir, Yemen, Syria, and Mesopotamia to the nearest allied commander, and withdrawal of Turkish troops from Cilicia, except those necessary to maintain order, as will be determined under Clause 5.

Seventeenth—The use of all ships and repair facilities at all Turkish ports and arsenals.

Eighteenth—The surrender of all ports occupied in Tripolitania and Cyrenica, including Misurata, to the nearest allied garrison.

Nineteenth—All Germans and Austrians, naval, military, or civilian, to be evacuated within one month from Turkish dominions, and those in remote districts as soon after that time as may be possible.

Twentieth—Compliance with such orders as may be conveyed for the disposal of equipments, arms, and ammunition, including the transport of that portion of the Turkish Army which is demobilized under Clause 5.

Twenty-first—An allied representative to be attached to the Turkish Ministry of Supplies, in order to safeguard allied interests; this representative to be fur-

nished with all aid necessary for this purpose.

Twenty-second—Turkish prisoners are to be kept at the disposal of the allied powers. The release of Turkish civilian prisoners and prisoners over military age to be considered.

Twenty-third—An obligation on the part of Turkey to cease all relations with the Central Powers.

Twenty-fourth—In case of disorder in the six Armenian vilayets, the Allies reserve to themselves the right to occupy any part of them.

Twenty-fifth—Hostilities between the Allies and Turkey shall cease from noon, local time, Thursday, the 31st of October, 1918.

An additional clause, made public two days later, dealt with the Russian region of the Caucasus, as follows:

Allied control officers are to be placed on all railways, including such portions of the Transcaucasian railways as are now under Turkish control; these must be placed at the free and complete disposal of the allied authorities, due consideration being given to the needs of the population. This clause is to include the allied occupation of Batum. Turkey will raise no objection to the occupation of Baku by the Allies.

EVENTS IN TRANSCAUCASIA

This supplementary clause relates to the chaotic situation in Transcaucasia. Ever since the Bolshevik revolution in Russia the region between the Black and Caspian Seas had been a storm centre. To save themselves from the anarchy that spread over the rest of Russia the peoples of this region had organized the Federal Republic of the Caucasus in the Autumn of 1917. The Government consisted of Tartars, Georgians, and Armenians, representing 5,500,000 inhabitants and an area of 250,000 square kilometers. To these were added nearly 200,000 Armenian refugees from Turkey. The new organization succeeded for a time in preserving order; but when the Bolshevik Government at Petrograd undertook to hand over the districts of Batum, Kars, and Erivan to Turkey, a crisis arose, and serious differences developed between the Tartars and Armenians, weakening the Governmental control.

Not content with Batum and the other regions designated in the treaty, Turkey sent a force from Tiflis about July 20,

1918, to seize the oil wells of Baku, on the Caspian Sea. Baku was defended by small contingents of Armenians and Russian Bolsheviks, who in this case were on the side of the Allies; and these



CAUCASUS REGION, CONTROL OF WHICH WAS ASSUMED BY THE ENTENTE ALLIES

were joined on Aug. 15 by a small British force, which had come all the way from India, by way of Persia. A month later, however, the British had to withdraw. A British report laid the blame for this withdrawal upon the instability of the Armenian contingent at Baku, and this charge, later declared unjust, gave rise to two interesting official letters, which are reproduced at the end of this article.

A German-Bolshevik treaty, signed Aug. 27, left Baku definitely to the Russians, but the Turks, who were already quarreling with the Bulgarians over other items of the spoils, proceeded shortly afterward to take possession of the city and its rich oil trade. Here they remained until the Turkish collapse. A Moscow dispatch of Oct. 30 announced that they had evacuated Baku without fighting. The supplementary clause in the armistice of Oct. 31 closed this chapter by placing both Baku and Batum in the hands of the Allies.

EFFECTS OF SURRENDER

George Nicoll Barnes, a member of the British War Cabinet, stated on Nov. 1 that the armistice with Turkey could have been signed earlier, but that the Allies were committed to a free Arab State under the King of the Hedjaz, with Aleppo as the capital, and that there had been no hurry to get Turkey

out of the war until after Aleppo and other places necessary to this project had been captured. He added that the British had for some time been assembling ships at the mouth of the Dardanelles, and that these had already started through the strait. A large fleet of mine sweepers was at work clearing the Dardanelles of the maze of mines and other obstructions that barred the way through the Bosphorus to the Black Sea. Mr. Barnes added:

There is now nothing to prevent the fleet from going into the Black Sea and up the Danube to Germany's back door, and if the Germans are going to defend their territory they must divide their remaining forces between the western front and the back door, at which we shall soon be knocking.

PALESTINE PERMANENTLY FREE

Lord Robert Cecil, Assistant Foreign Secretary, on the same day emphatically denied a published assertion that a secret agreement had been signed with Turkey which would restore Ottoman sovereignty in Armenia, Syria, and Palestine. He said:

There is no secret undertaking, engagement, or bargain of any sort or kind, as far as the British Government is concerned. Nothing concerning territorial arrangement has been settled at all. I cannot conceive of any solution that would leave these nationalities under the shadow of Turkish oppression.

He was particularly emphatic in his allusions to the Armenians, and pointed out that two clauses of the armistice terms especially provided for their protection, and the Allies had reserved the right to occupy their vilayets in case of disorder. "The armistice terms," he went on, "amount to unconditional surrender, and especially important is our right to occupy the Taurus tunnel system." Lord Robert added that nothing in the armistice would hamper the Allies in making such disposition of European Turkey as they wished at the peace conference.

Turkey entered the war in November, 1914. For her unprovoked bombardment of Sebastopol Russia declared war on her on Nov. 3; France and Great Britain two days later. Turkey issued a formal declaration of war against the Entente



THE TURKISH EMPIRE, WHOSE FATE IS TO BE DETERMINED AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

Allies on Nov. 23, 1914. Meanwhile, however, military operations had begun against Turkey on Nov. 5, and Great Britain had annexed the Island of Cyprus.

Turkey entered the war a few weeks after the German warships Breslau and Goeben had sought shelter in the Dardanelles, which was at once blockaded by the allied fleet. In April, 1915, allied troops were landed on the Gallipoli Peninsula, but the campaign failed and the allied troops were withdrawn in December of the same year. The British began a campaign up the Tigris in November, 1914. They advanced to within nineteen miles of Bagdad a year later, but were defeated and forced to retreat to Kut-el-Amara, where they were later forced to surrender. Early in 1917 the British renewed the offensive in Mesopotamia and continued it successfully until they were within a few miles of Mosul at the time of the armistice.

Turkey sent armies against the British in Egypt and against the Russians in the Caucasus. The Egyptian campaign failed in February, 1915. That in the Caucasus was driven back by the Russians through Armenia. In Palestine the allied drive under General Allenby resulted in the clearing of the whole country and the capture of the impor-

tant base of Aleppo. The Russian campaign in the Caucasus was rendered fruitless by the rise of the Bolsheviks to power.

For several weeks after the United States declared war on Germany Turkey took no action, but on April 21, 1917, she severed diplomatic relations. There was, however, no declaration of war by either country.

ARMENIA'S SERVICE TO THE ALLIED CAUSE

The following correspondence, embracing a plea by Lord Bryce for justice to the Armenian people and a reply by the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs recognizing the services rendered by the Armenians to the allied cause, contains also an official declaration that the Allies' policy toward them remains unaltered:

Hindleap, Forest Row, Sussex,
Sept. 30, 1918.

MY DEAR BALFOUR: Boghos Nubar Pasha, (the son of old Nubar,) who is the head of the Armenian National Council in Paris, has sent me a copy of the communication which that council has addressed to you, expressing a wish that I would support its request that his Majesty's Government should, if possible, do something to remove the painful impression which has been created by the terms of the statement regarding the conduct of the Armenians at Baku. Those terms have greatly distressed the Armenians in England also.

I need not repeat the arguments contained in the letter of the Armenian National Delegation, but may observe that through the whole course of the war the Armenian people as a whole have both done and suffered what well entitles them to our sympathy and consideration. Some 700,000 or more have been massacred because the Turks and Germans assumed them to be in sympathy with the Allies. They have enlisted in large numbers both in France and in America, and many were anxious to serve in the force which we at one time thought of landing at Alexandretta, near which there was a large Armenian population, now nearly exterminated.

In the French armies they have distinguished themselves by their exceptional valor. During the earlier years of the war they were the best fighters in the Russian Army of the Caucasus, and chiefly contributed to the capture of Erzerum. When the Bolsheviks abandoned the Caucasian provinces they held out heroically alone, having been deserted by the Russian troops, defending themselves and their districts till overwhelming enemy forces compelled them to make terms at Erivan, where they were entirely without support. I believe that there and at Baku they had little or no artillery.

It would be a grave discouragement to the Armenians both in France and in European Russia, who are doing their best for the allied cause, if it were supposed that we are placing a stigma on the Armenian Nation as a whole. Very sincerely yours, BRYCE.

LORD R. CECIL'S REPLY

Foreign Office, Oct. 3, 1918.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE: Mr. Balfour has been much concerned at the view taken by Boghos Nubar Pasha, in his letter to him to which you refer, regarding the communiqué reporting the events at Baku, and asks me to reply in his name.

The Baku Armenians were not only an isolated remnant, but no doubt their task was made impossible from the outset by the disorganization which prevailed and had thrown open to the Turks the Transcaucasian Railway leading to the gates of the city. Whatever may have happened at Baku, the responsibility cannot be laid at the door of the Armenian people.

The National Delegation, commissioned by his Holiness the Katholikos in 1913 to obtain from the civilized world that justice to Armenia which has been delayed with such terrible consequences, have given many proofs, under the distinguished Presidency of his Excellency Boghos Nubar Pasha, of their devotion to the cause of the Allies, as being the cause of all peoples striving to free the world from oppression.

The Council at Erivan threw itself into the breach which the Russian breakdown left open in Asia, and after organizing resistance to the Turks in the Caucasus from February to June this year, was at length compelled by main force to suspend hostilities. Great Britain and her allies understand the cruel

necessity which has forced the Armenians to take this step, and look forward to the time, perhaps not far distant, when allied victories may reverse their undeserved misfortunes.

Meanwhile, the services of the Armenians to the common cause, to which you refer in your letter, have assuredly not been forgotten; and I venture to mention four points which the Armenians may, I think, regard as the charter of their right to liberation at the hand of the Allies:

(1) In the Autumn of 1914 the Turks sent emissaries to the National Congress of the Ottoman Armenians then sitting at Erzerum and made them offers of autonomy if they would actively assist Turkey in the war. The Armenians replied that they would do their duty individually as Ottoman subjects, but that as a nation they could not work for the cause of Turkey and her allies.

(2) On account, in part, of this courageous refusal, the Ottoman Armenians were systematically murdered by the Turkish Government in 1915. Two-thirds of the population were exterminated by the most cold-blooded and fiendish methods—more than 700,000 people, men, women, and children alike.

(3) From the beginning of the war that half of the Armenian Nation which was under the sovereignty of Russia organized volunteer forces, and, under their heroic leader Andranik, bore the brunt of some of the heaviest fighting in the Caucasian campaigns.

(4) After the breakdown of the Russian Army at the end of last year these Armenian forces took over the Caucasian front, and for five months delayed the advance of the Turks, thus rendering an important service to the British Army in Mesopotamia. These operations, in the region of Alexandropol and Erivan, were, of course, unconnected with those at Baku.

I may add that Armenian soldiers are still fighting in the ranks of the allied forces in Syria. They are to be found serving alike in the British, French, and American Armies, and they have borne their part in General Allenby's great victory in Palestine.

Need I say, after this, that the policy of the Allies toward Armenia remains unaltered? If your letter and Nubar Pasha's make it necessary for the British Government to do so, I am quite ready to reaffirm our determination that wrongs such as Armenia has suffered shall be brought to an end and their recurrence made impossible. Yours sincerely, ROBERT CECIL.

ABOLISHING TURKISH RULE

France and Great Britain issued a formal announcement on Nov. 7, 1918, that it was their intention to abolish Turkish oppression forever in the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean and to establish

Governments deriving their authority from the free choice of the native populations. The statement, made public through the British and French legations at Washington, was as follows:

The aim of France and Great Britain in carrying on in the Near East the war let loose by Germany's ambitions is the complete and final liberation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks and the establishment of Governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and the free choice of the native populations.

In view of following out this intention, France and Great Britain are agreed to encourage and hold the establishment of native Governments and administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia actually liberated by the Allies, and in the territories they are now striving to liberate, and to recognize them as soon as effectively established.

Far from seeking to force upon the populations of these countries any particular institution, France and Great Britain have no other concern than to insure by their support and their active assistance the normal working of the Governments and institutions which the populations shall have freely adopted, so as to secure just impartiality for all, and also to facilitate the economic development of the country in arousing and encouraging local initiative by the diffusion of instruction, and to put an end to disorders which have too long been taken advantage of by Turkish rule.

Such is the rôle that the two allied Governments claim for themselves in the liberated territories.

Dispatches at the same time announced the transfer of British and French troops to occupy the Dardanelles and Bosphorus.

Story of the Capture of Damascus

By W. T. MASSEY

Mr. Massey, as British official war correspondent with Allenby's army in Palestine and Syria, witnessed the brilliant operations that put Turkey out of the war. In the November number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE some extracts were given from his narrative of the early stages of the British offensive. Reviewing the later operations, toward the end of September, 1918, Mr. Massey wrote:

OUR progress was rapid, and the extent of our advance, on a very wide front, is so great that it may be the impression at home that we were weakly opposed. That would be wholly wrong. A document which has been captured shows that the ration strength of the Eighth Army was 39,783 men, of the Seventh Army 28,575, of the Jordan Group 5,223, and of the Fourth Army 21,899. On the lines of communication were 4,958 men, and of animals there were 39,234.

These figures may be exaggerated. But it is clear that General Allenby was opposed by an army of over 100,000, who, at any rate in places, fought strongly, and at times got to grips both with bomb and bayonet. The prisoners exceed 70,000. The dead I believe are not more than 10,000. Many got away home by other roads.

It will take some time to collect all the facts to show the completeness of Gen-

eral Allenby's victory, but sufficient data are available demonstrating how absolute has been the annihilation of the Turkish forces.

We have learned much from captured documents illustrating the strength of the enemy opposed to us. In the equipment of the Turkish Army large support was given by the Germans. In the Yilderim army group there were 509 guns, including thirty in the repair shops. Of the balance we have captured over 350 of various calibres. There has not been time to search the hundreds of square miles of mountainous country, but doubtless others are hidden in the hills with many hundreds of machine guns and an enormous amount of gun ammunition.

With the Turks were 15,635 Germans, including several battalions of infantry, machine-gun companies, artillery, and the remainder technical troops running the railways, transport, signal service,

&c. There was thus a large stiffening of Germans, with many technicians, and they were generally found wherever the enemy put up a strong resistance. The prisoners include a large number of Germans and Austrians.

The sheiks of the Ruwalla tribe, one of the most powerful in Arabia, brought 3,000 horsemen and the Haurani peasantry others, so that when near Deraa there was a force of 11,000 camelry, horsemen, and Arab irregulars with the column, which on Sept. 16 got to the Hedjas Railway, south of Deraa, and blew up the line.

Next day the north town was destroyed, with six kilometers of railway and an important bridge. On the night of the 18th they cut the line between Deraa and Nablus, in the Yarmuk Valley, burning the station of Mezerib and the rolling stock, with six German lorries. The following day they moved south of Deraa, having made a complete circle round the town, and blew up the bridge. An armored car saw two airplanes and riddled them with bullets.

FREQUENT BOMBING RAIDS

As the line was repaired it was again destroyed, so that the enemy's railway communication between Damascus and the main Turkish Army was broken for five days. The Amman garrison was cut off for eight days. Wherever the Arabs camped enemy planes bombed them, flying low and using machine guns. At one period near Deraa the enemy planes made frequent bombing raids, but were ineffectual to prevent the complete disorganization of the railway service. When General Allenby's attack began the Arabs fought their way up the railway line. One section, under Shereef Nasser, marched seventy miles in twenty-four hours, fighting part of the way, and reached the outskirts of Damascus on Sept. 30.

The work of the Air Service has been most praiseworthy. The difficulty of the cavalry keeping contact with the vast front has been overcome by the untiring energies of the airmen. One pilot for four days had an average of eight hours each flying day, and on occasions had to fly

low, subjected to heavy machine-gun fire. His machine returned from one expedition with seventy-four bullet holes, but was unhit in any vital part. Our planes south of Amman secured the surrender of 2,000 Turks. The pilot, seeing a long-drawn-out column, dropped a message to say that if they did not surrender they would be bombed. He returned to the aerodrome and six machines shortly afterward were sent out with bombs, and while circling the ground the signal was laid out recalling them; the Turks had hoisted the white flag.

CAVALRY'S ACHIEVEMENTS

Mr. Massey paid this tribute to the work of the cavalry around Damascus in his dispatch of Sept. 30:

The operations of the last few days afford an illustration that the rôle of cavalry in present-day warfare over a front so wide as this makes it almost impossible to keep touch with the daily movements. General Allenby's mounted troops are being supremely successful, never missing an opportunity of hitting hard and swiftly, following up one big movement immediately by another equally vigorous, until the three cavalry divisions have today converged on Damascus. Troops from the Northern and Southern Hemispheres are now looking on the most ancient of living cities. Masses of British Yeomanry and Australian and Indian Horse, a force larger probably than was ever before assembled under one command, have outmanoeuvred the Turkish forces, dealing the death blow to the Seventh and Eighth Armies before attacking the Fourth Army over the Jordan. Only those who have seen the superb cavalry of General Allenby's army could appreciate the possibilities, and not many of those in Palestine dreamed it was possible that Damascus was within reach of the wide stretch of the cavalry arm.

In ten days the mounted troops have covered fully 150 miles, in a country that yielded no food for man or beast, and are now practically surrounding the white city, set in a most beautiful green frame. The glorious gardens, rendered more refreshing to eyes used to the glare of the

Eastern sun by comparison with the desolate, stony hills overlooking the verdant scene from all sides, are momentarily put to military uses by the enemy. In the mud-walled garden inclosures are nests of machine guns which at present we have not attempted to disturb. There are obvious signs that the Turk's days of possession of the city are numbered. Since the morning the enemy has been burning vast stores, and there have been numerous explosions of ammunition and petrol. Military establishments are ablaze, and the enormous wireless installation for communication with Constantinople and Berlin has been blown up. From the position of the fires it is believed that the two railway stations have been destroyed.

FIRES IN DAMASCUS

So far the city seems to have escaped, though with the high wind the huge fires are dangerous, the city being built mainly of wood. Every soldier looking on the city hopes it will be preserved, but it would be in keeping with the blighting influence of the Turk on everything he touches if by his action Damascus, which has changed hands many times in the 4,000 years of its life, should be destroyed for the first time by the Turks. Happily, that fate appears to be unlikely.

As a preliminary to jumping off for this jeweled goal, a portion of the cavalry moved to Deraa with orders to advance up the eastern road. A larger column took Tiberias and secured the bridge over the Jordan south of Lake Hule. The blowing up of the central arch of the ancient structure did not prevent the crossing, owing to the swimming of the river by an entire Australian regiment. Yesterday the cavalry halted at Kuneitra while supplies were brought over the steep, winding road from the Jordan Valley, many miles of which are absolutely the worst surface in the world for highways. It is a mass of unrolled lava boulders strewn in the roadway. Progress was extremely difficult for wheels, but the cavalry's spirit surmounted all obstacles.

As the sun was setting last night the move forward from Kuneitra began with

the weird and impressive spectacle of thousands of horsemen passing in the darkness. There was no sound save the horses' hoofbeats and the rumble of wheels. The Australian Mounted Division led, the Yeomanry and Indian cavalry following. Hardly any part of the country was visible in the gloom, except where the irregular crest of Mount Hermon blotted out the stars. Less than a dozen miles on the journey a brisk action delayed the advance for three hours. They were precious hours, for we knew that what remained of the Fourth Army was trekking north to Deraa, partially disorganized and with scanty transport, and we were anxious to bag the whole lot.

On the steep, rough hills overlooking the road, with a wadi in front, several hundred Turks and Germans waited with machine guns, with a couple of field guns well placed to cover the road. They had the advantage of the light of the waning moon. We got them in flank with a few casualties, and took prisoners. Those escaping up the hill were captured early in the morning. The German machine gunners were greatly surprised by the rapidity of our advance. At 8 o'clock our troops on the western road reached the southwestern edge of the hills holding Damascus in their hollow. There was one small but effective charge on the plateau, and strong opposition athwart the road at Kaukeb, ten miles from Damascus, the enemy striving hard to delay our advance until the destruction of the stores in the city's environs was complete.

IN SIGHT OF THE GOAL

At noon there was a spirited mounted attack at Kaukeb by the Australian Light Horse, who overrode the enemy in a brilliant charge, and enabled the brigade's cavalry to ride forward along the road west of the city and pursue the enemy attempting to get away on the Rayak road. This advance, within visual range of the Damascus minarets, has already yielded many prisoners. The regiment of Light Horse and one of French cavalry are just sending in 3,500 between them, while the Australian brigade brought machine guns into action on two

hills dominating the road and killed all the transport animals and many men who blocked the road. Another force went across country to intercept parties of Turks retiring on Damascus in front of Deraa and heavily shelled the enemy before they reached the villages on the southern outskirts of the city.

Damascus itself was captured on Oct. 1, and that day Mr. Massey wrote:

General Allenby's triumphant march northward into Syria early this morning drove the Turks completely out of possession of Damascus, and there is now not a Turkish soldier in the city nor a Turkish official doing duty. The appearance of the Australian Mounted Division northwestward of the city at noon yesterday set the seal on the doom of the Turkish Government in the place on which Arabs centre their eyes. Today the city was enveloped by British, Australian, and Indian troops, and the King of the Hedjaz's Arab army has marched in. The few Turks who got away are scattered and demoralized. Fully 12,000 Germans and Turks are prisoners. In and about the city a number of guns have been captured. The roads are a shambles where the enemy resisted. Transport has been smashed and most of the material left behind has been destroyed by the Germans, though some valuable transport, including a complete park of cavalry limbers, was untouched. The prisoners captured since Sept. 19 are probably more than 60,000.

AN AMAZING WELCOME

I was under the impression that Damascus would display the usual Arab calmness of demeanor and accept our appearance as Kismet, while appreciating the prospect of a change from bad to good government, and would receive us with their customary immobile features, giving no outward and visible sign of their inward feelings.

I rode into the town with an armored-car officer when the road was deemed unsafe owing to snipers in those luscious gardens surrounding this fascinating and truly Oriental city. I was amazed at the heartiness of the welcome accorded the British uniform. The people were far from taking our victory as an ordi-

nary incident of life. They threw off their stolid exterior, and received us with ecstatic joy. They closed their shops and made a holiday, put on festival dress, and acclaimed the day as the greatest in the 4,000 years of the history of Damascus. Only a few British officers have as yet entered the city, but each has been received with the same whole-hearted fervor. Here, at least, they have seen what the British name stands for. At Jerusalem the British Army was welcomed by all sects and creeds with deep feelings of thankfulness, but their condition, rendered pitiable through starvation, prevented their welcome from being so demonstrative, though equally sincere, as today's. When a soldier appeared in the streets of Damascus he was surrounded by the excited and delighted throng. Crowds gathered to hear the news. When I told some English-speaking people, of whom there are many, of the latest victory on the western front and of the Bulgarian armistice their enthusiasm was remarkable.

But they were more keenly interested in General Allenby's army's tremendous stride through Palestine and Syria. The enormous captures of prisoners and war material, of which they had no conception, more than anything else, meant to them the finish of the Turk. They said: "You are settling our long accounts with them." The thoroughness with which it has been done gave them the impression that our army was composed of supermen. With eyes unused to complete and orderly equipment, they admired the soldierly turnout of the men who have fought and ridden a hard 150 miles, and acclaimed them their deliverers. They looked upon this army as the saviors of the downtrodden peoples of this part of the East. This amazing tribute to Britain and British freedom lasted all day; at nightfall the population gave a firework exhibition of captured Verey lights. Even the street of St. Paul called "Straight" was illuminated from end to end.

The opportunities for rejoicing were increased by the arrival of the Arab Army, which operated on our right flank. Our cavalry during the march from Deraa arrived at Damascus at 6

this morning, the northwestern outskirts being occupied by the Australian Mounted Division last night. Soon after day-break the Arab Army entered the city, and the streets became alive with picturesquely clothed Arabs on light steeds, almost overburdened with elaborately appointed saddlery. Arab horsemen and camelry dashed about the streets, proclaiming the victory and making much noise and continually firing their rifles. This lasted till midnight, and the inhabitants, tired out and happy, allowed the city to become normally calm.

REJOICING IN BEIRUT

Beirut was taken by a French naval force on Oct. 7, and shortly afterward was entered by a division of Allenby's forces. The relief of the inhabitants at redemption from Turkish control was equal to that of the people of Damascus. Mr. Massey thus described it:

Of all the scenes of war I have witnessed, nothing impressed me more than the extraordinary demonstrations of welcome accorded the infantry advance up the coast to Beirut. When our Expeditionary Force first landed in France I saw the French people's expression of thankfulness and relief at our troops' assistance. Their outward and visible signs of joy were eclipsed by Syria, where all classes and creeds united to acclaim the British and Indian infantry as deliverers of the land from the oppressive rule of centuries. Ancient Acre and Tyre threw off their customary calm, but not till Saida—Sidon of old—was reached did the population show their real feelings. When the Yeomanry approached, the people rushed to tear

down palm leaves to build triumphal arches, decorate houses, and hang out carpets.

The infantry in Saida the next day could not pass through the streets, choked with the population, till the people had passed to the balconies and roofs of the houses, where they stayed all day, cheering deliriously, untired, and devoutly thankful. Other towns were equally enthusiastic. When the corps commander entered Beirut the people threw flowers and sprayed perfumes in front of his car. Whenever a British uniform is seen the crowds surround it, shout in English, "Hooray," and clap hands. British prestige has never stood higher. The exemplary behavior of our splendid troops is commented upon everywhere. The population regard them as the vanguard of a glorious and chivalrous army bringing a new and enlightened rule of freedom, justice, and liberty.

The infantry's march from Haifa was a splendid achievement. The division of Scottish, English, and Indian troops which was the first in Bagdad was the first infantry in Beirut. The Hertford and Lancashire Yeomanry entered the town yesterday, while a British armored car had been in the previous day. French warships were in the port.

The infantry in seven days marched 100 miles from Haifa, making roads half the way, and joining the metaled highway north of Tyre. Only those who have been with the infantry can appreciate the magnitude of the march. Mere tracks were converted into roads. One colossal obstacle, in which a series of steps was cut in rock, was made into a road for wheels in three days.

Democracy

By WILLIAM MILL BUTLER

Great mother of a new-born race,
All earth shall be thy dwelling place;
Democracy, thy holy name
Shall set the continents aflame,
Shall thrill the islands of the sea,
And keep thv children ever free.

Overseas Transportation of United States Troops

By Commander CHARLES C. GILL, U. S. N.

[Approved by Rear Admiral Albert Gleaves, Commander of the Cruiser and Transport Force, United States Atlantic Fleet]

PREVIOUS to 1916 the idea of a United States overseas expeditionary force numbered by millions would have been generally regarded as a remote if not impossible contingency. Consequently no extensive peace-time preparations had been made for such an undertaking. The task of providing a transport fleet was, therefore, a pioneer work. Ships had to be obtained, officers and crews enrolled and trained. It was necessary to provide docks, storehouses, lighters and tugs, coaling equipment, repair facilities, and all the varied machinery for operating and maintaining a large transportation service. An efficient administrative organization had to be developed.

Such, in brief, was the problem confronting Rear Admiral Albert Gleaves, then Commander of the Destroyer Force of the Atlantic Fleet, when, on May 29, 1917, he received orders designating him Commander of United States Convoy Operations in the Atlantic in addition to his other duties.

The work of the navy in connection with the transportation of troops to France constitutes a distinct phase of the present war. The attending political and military circumstances incident to the collapse of Russia, the critical situation on the western front, and the threat of the German submarine combined to make this phase of special significance. Throughout the year following the entry of the United States into the war the military and naval developments were such that the safe transportation across the Atlantic of troops and supplies became a problem of more and more pressing importance.

The United States Army in France was a decisive factor in obtaining speedy vic-

tory. The transportation of this army overseas under naval protection was, therefore, a major operation of first importance. A large share of this urgent mission devolved on the United States Navy, and its successful accomplishment in the face of great difficulties is another page to the record of the service in keeping with its past history and traditions.

Much confusion of thought has existed as to just how the vast work of transporting a United States Army numbering 2,079,880 souls to Europe has been accomplished. It is unfortunate that misinformation should be disseminated respecting an operation in which the different organizations concerned performed their respective functions in utmost harmony and co-operation.* All have done their allotted parts splendidly and efficiently. All share in the satisfaction resulting from the successful accomplishment of a difficult and urgent undertaking.

At the time the United States entered the war the enormous toll of shipping gathered by the U-boat in the East Atlantic and the boast of von Hindenburg that the submarine blockade of England would starve her out and win the war, indicate the seriousness of the naval situation in those waters at that

*As an instance of more or less prevalent misinformation: Recently in the press reference was made by high authority to "Seven great British liners which have carried 60 per cent. of the American soldiers abroad since March." The actual figures are:

Total United States soldiers carried since the end of March, 1918, 1,505,624.

The seven largest ships of a foreign ally carried in all 10.37 per cent. of the above total. In the same period a single ship of the United States naval transport service carried 5 per cent. of the total.

time. Inasmuch as the principal field of British naval activities was the North Sea and English Channel, the task of breaking the U-boat blockade in the Atlantic naturally became the immediate mission of the United States Navy. The prompt dispatching of destroyers, yachts, and all other available craft of a type useful against the submarine to the East Atlantic, and the splendid work these vessels and others later sent to augment their strength have done in cleaning up these waters of U-boat devastation is a matter of record, the importance of which in winning the war is conceded from all quarters. This was the first step in preparation for sending the United States Army overseas.

The next step was the development of the transport service and the convoy and escort system. In this work the Cruiser and Transport Force co-operated with the destroyers and other anti-submarine craft abroad. In addition, Great Britain, France, and Italy supplied troop ships. As would be expected from Great Britain's enormous merchant marine, she was able to supply the greatest carrying capacity. She had the ships ready for this use, and 48¼ per cent. of the American Army was transported in British steamers; 2½ per cent. were carried in French ships, and 3 per cent. in Italian. The remaining 46¼ per cent. were carried in United States ships, and all but 2½ per cent. of these sailed in United States naval transports.

All the troops carried in United States ships were escorted by United States men-of-war; that is, cruisers, destroyers, converted yachts, and other anti-submarine craft. Also for the most part the troops carried in British, French, and Italian ships were given safe conduct through the danger zones by United States destroyers. Roughly, 82¾ per cent. of the maximum strength of the naval escorts provided incident to the transportation of United States troops across the Atlantic was supplied by the United States Navy, 14½ per cent. by the British Navy, and 3½ per cent. by the French Navy.

The declaration of war with Germany found the United States without a transport fleet and without a merchant marine

capable of supplying ships for transporting a large military expedition. It is a remarkable and noteworthy example of American ingenuity and zeal that, starting with almost nothing at the beginning of the war, a United States naval transport service has been built up which has carried almost a million soldiers to Europe. In spite of the determined efforts of submarines to prevent it this has been accomplished without the loss of a single soldier by the hand of the enemy.

The splendid co-operation of the army has made this possible. The army organized and developed an efficient system for loading and unloading the ships at the terminal ports. The navy transported the troops and safeguarded them en route.

On homeward-bound voyages, however, we have not been so fortunate. In a measure this has been due to need of concentrating maximum naval escort protection on troop-laden convoys. Frequently this necessitated lighter escort for the ships returning, and it was on these homeward-bound vessels that the submarines scored their successes. The United States Naval Transports Antilles, President Lincoln, and Covington were torpedoed and sunk. The Finland and Mount Vernon were torpedoed, but were able to reach port for repairs. The United States armored cruiser San Diego struck a mine laid by a German submarine and was sunk.

The service was not without hazard, as is shown by the fact that more than half of the war casualties in the United States Navy were suffered in the Cruiser and Transport Force. Nor were enemy guns and torpedoes the only menace—danger from fire and internal damage was enhanced by the machinations of enemy secret agents, and the likelihood of collision was increased by the necessity of manoeuvring without lights in convoy formation vessels manned for the most part by inexperienced crews.

In connection with the operation of the ships special mention should be made of the volunteer and reserve personnel, particularly the officers and men from the United States merchant marine service who enrolled in the navy for the

Table Showing Total of United States Troops Transported and the Ships That Carried Them

Prepared by Ensign WALTER LOGAN, U. S. N., Statistical Officer, Cruiser and Transport Force, United States Atlantic Fleet.

Percentage Under French Naval Escort	0	0	1 1/2
Percentage Under British Naval Escort	83	1	9 1/2
Percentage Under U. S. Naval Escort.....	17	99	0
Under French Naval Escort	0	0	0
Under British Naval Escort	1,285	59	0
Under United States Naval Escort	258	15,032	20
Percentage Carried by Other Ships	0	0	0
Percentage Carried by Other U. S. Ships...	0	34 1/2	2
Percentage Carried by British-Leased Italian Ships	0	0	0
Percentage Carried by British Ships	33	61	0
Percentage Carried by United States Naval Transports	67	41	5
Total Ships Sailed....	5	18	2
Total United States Troops Transported..	1,543	15,091	16
Number of Other Ships Sailed (French, Italian, &c.)	0	0	0
Carried by Other Ships (French, Italian, &c.)	0	296	1
Number of Other United States Ships Sailed	0	0	0
Carried by Other United States Ships	0	1,109	0
No. of British-Leased Italian Ships Sailed.	0	0	0
Carried by British-Leased Italian Ships.	0	0	0
Number of British Ships Sailed.....	2	6	7
Carried by British Ships	508	7,299	12
No. of United States Naval Transports Sailed	3	8	9
Carried by United States Naval Transports	1,035	5,281	13
Carried by British Naval Transports	508	7,299	13
Carried by United States Naval Transports	1,035	5,281	13
Carried by British Naval Transports	508	7,299	13
Carried by United States Naval Transports	1,035	5,281	13
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Carried by British Naval Transports	508	7,299	13
Carried by United States Naval Transports			

period of the war. These have rendered splendid service, and the interests of the United States for the future require that the cordial relations of co-operation established between the merchant marine and the navy be maintained. In the larger transports it was the policy of the department to have the Captains, executive officers, chief engineers, gunnery officers, senior medical officers, and senior supply officers detailed from the regular navy and the remainder of the officer complement filled from the various classes of reserve and volunteer officers. This worked very well, and too much credit cannot be given the latter for the loyal service rendered and the aptitude shown in adapting themselves to naval war conditions.

In special cases it was possible, after a

certain amount of experience had been gained, to relieve heads of departments, originally assignments of regular naval officers, by reserve officers. For example, in the case of the Harrisburg, Louisville, Plattsburg, Manchuria, Mongolia, and Finland, after a few trips the reserve Captains took over command of the ships. Credit is also due the navy yards, provisions and clothing depots, medical supply depots, and the ship repair plants which supplemented the navy yards in performing the work incident to making ready and keeping in service this large United States Naval Cruiser and Transport Force, commanded by Rear Admiral Gleaves, and numbering, at the time of the armistice, twenty-four cruisers and forty-two transports, manned, exclusive of troops carried, by about 3,000 officers and 42,000 men.

[SEMI-OFFICIAL]

German Methods in Alsace-Lorraine

Personal Narratives of Citizens Who Witnessed Atrocities in the First Days of the War

Though Alsace and Lorraine were a part of Germany, they were treated with the same cruelty as Belgium and Northern France, and the fatal phrase, "Man hat geschossen," ("Somebody shot at us,") caused as many victims as elsewhere. Two narratives of citizens who were present at the massacres and incendiarism in Bourzwiller, Alsace, and Dalheim, Lorraine, are herewith translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from Nouvelles de France, a Paris semi-official publication. They are typical of what happened also in Sengern, Lauterbach, Dornach, and other towns. The narrative of a citizen of Bourzwiller, whose name was withheld to protect him from German reprisals, is as follows:

THE French arrived in Bourzwiller on Aug. 8, 1914. On the 9th, about 9 o'clock in the evening, the Germans, owing to their great numerical superiority, again succeeded in making themselves masters of the village. On Aug. 10, between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning, two half sections of the 110th and 111th Infantry Regiments forced their way into the courtyard of a house, the one shortly after the other. The great obscurity and the state of enervation into which the soldiers had fallen caused them to confound

friends and enemies, and the first noise provoked rifle shots, a thing inevitable in the circumstances. Four soldiers wounded by their comrades cried out in their pain. This attracted the attention of a Captain who was coming to find out from his men the cause of the shots. One soldier asserted that they had been fired upon from the windows of the house.

Meanwhile the owner of the house had approached and had heard the accusation. He told the Captain that it was baseless, because he and his whole family had

been refugees in the cellar since 11:30, and before that he had locked every room in the house. As the soldier persisted in his charge, the proprietor treated him as a liar and begged the officer to investigate for himself as to the truth of what had been stated. Eight men were selected to visit the house from garret to cellar under the farmer's guidance.

TURN RIFLES ON COTTAGE

At this juncture one of the soldiers who had remained in the courtyard declared he had seen some one shoot from a little house that stood beside the main residence. The Captain gave credence to these assertions, and without further preliminaries ordered his men to fire through the two windows of the cottage. The rifles set fire to the straw which had been laid in the rooms to receive the wounded.

The proprietor ran up and begged the Captain to desist; no one could have shot from there, he said, because there was nobody in the cottage. The officer was compelled to admit the truth of this statement, for no one left the burning house. The farmer was permitted to extinguish the flames with the aid of some soldiers, but the fire had attained considerable proportions and he ran great risks. His niece, who had rushed out to get the fire pumps, was brutally repulsed by the soldiers, who cried, "Raus mit dem frechen Frauenzimmer!" ("Get back, you hussy!") The farmer went himself in search of the pumps and succeeded in putting the fire out.

Another villager who had come to help him suddenly saw, to his stupefaction, his wife forced up against a wall in the midst of a group of soldiers. He ran and demanded that she be set free. By way of reply he was immediately arrested—without cause—along with six other inhabitants. One of the latter, of whom the Germans had demanded six loaves of bread and who could furnish only three, was thrown into the gutter and threatened with bayonets. A Captain passing the spot had him bound and taken to Illfurf, where he and the others were liberated.

When the four wounded soldiers were

being carried into the house the proprietor and his family were forced to leave it. They were taken into the fields and there placed under guard by German soldiers, along with many other inhabitants. Eight Frenchmen who had been hiding in Bourzwiller were also taken there. Troops passing them hurled the grossest insults at the prisoners, threatening them with cruel punishments and unanimously demanding their immediate execution. "Kill them, the dogs!" ("Schlagt sie tot, die Hunde!") cried cynical voices on all sides. Two hundred yards away German batteries were firing in the direction of Mülhouse, and the shells, which were flying over their heads, caused inexpressible fear in these peaceful Alsations. Finally, after six hours of this punishment, deliverance came. The Germans marched away to Mülhouse and abandoned the village and its inhabitants.

AN AGONIZING NIGHT

About 8 o'clock in the evening of Aug. 14 a rumor ran like a train of powder through the village, filling the inhabitants with a joy which none tried to conceal: the arrival of the French was expected. But consternation followed when a German officer appeared in the street at the head of a patrol and ordered everybody indoors. Two soldiers went into one house, where wine was given them and their canteens were filled with brandy. Thus abundantly provided with drink, they returned to mount guard in the forest of Bourzwiller—in the direction of Kingersheim. Night came, bringing an agonizing silence. Thick clouds, precursors of a storm, covered the sky.

About 3 o'clock in the morning of Aug. 15 came the first clap of thunder; at the same moment a cannon shot rang out. One inhabitant rose with all his family and went down into the cellar. Through the cellar window he saw the Trantzer tile works in flames, and seven men, deployed in a skirmish line, who were firing on Bourzwiller. Behind the hill on the road to Kingersheim about sixty men were answering the fire of these sharpshooters. At the same time a military truck was arriving from Kingersheim

with soldiers in helmets and dark blue uniforms, belonging to a Württemberg regiment. Near the church in Bourzwiller a patrol of the 136th German Infantry opened fire on the truck and killed a dragoon, an Alsatian native of Ribeauvillé, who was passing on horseback.

Near the church is the house of Benjamin Schott. Awakened by the firing, the proprietor rose and, seeing the storm, went out, lantern in hand, with his farm hands to place under cover his wagons laden with sheaves of wheat. When he heard the bullets whistling he retraced his steps on the run to seek safety for his family and himself in the cellar. The soldiers of the 136th Regiment asserted that he had killed the dragoon; they set fire to his house and made prisoners of him and all his family, consisting of his wife, who was with child, and his five children, the oldest 14 years of age.

These also were arrested: Nick Ignace, with his son and daughter; the widow Schmitt and her children, including a boy of 16, and Jean-Baptiste Biehler, an old man of 95 years. Schott was maltreated, thrown down, then taken with the others to a field a hundred yards from the house. Meanwhile the soldiers were setting fire to his house; in their anger they even hurled the children's savings banks through the windows.

CITIZENS EXECUTED

About 5 in the morning the Germans shot the following named persons before the eyes of their wives and children: Benjamin Schott, Nick Ignace and his 17-year-old son, Schmitt, the 16-year-old son of widow Schmitt; Jean-Baptiste Biehler, who was 95 years old and wore two pairs of spectacles. Seventeen volunteers had been found to execute these five Alsations. Almost at the same time a man named Fritsch, who had come out to see what was happening, was killed on the Kuneyl doorstep at the muzzle of a rifle.

The relatives of those who had just been shot were held under guard in the fields by sentinels. From time to time the soldiers went into the woods and

fired in the direction of the village. Those who remained behind did not hesitate to accuse the Alsations, "that drove of hogs," ("diese Schweinebande!") of firing upon them.

Between the Kingersheim road and the Bernheim and Kuneyl factories the Germans arrested seventy persons and took them to Mülhouse. At their head walked — and his son, who had nothing on but his shirt. His wife, half naked, had to endure the coarse gibes of the soldiers for two hours.

Fifty-six houses were systematically burned. Bourzwiller that morning was nothing but a vast bed of glowing coals. The soldiers went from one house to another and carried out their work of destruction with straw and petroleum, which the inhabitants were compelled to place at their service.

When a villager asked a soldier why they were in such a rage against this innocent community he received the significant reply: "Everybody, innocent or guilty, ought to be stood up against a wall." He and his family were arrested and compelled to look at the bodies of their dead neighbors, then led away to the place where almost all the inhabitants had been herded together—"this drove of hogs," as one officer remarked.

From the forest came rifle shots. Then came the order to take "this band of brigands" to Kingersheim, keeping the civilians on the two sides of the road and the soldiers between them, so that in case of stray bullets the civilians should be the first to be hit. On the way most of them were abandoned and fled in crowds, seeking refuge in the homes of relatives, friends, or acquaintances. This was the end of the Bourzwiller tragedy.

TOLD BY ANOTHER WITNESS

An Alsatian soldier gave the following information regarding the incidents at Bourzwiller:

On Aug. 14 the 1st Battalion of the 136th Regiment of Infantry was at Rixheim. About 2 o'clock in the morning of Aug. 14 we were awakened and sent in the direction of Bourzwiller. A truck that had followed the same route had been fired upon and lost two drivers,

The battalion stopped before the village and captured the café near the tile works about 4 o'clock in the morning.

The soldiers talked of nothing but the Bourzwiller affair. They said that civilians had opened fire on the troops in the night and that they were to be punished at once. The conversation was suddenly interrupted by shots. The battalion ran to their stacked arms and marched on the village, two companies on the right of the road and two on the left. One witness asserts that at the moment when the first battalion entered the village it received a volley from the right. The bullets passed on into the woods without hitting any one. Two groups of the third section, which were marching in the direction of the church, were fired upon from the roof of the tile works. The men took shelter in the ditch by the roadside and opened fire on the factory. Volunteers were sent to set it on fire, and the groups of sharpshooters retired toward the village with the main body of troops, who had entered the forest in order to reach the village under cover. The battalion resumed its advance and began to visit the houses and set fire to them by order of the officers. Straw was piled under the beds and set on fire; at the same time the barns were burned.

CRUEL TREATMENT

The population was assembled and taken into a wood in front of the village; there were men, women, children, very old men, who were not even allowed time to dress. The women, with uplifted hands, implored the soldiers for pity, but the only reply was to threaten them with

bayonets. Men were also dragged away on the charge of having arms in their houses; it seems that a revolver was found in one man's pocket.

Captain Kuehne (3d Company of the 136th) ordered the witness, who had no desire to take part in these scenes of barbarity, to set fire to a house. The man refused, saying that an Alsatian could not do such an act, adding that it had by no means been proved that the citizens had fired on the troops. Kuehne did not insist, and did not molest the soldier. He even remarked to Commandant Trotz von Solz that they were taking a grave responsibility if they executed civilians and burned the village. But the commander insisted on the complete carrying out of his orders.

Five men had been condemned to death on the pretext that they had been found with firearms; these he ordered brought, stood them up in two rows, and had them shot by the men of the 1st Company. The unfortunate Alsations, calm and resigned, looked death courageously in the face; their hands had not been bound or their eyes bandaged. All fell dead at the first volley except one young man of 17 years, who remained standing, and whom two or three soldiers had to finish off. The Major of the 1st Battalion, Captain Derichs of the 1st Company, and Kuehne of the 3d were present at the execution.

The women and children were compelled to pass in front of the bodies, which lay in a pool of blood, in order that the sad spectacle might be engraved deep in their memories.

Narrative of a Citizen of Dalheim

A resident of Dalheim, whose name is withheld, wrote the following in German:

Immediately after the proclamation of a state of siege, Dalheim, a little village in Lorraine, was garrisoned with an infantry company, (the 8th of the 131st Regiment,) which was then replaced by the 3d Battalion of the 23d Bavarian Infantry. On Aug. 18 the village at length drew a long breath. A little after

noon the Bavarians departed, and a few hours later the population welcomed the French Hussars with open arms. Dalheim has had few such happy hours. The Hussars passed the night there, and on the 19th they attacked Morhange.

Unfortunately the brave little band could not hold its own against the Bavarian masses that attacked it on the morning of the 20th. Our 20th Corps had to retire to the hills of Marthil, while

the inhabitants of Dalheim, who were not aware of the situation, remained plunged in their dream of liberation. The wounded made their way to Dalheim, which soon became the centre of small infantry engagements, (evening of Aug. 20.) The resistance was brief and ineffectual; then the Bavarian troops, which in the morning had taken and pillaged Marthil, entered Dalheim and did the same there. Everything was booty for them. They respected nothing. Women and young girls were violated. Nothing escaped the Vandals. There was a reign of terror.

KILLING THE INHABITANTS

At nightfall on Aug. 21 some rifle shots rang out. Immediately the troops, excited by heavy drinking, rushed out of the village, while artillery was placed in position on the Grandes Portions and the Chemin de Bellange, 600 yards east of the village. About three batteries hurled volleys of incendiary shells on the village, which took fire on all sides. And while the people were running madly about, the infantry, excited by alcohol, took the flaming village by assault.

A tailor, Theophile Fristot, was killed by a bullet in the back as he stood in the corridor of his home. Robert Calba, a boy of 15, son of Androphile Calba, was shot at the muzzle of a rifle as he stood before his father's house, and was finished off with bayonet thrusts. An officer killed the old innkeeper, Julien Gézard, with a revolver shot in the back of the neck and ran him through with his sabre. The curate, Prosper Calba, was slashed with a knife and with a sabre; the former Mayor of Dalheim, Louis Sommer, who was ill, perished in the flames. And unfortunately many of our beloved defenders, who had been wounded, suffered the same fate, as the people, despite their devoted efforts, had not succeeded in removing them all from the burning buildings. And those who had been snatched from this danger were dispatched by the victorious Germans. Fourteen were dragged into the vineyards and shot without respite or trial.

Meanwhile the infamous horde was assembling the women and children with

kicks and blows of rifle stocks. To the sound of drums the men were led away to Morhange, where they had to remain until noon of the 22d lying in the water on the parade ground without power to budge. Whoever lifted his head received a blow on the skull with a rifle butt. Jules Fristot died on the way there. François Michel died a little later from meningitis caused by blows. François Paulin is completely paralyzed in the legs as a result of the cruel treatment he received. The same treatment followed the men on their journey to Faulquemont and their railway trip to Deux-Ponts, where they were interned.

While this was going on, the women, girls, and children were chased like wild animals through the vineyards, and the soldiers carried their shameless conduct to the extent of tearing the clothes from the bodies of their victims and leaving them entirely naked. These barbarous acts continued until the next morning. Others amused themselves by burning with torches the houses that had escaped the shells.

GERMAN EXCUSES

In order to give some appearance of judicial sanction to these proceedings the Germans published various interpretations.

First Explanation: "After a rather violent combat the Bavarian troops succeeded, in the forenoon of Aug. 20, 1914, in carrying the hills of Marthil-Bellange; the French retired, passing through Dalheim, and the German troops pursued them energetically beyond the village. As the second reserve column was passing through that locality the curate was asked whether the village had been evacuated by the French. Receiving an affirmative reply, our troops penetrated in compact masses into the village. At the moment when they arrived near the church a volley from the belfry shot down the officers and men at the head of the troops. The belfry was taken by assault and fourteen Frenchmen were captured. Immediate search of the houses resulted in the discovery of a quantity of firearms that showed recent usage. The curate, the schoolmaster—a gun still warm was found in the latter's

bed—and the French soldiers caught in the belfry were shot. The inhabitants involved in the high treason are imprisoned at Deux-Ponts. The military court will determine their fate.”

Second Explanation (as set forth in the indictment): “While the 10th Bavarian Regiment was resting, a man named Paul Becker attacked a territorial from behind, attempting to shoot him with a revolver, while several shots were fired from the windows at our troops.”

Third Explanation (published in the Saarbrück Gazette): “The troops of the ——— battalion of the ——— regiment of Bavarian infantry were camped at the entrance to the village. Some territorials who were going to the village in quest of water were greeted with bullets, quite as much from inhabitants as from French soldiers who had hidden in the church. Investigation has shown that the inhabitants did some of the shooting. A shotgun still warm was found in the bed of the schoolmaster. The curate, the schoolmaster, and fourteen Frenchmen were executed. The village was given over to the soldiers. The men were taken to Deux-Ponts and imprisoned.”

The court-martial at Deux-Ponts in October, 1914, pronounced the inhabitants of Dalheim innocent, establishing the falsity of the accusations; nevertheless, the inhabitants of Dalheim were not liberated until February, 1916. Their imprisonment of nineteen months was aggravated by harsh treatment and innumerable vermin. (Victims: François Bertaigne, a farrier, who died in October, 1914, and several others whose names we do not know.) At Dalheim only two or three houses remain in the lower village and four in the lane called La Cour; all are more or less damaged. In February, 1916, no indemnity had yet been paid to the inhabitants; they had received no grant of funds and no aid.

Another informant, a soldier of the 132d Infantry Regiment, testified:

Bavarian troops, including the 22d Infantry Regiment, had occupied the country around Dalheim at the beginning of August. On the 18th the Bavarian army retired to the Metz-Strassburg line. On the 19th the French advanced,

and on the morning of the 20th came into contact with the enemy. The battle of Morhange was fought, in the course of which the French, being inferior in numbers, had to retire before the Germans, who were concentrated between Morhange and Saarbrück.

In the course of the afternoon this retreating movement passed Dalheim, and when the German reserves stopped back of the village they were fired upon, undoubtedly by Frenchmen hidden in the ravines of the vineyards and in the orchards north of the village. They had intended to enter the village by the “lane of the torrent.” This path crosses the road, on the east of which the Germans had stopped, and ends at the kitchen-garden of the house that bears the number 60.

POLICY OF FRIGHTFULNESS

Hearing the fusillade, the Germans threw themselves upon the inhabitants living near this path and inflicted seven or eight bayonet stabs upon a man named Jules César, aged 39, who lived at No. 59, while the tailor, Theophile Fristot, was dragged from his house and shot without any form of trial. Almost at the same time the German artillery opened fire from the high ground two-thirds of a mile to the northwest of the village, burning several houses. The curate, Prosper Calba, who had declared that the French had left the village, was dragged out of the town and shot by order of the commander. The fowl and cattle along the roads were killed by the soldiers with rifle shots, and this fusillade put their comrades into a rage; the latter believed that the inhabitants had fired from the windows.

A young surveyor offered his services to the Germans to make a house-to-house search. This offer was ignored and several houses were burned. Straw and wood were heaped in the church, and it also was given over to the flames. Later the charred body of the Mayor's father was found in the cellar of the Mayor's home. It was almost impossible to save anything; many cattle and horses perished in the flames. At the Guerber home fourteen head of cattle,

all the pigs, all the fowl, the furniture, and the reserves of hay, wheat, and rye were burned. The draft horses were taken away by the soldiers and the colts left running at large in the fields.

At Quatre-Chemins, in an isolated house, Christophe Baquel, a veteran of the Crimea, and his wife were grievously wounded by projectiles and died a few days later. A young boy, Robert Calba, who, trying to hide himself, was fleeing through the unharvested fields, was killed by a bullet. In their terror the inhabitants took refuge in cellars, awaiting their fate with anguish. About thirty houses were destroyed by fire; likewise the church, whose belfry still stands in spite of the flames. On the morning of the 21st the inhabitants were herded together like animals, forced to hold up their hands, and, with a few exceptions, taken away to Morhange. Then about ten other houses in the quarter known as Lorraine were destroyed by the Teutons. The remaining women and children begged the soldiers to take them to other villages, because the sight of the burning and devastation was unbearable.

On Saturday, Aug. 22, an aged man was walking toward a well near the road to fill a pail with water. At the same instant a military automobile came along and stopped long enough to enable an officer to shoot down the unfortunate man with a revolver.

The sixty-five men who had been arrested on the 21st were taken to the drill ground at Morhange. Some of them had left home in wooden shoes, some in slippers and shirt sleeves, and, owing to terror, had eaten nothing for several days. On the drill ground they were ordered to lie down with their faces toward the sun and were told that before night they would all be shot. However, on higher orders, they were taken with a convoy of French war prisoners to Puttelange, where they were placed in railway cars. On the journey, at Bertrange, Jules Fristol collapsed of inanition and died. His body was thrown over the side of the railway embarkment. In the villages of Lorraine the people offered food to the suffering prisoners, but the Bavarians repulsed them

brutally. In the villages of Germany, on the other hand, the reception of the prisoners by the population was hostile. Stones flew, insults were uttered, pitchforks and canes were brandished to frighten them.

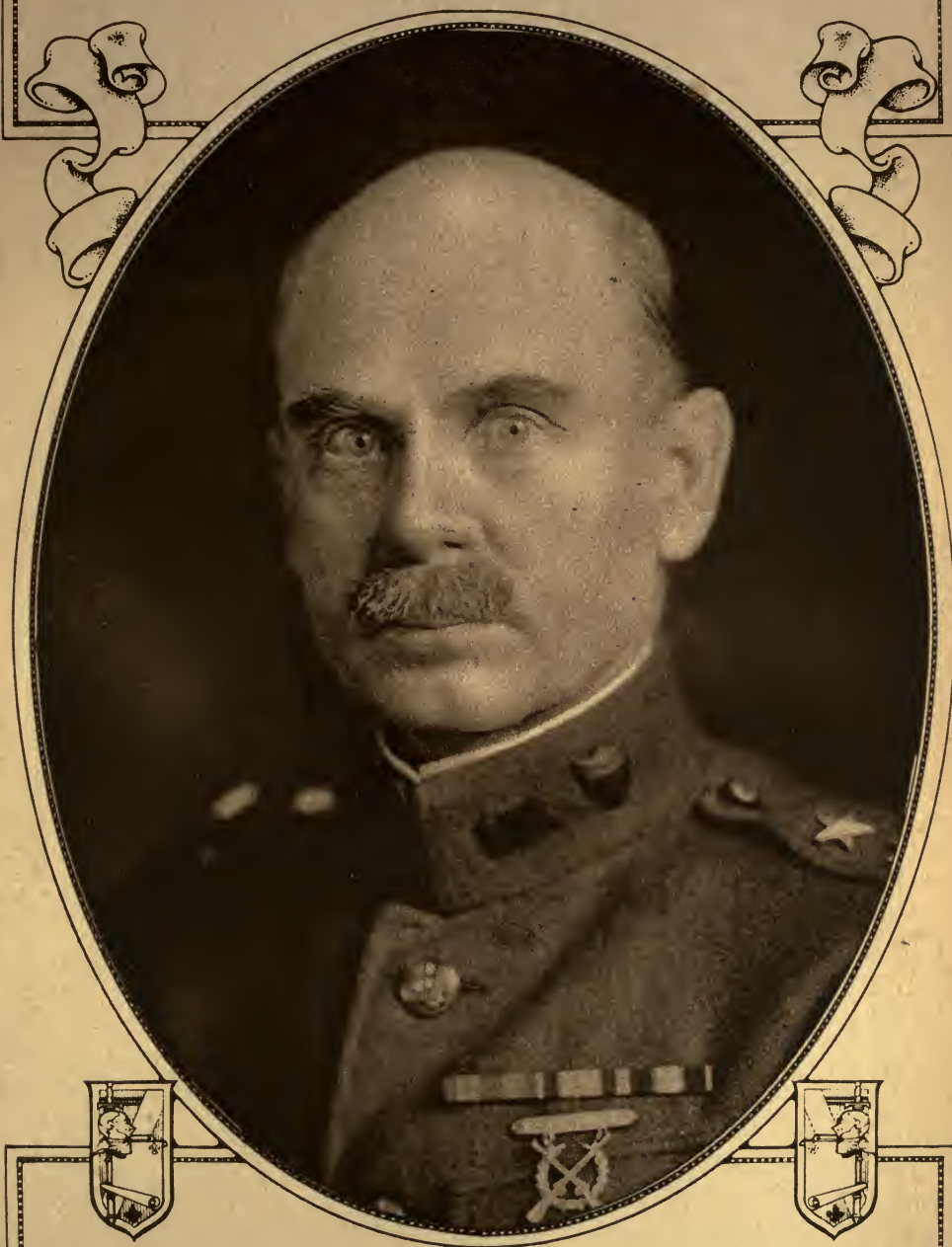
The scenes at Deux-Ponts beggar description. After their many torments the inhabitants of Dalheim were imprisoned in that city. For six weeks their only food was bread and water. Their bed was rotten straw. On Sept. 11 young Paul Becker was condemned to death by court-martial on the pretext that he had fired at a reservist. The sentence was suspended, however, on account of false testimony.

In October the treatment of the prisoners improved. Some old men, the ill and the weak, were set at liberty. Those who were fit for military service were incorporated on Dec. 6, 1914, in the 9th Regiment of Grenadiers, at Stargard, Pomerania, the others were sent home in March, 1916, with the exception of Celestin Becker, the father of the young man mentioned above. He is working in the neighborhood of Kreuzwald.

Most of the crops of 1914 were destroyed by the fire or could not be harvested; the crops of 1915 and 1916 were requisitioned by the military authorities without indemnifying the inhabitants. In 1915 the wronged families received a monthly allowance of 20 to 40 marks as advance payments on the indemnity to be paid by the State. In 1916 a commission composed of the Sub-Prefect of Château-Salins, the Prefect of Lorraine, and several other eminent persons came to Dalheim to see what repairs could be made on houses damaged by the bombardment and fire. Attention was paid only to houses that were still standing; no thought can be given to the reconstruction of buildings in ruins until the conclusion of peace.

The foregoing facts were gathered by the narrator from his mother in Dalheim, from civilian prisoners who had been liberated, and from his brother and his uncle. Besides, in the course of the war he has met several German soldiers who were present at the tragedy of Dalheim.

MAJOR GEN. PETER C. HARRIS



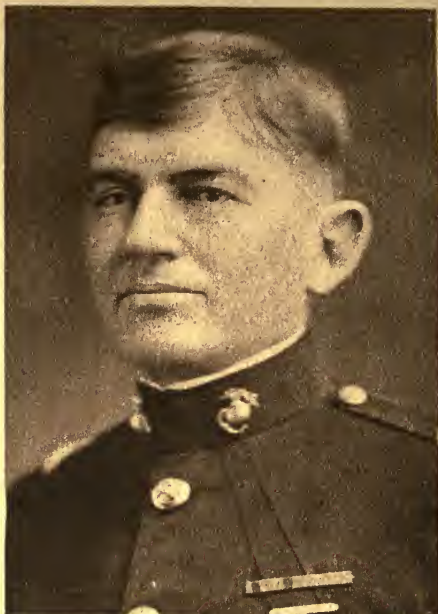
Adjutant General of U. S. Army, Succeeding Major Gen. H. P. McCain

(© Harris & Eving)

NEW AMERICAN MAJOR GENERALS



Major Gen. Guy Carleton
in Service in France



Major Gen. John A. Lejeune
Commanding Marine Corps in France
(Harris & Ewing)

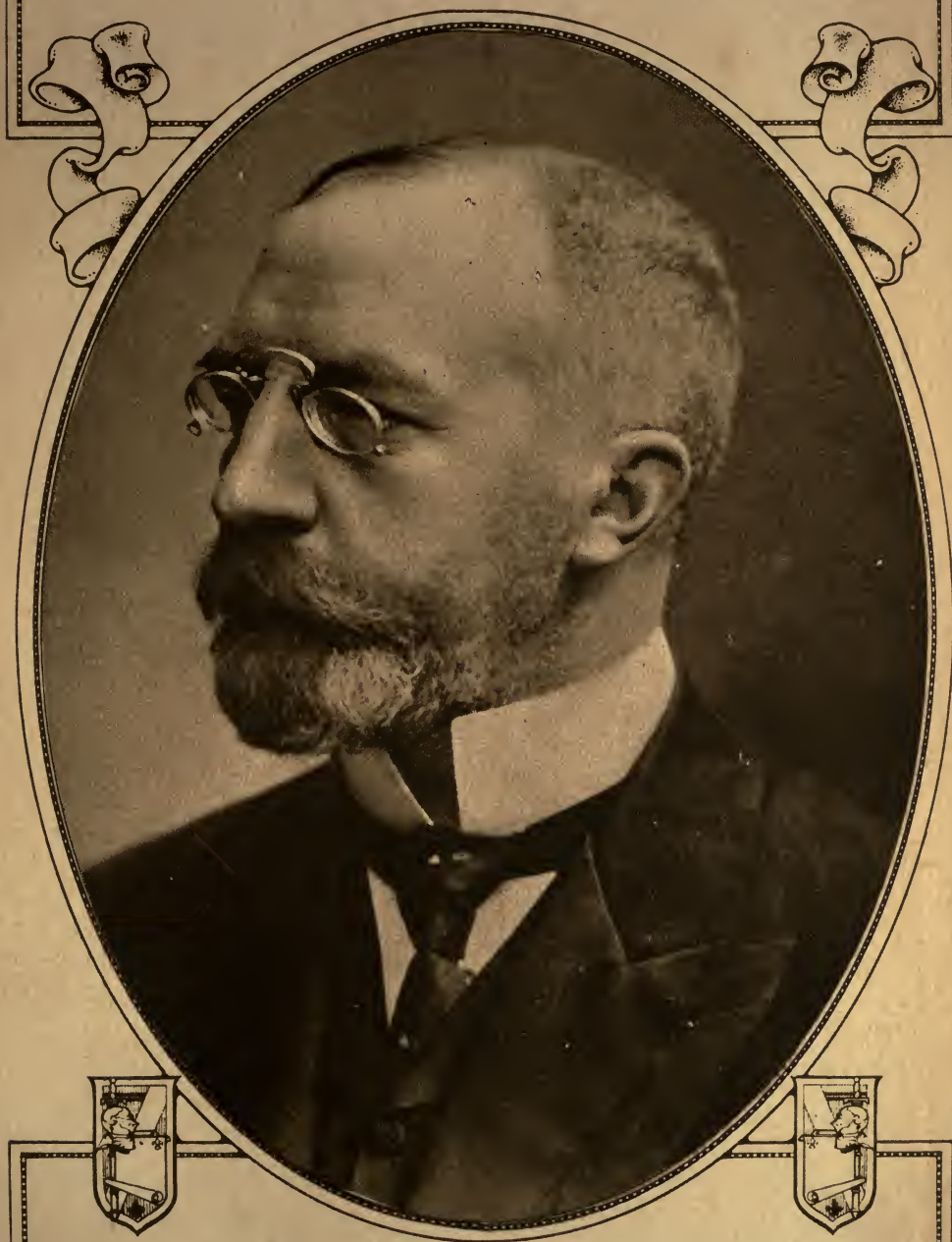


Major Gen. William H. Hay
Formerly Commanding 134th In-
fantry Brigade
(© Harris & Ewing)



Ass't Surgeon Gen. M. W. Ireland
Serving in France
(© Harris & Ewing)

FRIEDRICH EBERT



First German Chancellor After the Abdication of Kaiser Wilhelm II.
(© Central News Service.)

SOME OF THE KAISER'S LEADERS



Dr. W. S. Solf
Imperial Foreign Secretary



Dr. Eduard David
Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs



Philipp Scheidemann
Leader of Moderate Socialists



Lieut. Gen. Groener
Ludendorff's Successor

FIGURES IN GERMAN ARMISTICE



Mathias Erzberger
Head of German Envoys



General H. K. A. von Winterfeld
German Envoy



Major Gen. Weygand
Marshal Foch's Adjutant



Admiral Wemyss
British Admiralty Chief

GERMAN U-BOAT COMMANDERS



Lieut. Capt. von Schröder
Who Sank the Justicia



Lieut. Capt. Schwieger
*Who Sank the Lusitania. Lost with
U-88, Sept. 1917*



Lieut. Capt. Steinbauer
Who Sank the Kingstonian.



Lieut. Capt. M. Valentiner
*Who Sank the Persia and Was Later
Killed*

COUNT MICHAEL KAROLYI



Newly Chosen President of Hungarian National Council

BALKAN AND EASTERN LEADERS



General Jekow
Commander in Chief of the Bulgarian Armies



Major Gen. Townshend
Former British Commander at Kut-el-Amara



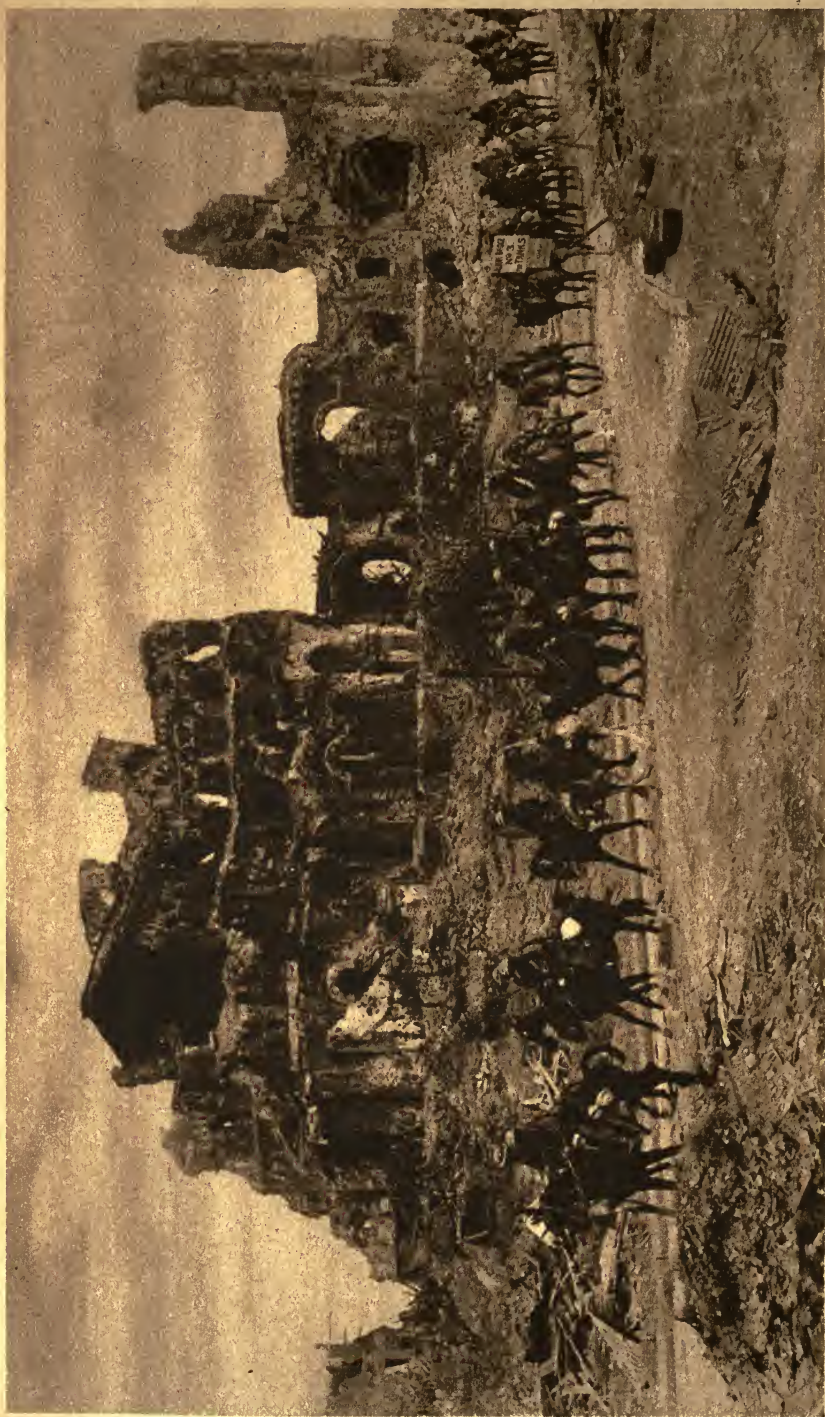
Boris III.
Who Succeeded Ferdinand as Czar of Bulgaria



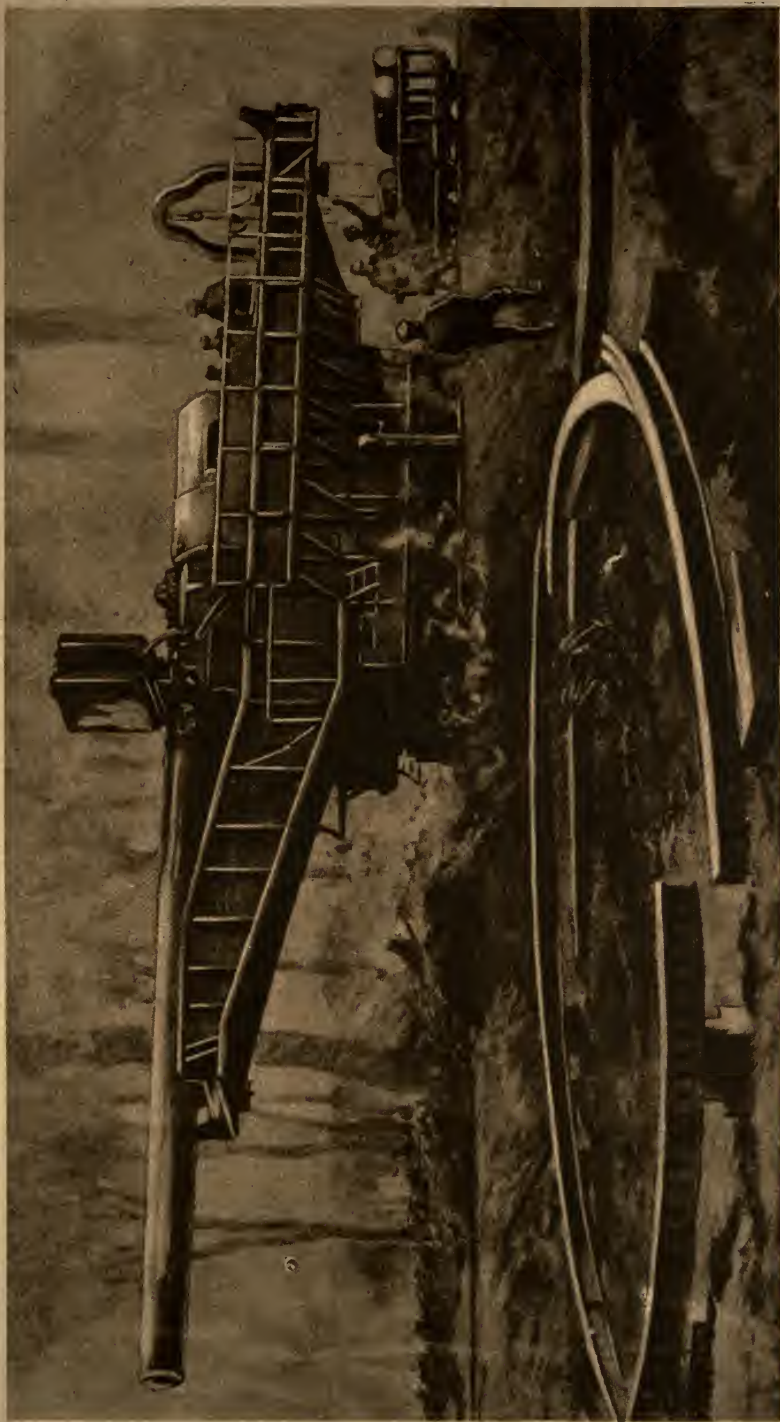
Mohammed VI.
New Sultan of Turkey



WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD—Seated from Left to Right, Are: Rear Admiral F. F. Fletcher; Robert S. Brookings, Chairman Price-Fixing Committee; Bernard N. Baruch, Chairman, and Hugh Frayne, Labor Representative. Standing, from Left to Right: H. P. Ingels, Secretary; Judge E. B. Parker, Priorities Commissioner; George N. Peek, Commissioner of Finished Products; J. Leonard Replogle, Steel Administrator; Alexander Legge, Vice Chairman; Major Gen. George W. Goethals, Army, and Albert C. Ritchie, General Counsel.



Ruins of the Church of Notre Dame des Brebieres, Albert, Formerly One of the Most Stately Structures in France



One of the Mammoth Guns That Shelled Paris from the St. Gobain Forest, 75 Miles Distant. This Picture, Taken from a German Paper, Was Drawn by One of the Gun Crew. The Gun Was 90 Feet Long, and Threw a Projectile of 200 Pounds, Which Rose 20 Miles in the Air and Reached Paris in Three Minutes.



The Street of Sadi Carnot, Béthune, France, showing the Mere Skeletons of Once Beautiful Buildings

(© British Official Photo, from Underwood & Underwood)



The Shattered Church at Ribecourt, on the Oise, After the French Had Recaptured the Town

(© French Official Photo, from Underwood & Underwood).



**A Square in the Ruined Town of Merville, France, the Scene of Some
of the Fiercest Fighting of the War**

(© British Official Photo, from Underwood & Underwood)



**The Railway Line at Albert, France, Half an Hour After the Germans
Had Been Driven from the Town**

(© British Official Photo, from Underwood & Underwood)



**A Procession of Tanks of the New French Type, Small But Swift,
Rushing to the Front Line in Pursuit of the Retreating Germans**

(© French Pictorial Service.)



**Cemetery at St. Mihiel, France, Where German Soldiers Who Died
During German Occupation of the Town Were Buried**

(© French Pictorial Service.)



**The Gun That Fired the First American Shot in the World War, from
the Lorraine Sector, on Oct. 23, 1917**



**French Memorial Society Honoring Graves of American Soldiers Who
Fell at Belleau Wood and Château-Thierry**

GERMAN WAR MAKERS

This is a composite of photographic portraits grouped by an artist. The portraits are those of the Kaiser's most trusted leaders at the beginning of the war. The Kaiser himself is in the foreground. The standing figures are from left to right: General von Rüdow, General von Mackensen, General von Moltke (deceased), Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, General von François, General Ludendorff (resigned), General von Falkenhayn, General von Einem, ex-Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg, General von Heeringen. Seated from left to right are: Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, Duke Albrecht of Württemberg, General von Kluck (deceased), General von Emich (deceased), General von Haeseler, General von Hindenburg, Admiral von Tirpitz (resigned).



The Franco-German Armistice in 1871

Summary of the Peace Terms Exacted From France by Germany Forty-seven Years Ago

By J. W. DUFFIELD

WHEN France sought an armistice from Prussia on Jan. 23, 1871, the nation lay in utter defeat. So complete a débâcle in so short a time had not been known in modern warfare. In six months there had been seventeen great battles and 150 minor engagements. Almost all of these, with the exception of the French initial success at Saarbrück—which had been little more than an outpost skirmish—had resulted victoriously for the invaders. The French had fought bravely, but had been deficient in preparation, equipment, and leadership. Four hundred thousand French soldiers had been made prisoners of war. Incompetence had caused the surrender at Sedan. Incompetence and treachery combined had brought about the capitulation of Metz. Seven thousand cannon and 600,000 small arms had fallen into the hands of the Prussians. The Emperor, Napoleon III., was a prisoner at Wilhelmshöhe. The Empress Eugénie had fled to Chiselhurst. The Prince Imperial had also found asylum on English soil at Hastings. The monarchy had vanished, leaving to its republican successor the task of obtaining what terms it could from the conquerors.

The Third Republic was proclaimed on Sept. 4, the day of the Empress's flight from Paris. Its chief spirit and most potent voice was M. Thiers, eminent as a statesman and historian. Other prominent leaders were Favre, Simon, Gambetta, Trochu, Arago, Ferry, and Rochefort, men of radical or moderate republican antecedents. Most of them had opposed the declaration of war, Thiers especially having been so vehement in his opposition that his house had been mobbed by the war-mad populace. But now that France was threatened with defeat, they were a unit for its defense. Favre, who, by the irony of fate, was

afterward to carry the plea for an armistice to Bismarck, declared on the first day of the new republic that "not one foot of soil, not one stone of a fortress shall be surrendered to Germany." In this he had the unanimous support of his colleagues, and energetic measures were at once taken to put Paris into condition for defense.

SIEGE OF PARIS

But on Sept. 19, exactly two months after the date when war had been declared, the army of Crown Prince Frederick William laid siege to Paris. By himself he would probably not have succeeded, for the city was fairly well provisioned, strongly garrisoned, and the people were determined to resist to the last. But successes in other parts of France released German armies which came to swell the ranks of the besiegers, and the lines tightened around Paris like the folds of a giant anaconda. Nor could the frequent and desperate sorties of the besieged cause the coils to relax.

Other efforts were put forth to save the doomed city and nation. Gambetta, the greatest orator and most flaming spirit of France, escaped from Paris in a balloon and proceeded to Bordeaux, where he put forth herculean efforts to raise new armies. Thiers, in late September and early October, visited London, Vienna, Florence, and St. Petersburg, trying to secure the aid of neutral powers. None cared, however, to intervene. From Oct. 30 to Nov. 6 Thiers under a flag of truce had several interviews with Bismarck. These were more or less of an informal character and ran the gamut from threat to persuasion. To tentative suggestions of a truce Bismarck was deaf. The man of "blood and iron" remained true to his sobriquet. It was either fight or surrender.

In the meantime, conditions in Paris had become desperate. The inhabitants were on the verge of starvation. Rats, cats, dogs, horses, even the animals in the Zoo had been eaten. No help or supplies could reach them from without. Ammunition was failing, and the soldiers, faint with hunger and exposure, had scarcely enough strength left to carry their weapons. One last despairing sortie was made and failed. The end had come.

NEGOTIATING WITH BISMARCK

On Jan. 23, 1871, invested with authority by the Government of National Defense to act as its representative, Jules Favre visited Bismarck at Versailles to secure if possible an armistice. The Chancellor had been notified of his purpose and was awaiting him.

In the duel of wits that ensued, the combatants were unequally matched. Favre had little or nothing to bargain with; besides, having been shut up in Paris, he knew little of actual conditions in other parts of France. Bismarck's knowledge was circumstantial and exact. Favre was in the position of a card player whose opponent holds all the trumps.

In strict keeping with the traditions of the old diplomacy, the conference began with each statesman trying to hoodwink his opponent. Favre declared that Paris had provisions enough to last six months. Bismarck countered with the statement that he had already begun negotiations with the imperial family. Neither believed the other.

Favre warned Bismarck that the garrison of Paris were going to make a sortie in overwhelming force, and that Bismarck, if he were obdurate, would have to bear the responsibility for the bloodshed that would ensue. Bismarck smilingly accepted the responsibility.

After this preliminary fencing, a serious discussion ensued, a discussion involving so many important points that repeated conferences were necessary for six days before they were finally adjusted.

A difference in point of view was developed at the outset. Favre sought simply an armistice, a cessation of actual

fighting for a space, during which, or after which, the question of final peace terms could be brought up if desired. Bismarck wanted to have peace conditions woven in with the terms of the armistice. Favre, moreover, had only Paris in view, as regarded the armistice; the fighting could go on in other parts of France. Bismarck would hear of no terms that did not include the whole nation.

Another point concerning which Bismarck and Emperor William were genuinely perplexed was the authority of the French Government as then constituted to make any peace that would endure. It was true that the monarchy had vanished; but there was no guarantee that it might not be restored. The Third Republic, which had come into being on Sept. 4 and had had its headquarters at Bordeaux during the latter part of the year, was self-proclaimed. It had no mandate from the nation. It might at any time be challenged and overthrown. It carried in itself no certainty of stability.

The objection was justifiable, though there is no doubt that it was emphasized by the unwillingness of the Hohenzollern dynasty to deal with a republic. It was overcome, however, by the agreement of Bismarck that it would not be allowed to stand in the way of an armistice, provided that a National Assembly should be elected that might be regarded as expressing the will of the nation and be qualified to settle the terms of a treaty of peace, if peace should be ultimately decided upon.

As to whether the armistice should include Paris alone or all of France, a compromise was effected. Belfort, in the east of France, was one of the places where the French forces were holding out with a fair prospect of success. Bismarck demanded that the fortress be surrendered. Favre insisted that this should be excluded from the zone of the armistice. He also insisted that if the German General, Werder, were allowed to continue the siege, the French General, Bourbaki, who was preparing to go to the relief of the fortress, should be permitted to continue his operations. After

considerable debate this zone of warfare was excepted from the operation of the proposed armistice, in the following terms:

The military operations in the territory of the Department of Doubs, Jura, and Côte d'Or, as well as the siege of Belfort, shall continue independently of the armistice until an agreement shall be arrived at regarding the line of demarkation, the tracing of which through the three departments has been reserved for an ulterior understanding.

SIGNING THE ARMISTICE

The conditions ultimately arrived at as regarded the French capital were that the soldiers in Paris were to be made prisoners of war but were not to be removed from the city. All were to be disarmed, with the exception of a remnant who were to act as a police force. The artillery of the forts protecting Paris was to be dismounted and the forts themselves were to be garrisoned by Germans. All material of war in them was to be surrendered.

As soon as these conditions should be fulfilled, the Germans were to permit food to enter the city. It was agreed that the German troops as a body should not enter Paris while the armistice was in force. The date of the expiration of the armistice was set at Feb. 19, at noon. This, it was calculated, would afford sufficient time for the election of a National Assembly, which should decide whether the war should go on or negotiations for peace be inaugurated.

At 8 P. M. on Jan. 28, 1871, the armistice which had been signed earlier that same day became effective; the Germans were ordered to stop firing, and Favre, on the order of the Council of National Defense, telegraphed to Gambetta at Bordeaux: "We have signed an armistice. See that it is executed everywhere."

Steps were immediately taken for a national election. There was but one issue—that of peace or war. An overwhelming majority was returned in favor of peace. When the Assembly convened at Bordeaux on Feb. 17, Thiers was appointed Chief of Executive Power and authorized to open negotiations looking toward peace. He chose a Ministry

and repaired at once to Versailles. The armistice had almost expired, but an extension to March 12 was granted, Bismarck exacting, however, as a compensation for this concession, that the German troops should make a triumphal entry into Paris. In the interim, the mooted question of Belfort had been settled by the course of events.

Bourbaki, moving to the relief of the city, had been attacked and badly defeated. In the battles of Jan. 15-17 he lost 10,000 men, and in the retreat that followed on the 27th his remaining army of 85,000 men was forced over the Swiss boundary, disarmed and interned. Bourbaki attempted to commit suicide. Belfort itself, a few days later, deprived of hope of succor, surrendered to the Germans.

It had been expected by the French plenipotentiaries that the German demands in the peace preliminaries would be severe. But they were staggered when they learned that France would be required to cede the greater part of Alsace and Lorraine and pay an indemnity of six milliards of francs. The French delegates protested vehemently and indignantly. The provinces, they said, were among the fairest of France, and to take them would be striking at the nation's heart. The 6,000,000,000 francs were an indemnity unheard of and not to be considered. It was pointed out that 2,000,000,000 were sufficient to pay the expenses that Germany had incurred. For several days the protests and arguments continued, but Bismarck was inexorable in the main, although he finally conceded that Belfort should remain French and that the six milliards should be reduced to five, equivalent to about \$1,000,000,000. The sum was to be paid in installments covering a period of four years. Until the amount was fully paid the Germans were to occupy stipulated French zones and fortresses.

PEACE TREATY TERMS

The chief provisions of the preliminary peace treaty of Versailles finally arrived at were as follows:

I.—France was to cede to Germany all of Alsace except Belfort, and to cede

one-fifth part of Lorraine, including Metz and Thionville.

II.—Five milliards of francs were to be paid as an indemnity. Of this amount, 1,000,000 was to be paid in 1871, and the balance in installments extending over three years. Interest was to be paid at the rate of 5 per cent. on all unpaid installments, dating from the signing of the treaty.

III.—German troops were to begin the evacuation of France as soon as the treaty was ratified. The region of Paris was to be evacuated at once. As security for payment, certain zones of French territory, together with border fortresses, were to remain in German occupation, these zones to be evacuated one after the other as the installments were paid.

IV.—There were to be no requisitions in the occupied territory, but the German armies there stationed were to be maintained at French expense.

V.—The inhabitants of the annexed territories could choose where they wished to live, and no hindrances would be placed in the way of their migration.

VI.—Prisoners of war were to be set at liberty immediately.

VII.—Negotiations for a final treaty were to be opened after the ratification of the preliminary treaty.

VIII.—The administration of occupied territories was to be carried on in general by French local authorities, subject, however, to German military control.

IX.—The treaty was to confer no rights whatever on Germans in French territory not occupied.

X.—The treaty must be ratified by the National Assembly of France.

GERMAN ARMY IN PARIS

On Feb. 26 this preliminary treaty was signed. It was conveyed at once by Thiers to the French National Assembly, sitting at Bordeaux. Although the harshness of the terms was deplored and denounced, the prostrate condition of France left no alternative, and the treaty was ratified on March 2 by a vote of 546 to 107.

On March 1 the German Army entered Paris, German arms were stacked in the Place de la Concorde and the Elysées

Palace was ablaze with light as the German high command held festival. After remaining one day, they marched out again, and on March 12 Versailles was evacuated and the National Assembly transferred its sittings to that city.

Peace with the invader had become a *fait accompli* and only awaited formal consummation at the final peace conference, which was to be held at Frankfurt in May. The interval was a sorry one, for in that period the Commune filled Paris with bloodshed and outrage. That wild time of excesses—which were finally suppressed by the National Assembly—had no bearing on the peace negotiations, except that it again gave rise to some questioning on the part of Germany as to the stability of the Government with which it was dealing. This matter, however, was satisfactorily adjusted, and by the final treaty of peace, signed in Frankfurt on May 10, 1871, the Franco-Prussian war came formally to an end. The final treaty differed in no essential respect from the treaty of Versailles.

The payment of the indemnity was made in advance of the scheduled dates. By the end of 1873 the last franc had been paid and the last soldier of the German army of occupation had left French soil.

ALSACE AND LORRAINE

The demand for Alsace-Lorraine was the one unforgivable thing that rankled in the bosom of France. Thiers voiced the general sentiment of the world, outside of Germany, when he said: "It is 'one of those monuments of a human weakness which does not know how to stop in success, and which, perpetuating in peace the passions of war, deposits fresh germs of hostility, even in the treaties destined to bring it to an end.'"

When the National Assembly at Bordeaux ratified the Treaty of Versailles the representatives of the alienated provinces drew up and presented to the Assembly a formal protest, known to history as the Declaration of Bordeaux. Its concluding paragraphs are as follows:

In brief, Alsace and Lorraine protest highly against all cession; France cannot consent to it, Europe cannot sanction it.

In support of this we call upon our

fellow-citizens of France, and upon the Governments and nations of the whole world, to witness that in advance we hold null and void all acts and treaties, votes or plébiscites, which shall consent to abandoning to the stranger all or part of our provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

We proclaim by these presents forever inviolable the right of citizens of Alsace and Lorraine to remain members of the French Nation, and we swear, both for ourselves and for those we represent, likewise for our children and their descendants, to claim it eternally by all ways and means and against all usurers.*

Bismarck himself declared cynically to France's first envoy to Germany after the war that he knew perfectly well that

*The Declaration of Bordeaux was printed in full in *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* August, 1917.

he had no right to take Alsace and Lorraine, which were bound to be a source of trouble to Germany. "If this were a 'permanent peace,' he went on, 'we would not have done it; but there is 'going to be another war, and then Germany will need those provinces for 'strategic purposes.'"

"The whirligig of time brings its revenges," and there is a dramatic element in the fact that in the very building at Versailles where Thiers and Favre besought an armistice for France, the Interallied War Council in November, 1918, framed the terms of an armistice to be imposed upon the autocracy that had sought to humble and dominate the world.

The War in Its Last Phases

Germany, Deserted by Her Allies, Keeps Her Shattered Armies Fighting in Retreat to the End

[Period from Oct. 18 to Nov. 11, 1918.]

THE concluding phases of the great war on the western front were naturally influenced by the surrender of Turkey and Austria-Hungary, which followed that of Bulgaria, already recorded; also by the political events which were taking place in the countries of the enemy, and by the exchange of diplomatic notes between them and the Entente leaders, both political and military.

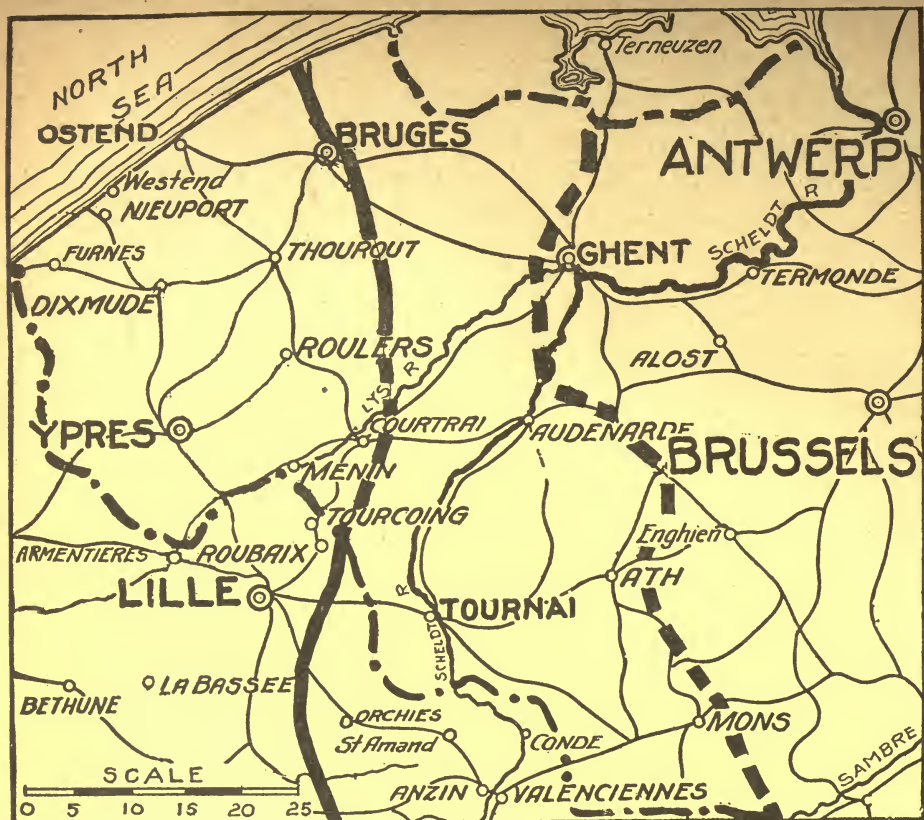
Ludendorff's and then General von Lossberg's retreat tactics, pitted against the consummate strategy of Foch and the hammer-like blows of Pershing, form a sequel to the events set forth last month. There was a continuation of the two great flank movements—that begun in Champagne on Sept. 26 and that in Flanders two days later, the former prosecuted against formidable opposition and the latter practically a march of occupation with merely rear-guard and machine-gun interference.

As a background for the rapidly moving scenes there should be constantly

kept in mind this geographical picture: South of the movement from west to east in Flanders there were on Oct. 18 two enemy salients, one between the Scheldt and the Oise, the other between Le Cateau and Rethel, on the Aisne. They had little influence on the movements in Flanders, but a tremendous influence on the movements of Gouraud and the First American Army in Champagne and Argonne and the Meuse region, retarding their advance and enabling the Germans to oppose that advance with great desperation, if not with vigor and skill.

I. CLEARING UP BELGIUM

The work since Oct. 18 of following up the Germans in Belgium, where Crown Prince Rupprecht was reported to have again superseded von Boehn, devolved principally upon the Belgians under King Albert, the French army under Degoutte, and the British Second, Fifth, First, and Third Armies under respectively Plumer, Birdwood, Horne, and Byng. With the



LAST BRITISH AND BELGIAN ADVANCE IN THE NORTH: THE TWO BATTLELINES INDICATE THE PROGRESS MADE FROM OCT. 18 TO NOV. 11 WHEN THE FIGHTING CEASED UNDER THE ARMISTICE TERMS.

close of the last review the line had extended from Zeebrugge on the coast, southeast of Bruges, on Courtrai, east of Roubaix, Lille, Douai, and Cambrai. The objective of these armies, whether in Belgium or France, was to reach as soon as possible the line of the Scheldt River, where it was known the enemy was constructing formidable fortifications.

In relation to the line as far as Metz, it was a flank attack just as that conducted by Gouraud and Pershing in Champagne and the Argonne at the other end. But here there was not the formidable resistance with which the Americans met 150 miles to the southeast. Here there was an organized retreat on the part of the enemy conducted with great rapidity; there he yielded only after the most stubborn resistance.

By Oct. 20 the Belgian infantry had occupied Ostend and Bruges and had over-

come severe machine-gun resistance, which had been maintained between Whnghen and Thielt. The Second British Army, in the terrain south of the Lys, had crossed the Courtrai-Mouscron railway, and had gone four miles beyond the road toward Brussels. The coast of the Dutch frontier had been cleared.

In the five following days the Belgians and French made an attack on the Lys Canal toward Ghent, crossing the canal and taking 11,000 prisoners. The First British Army between Valenciennes and Tournai took Bruay, Bleharies, and Estain, and then pushed on through Raismes Forest into the Condé loop of the Scheldt. Further south the Third Army gained an eight-mile stretch on the Valenciennes-Avesnes railway.

From the 20th to the 30th of October there were marches and consolidations of lines and positions and a skirting of

the Dutch frontier to the east, then on the 31st another big slice of important territory was torn from the enemy on a fifteen-mile front between the Deynze on the Lys and Avelghem on the Scheldt. In this operation the American 30th Division was still bracketed with Byng's Third Army. Numerous towns and villages were thus released—Pergwyk, Tiergheim, Anseghem, and Winterken.

On Oct. 31 the Second British Army, in co-operation with the French and Belgians, drove the enemy toward Audenarde on the line of the Scheldt—Audenarde, the town fourteen miles south-southwest of Ghent, where, in 1708, Prince Eugene of Savoy and Marlborough defeated the French under Vendôme.

On Nov. 3 the Belgian Army made nearly ten miles along the Dutch frontier, and its front passed east of Ertvelde and Everghem, reaching the Terneuzen Canal, practically liberating the entire region as far as this waterway. The British also succeeded in moving detachments to the right bank of the Scheldt in the region of Pofter. These movements brought the Allies to within five miles of Ghent.

II. CROSSING BELGIUM

The advance of the allied front from beyond Cambrai and St. Quentin had for central figure Rawlinson with the Fourth British Army; on his left were the 30th and later the 27th Division of the 2d Corps of the American Army; on his right was the First French Army under Debeney. Their objectives were the railway junction at Valenciennes, the fortress of Maubeuge, and the fortified camp at Hirson, all south of the Franco-Belgian frontier. Before the armistice went into effect they were beyond the frontier at several points, so that their front presented an almost right angle with the line of the Belgian, French, and British armies on their left.

In the early hours of Oct. 20 the British attacked the enemy's positions on the line of the Selle River north of Le Cateau and succeeded in crossing the river and, further north, in reaching, in spite of the increasing resistance of the enemy, the line Haveluy-Wandignies-

Hagage-Brillon-Beuvry. Two days later they pressed forward on a twenty-five-mile front, extending from Pont-à-Chin (northwest of Tournai) to Thiant, (southwest of Valenciennes.) They won ground beyond the Scheldt, and their patrols reached the suburbs of Valenciennes. The next day the Fourth Army swung south of the town. The American 30th and 27th Divisions notably contributed to this manoeuvre of the Fourth Army, particularly on the 25th, when it reached Le Quesnoy-Valenciennes railway on a front of six or seven miles and took over 3,000 German prisoners. On this date the line of the Scheldt formed a continuous front as far south as the Sambre, but the railway was still free for the Germans from Le Quesnoy as far as Hirson, thirty miles to the southeast.

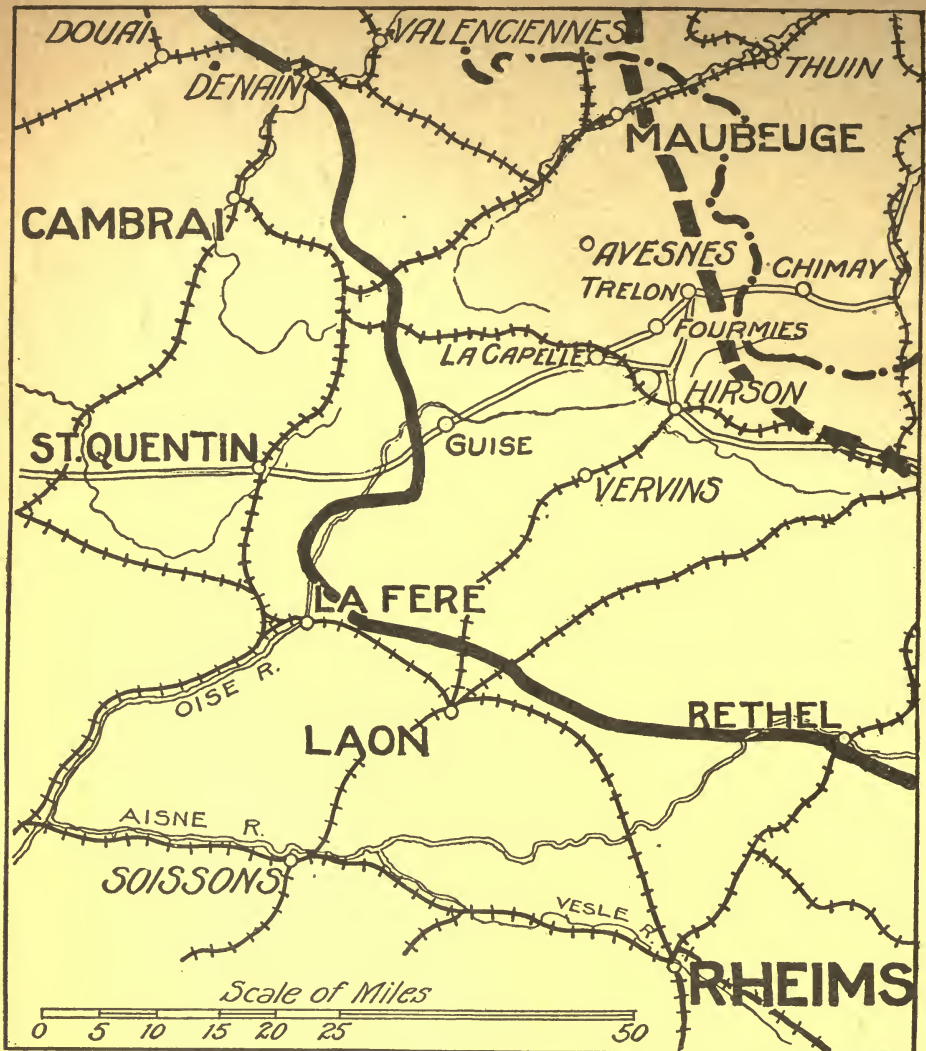
Then on Nov. 1 the British began to put the pincers on Valenciennes, in which the Canadians captured between 2,000 and 3,000 prisoners, in spite of spirited counterattacks on the high ground west of the Preseau-Valenciennes road.

The next day the Canadian troops, under General Currie, entered the city and even went beyond to St. Saulve on the road to Mons, the scene of the British defeat in the last week in August, 1914. Valenciennes had been occupied by the Germans since the 27th of August, 1914.

On Nov. 4 the British armies were engaged on a thirty-mile front between the Scheldt and the Oise-Sambre Canal. It was an advance for the First, Third, and Fourth Armies with the two American divisions. They captured 10,000 prisoners and 200 guns, and many places, including Landrecies (south of the Mormal Forest) and Catillon, and carried their front more than three miles east of the Oise-Sambre Canal.

Simultaneous with this movement the First French Army, under Debeney, forced a passage of the canal to an average depth of two miles, taking 3,000 prisoners and 15 guns and releasing several villages.

From the front thus established daily advances were made until the fighting ended, first forcing the enemy to retreat



SCENE OF LAST FIGHTING IN CENTRAL SECTOR, FROM VALENCIENNES TO RETHEL. THE TWO BATTLELINES SHOW PROGRESS MADE BETWEEN OCT. 18 AND NOV. 11, WHEN THE FIGHTING CEASED.

on a seventy-five-mile line from the Scheldt to the Aisne and then as far up the Aisne to Gouraud's advanced position at Reims, thus trespassing upon the sectors whose events are now to be recorded.

III. THE OISE-AISNE FRONT

From the Oise-Aisne front as it was on Oct. 18 the greatest distance to be traversed to the frontier lay before the Tenth French Army under Mangin, with Debeney on his left and Berthelot, with

whom the Italians under Marrone were bracketed, and Gouraud on his right. His objective was to reach the frontier between Hirson and Mézières. Before hostilities ceased he had captured Hirson and had penetrated over the border.

Mangin, having captured Laon and broken the German hold on La Fère, pressed rapidly forward between the Oise and the Aisne and soon caught up with Gouraud's advance from the south across the latter river. On the right of Mangin his flank was cleared by the

Czechoslovak forces recapturing the village of Terron, north of Vouziers, on Oct. 24. On the same day the French crossed the Oise Canal opposite Longchamps, southeast of Le Cateau, and came within two miles of the strong German positions at Guise. This was a movement which greatly relieved General Debeney's First Army, which had been held up by stout German resistance between Mont d'Origny and the Serre Valley. Debeney's late advance carried suddenly ahead of Mangin when he reached the heights overlooking the valley of the Péron and the line east of Ribemont.

On Oct. 25 a formidable advance was made by the French which pierced the Hunding line. Mangin, holding the centre, took Mortiers, on the south bank of the Serre. On his left was General Guillaumat, who advanced on a four-mile sector between Sissonne and the Aisne, while still further on his left Debeney made a raid with tanks between the Oise and the Serre. The climax of the advance was Guillaumat's attack over the Hunding positions between St. Quentin-Le Petit and Herpy, west of Château-Porcien, on the Aisne.

Henceforth Debeney was to act in concert with Mangin rather than with Rawlinson. By the end of October he had driven beyond the Oise, forced the Péron River, and taken Bois-les-Pargny. He and Mangin kept the flank well harassed when the Germans began their great retreat from the Scheldt to the Aisne, reaching on Nov. 7 the railway between La Capelle and Hirson on the general line Effry and Origny-en-Thierache, and further east along the Thon, an affluent of the Oise, as far as Leuze.

On Nov. 8 the French reached the outskirts of Mézières, took the Thon bridge-heads, and were almost within striking distance of Hirson and Maubeuge. They held the southern bank of the Meuse from near Mézières to near Bazeilles. The next day Maubeuge fell to Rawlinson's army; French cavalry passed through Hirson on their way over the Belgian frontier, and Mézières was closely invested.

IV.—AISNE-MEUSE FRONT

In continuing their fight toward the frontier the Franco-American advance lay over the Aisne-Meuse watershed. Theoretically these two rivers, with the Germans fortified on the right banks, presented formidable obstacles if the object were frontal attacks. But the fact that both descended from within the allied lines gave both the Fourth French Army under Gouraud and the First American Army a singular advantage. What the Americans had done in the preceding month on the Aire in clearing the Argonne Forest and the French had measurably performed in regard to the Aisne the Americans were to accomplish, even more effectually, in regard to the Meuse. Advancing astride of the river until encountering formidable resistance on the right bank, they would then form a bridgehead several miles down stream and thus enfilade the enemy between, always avoiding a costly frontal attack across stream. When the end came the Franco-American line was within five miles of the frontier, having gone beyond Sedan, invested Montmédy, and occupied a front southeast to Pagny, eight miles above Metz on the Moselle, via Stenay, Baalon, Damvillers, and St. Hilaire, facing the most famous battlegrounds of 1870 in Lorraine and the great iron fields of the Bassin de Briey, without which Germany could not have prosecuted the late war for three months.

When last month's review closed on Oct. 18 the situation presented by the fronts of Gouraud's Fourth Army and the First American Army was as follows: On the left the Germans still retained a salient from Rethel northwest to Le Cateau which Debeney and Mangin were to smash in; Gouraud had been held in his descent of the Aisne at Vouziers, twenty-five miles south of Mézières. From Vouziers his line fell south of the river until Rethel was reached with a maximum distance of five miles south of Attigny. On his right the Americans, over a fifty-mile front almost due east over the Meuse, were in the centre three miles south of Buzancy and on the Meuse right wing ten miles south of Stenay. The next day the Germans re-



OLDBATTLELINE —●—●— NOV.3 —●— NOV.4 ●●● NOV.7 —●— NOV.11. —●—

SCENE OF THE BATTLE OF THE MEUSE, IN WHICH THE AMERICAN FIRST ARMY TOOK SEDAN, WITH THE SUPPORT OF GENERAL GOURAUD'S FORCES ON THE LEFT.

treated before the American centre to the Freya Stellung, a couple of miles behind the Kriemhilde line, already pierced by the Americans. This Freya line crossed the Meuse south of Dun, climbed Hill 26, and ran north of the Andon Valley, Bantheville, and thence west to the Bois Bourgogne. It was the last protection for the great trunk railway which ran parallel to it on the average of ten miles to the north—from Mézières to Metz, via Sedan, and Montmédy. This railway with its lateral lines had supplied the entire enemy front from Rheims east to the Moselle.

Here the great closing battle of the war was fought. Down to Oct. 26 the Americans fought fiercely to reach the last German line of defense. Having reached it, it then became their business to render the great railway inoperative. This they also did. Meanwhile, the French on their left did little until Nov. 1, being hampered, in their turn, by the operations which were obliterating the German salient, Le Cateau-Rethel.

On Oct. 19-20 the First American Army forged ahead on the northern edge of Bantheville Forest and in the region of Bourrot, capturing a few hundred

Germans, but meeting at every point an ever-stiffening resistance. The next day they occupied Briellules and the Bois de Foret and lost and won Bantheville several times. Then on the 23d they broke through the Freya defenses on a two-mile front, which they broadened until the 26th, when they brought up their huge sixteen-inch naval guns, and the bombardment of the railway began. This bombardment was aided by numerous air squadrons, which dropped bombs upon the enemy's troop centres. The fire was principally concentrated on the line between Sedan and Montmédy. Ancreville Ridge was captured on Oct. 30, and the way was open to Sedan and the frontier.

Then on Nov. 1 Gouraud's front was again in movement, and swept across the Aisne, where it had been held between Vouziers and Rethel on a twelve-and-a-half-mile line, but meeting with violent resistance on the Alleux Plateau and the Croix-aux-Bois defile. The next day the Freya defenses for almost their entire length fell into the hands of the Americans. The enemy's line had here been weakened by the withdrawal of five Austrian divisions. By the 4th observers reported that the railway line had been

completely shattered at Montmédy and Conflans. This was a crowning success, for in attempting to keep this railway intact the enemy had sacrificed over 100,000 men.

Then, down to the time the last shot was fired, the American advance observed two distinct directions: one was an expansion of the centre, which cut through the Sedan line and occupied that city on Nov. 6; the other concerned the descent of the Meuse from the positions north of Verdun with a consolidation of the line southeast across the Woevre to the Moselle. Here the heights of the Woevre were captured and the forts of Metz brought within easy range of the great American naval guns, which, however, were not employed.

When hostilities ceased the whole situation forecast two great events which were never to take place: the reduction of the Metz forts and the advance of the Second American and French armies into Lorraine over the battlefield made famous by Castelnau in the early days of the war.

ITALY'S GREAT VICTORY

In the story which recorded the last efforts of Germany to bring to a successful conclusion her highly organized retreat in France and Belgium, what was taking place in Italy hardly received its proportional attention—there had been so many stories to the effect that, on account of the internal political situation in each country, both the Italian and the Austro-Hungarian military authorities were content to let the war be settled on the western front. The deciding factor, however, that the Italian Army was waiting on the orders of Foch, was quite forgotten. Ever since April Foch had been in supreme command and the Italian Army had been the right wing of the great army of the Allies which extended from the North Sea to the Adriatic—just as the Austrian Army in Italy had been the left wing of the enemy covering the same battlefield under the supreme command of Ludendorff.

In anticipation of the drive beyond the Marne which was to seal Germany's fate on July 18, Ludendorff ordered an attack of the Austrian Army from the Asiago,

Grappa, and Piave positions which had been secured by the defeat of the Italians at Caporetto in the previous October. The attack was made on June 15-16, and on June 25-26 was so powerfully counter-attacked by the Italians directed by General Diaz as to be rendered abortive. The Italians secured certain strong positions in the mountains and cleared the entire Piave right bank of the enemy, who, however, still clung to some river islands below Il Montello.

Between the last week in August and the middle of October Diaz gained several more strategic positions, principally in the mountains, and then on Oct. 19 Foch ordered him to attack. It was a most propitious moment for victory. In Belgium and France the German retreat had assumed proportions which precluded a stand west of the Meuse. In Austria-Hungary the defeat in June as well as political turmoil amid the subject peoples had had a depressing effect upon the heterogeneous armies of Emperor Charles. Bulgaria had surrendered to the Allies and Turkey was trying to do so.

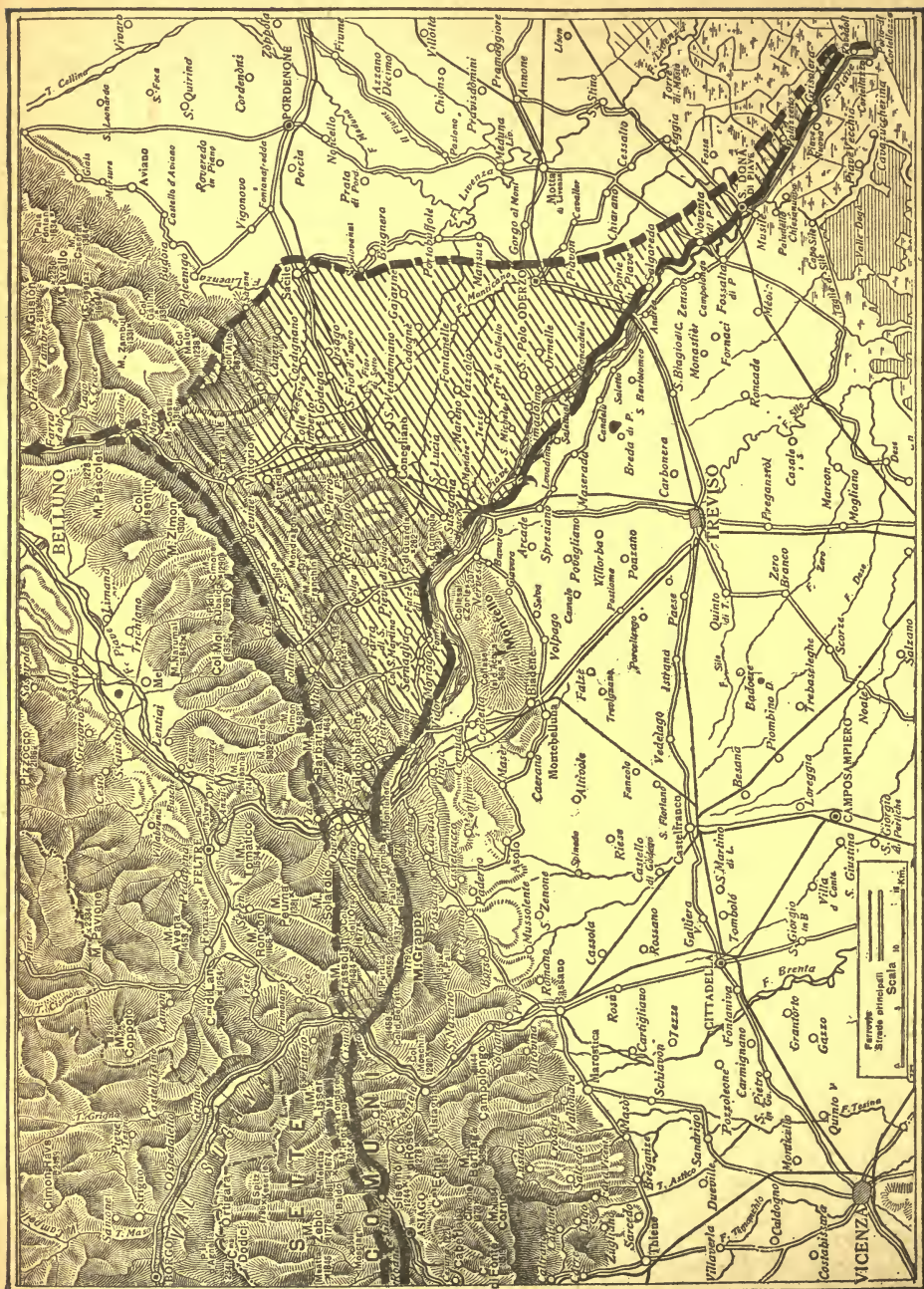
By Oct. 24 the great Italian offensive was well under way. Between that date and Nov. 4, when the terms of the armistice went into effect at 3 P. M., Diaz captured 300,000 prisoners and 5,000 guns, and the utter annihilation of the entire military forces of Emperor Charles was in sight.

In this gigantic battle, begun on the first anniversary of Caporetto, fifty-one Italian divisions, three British, two French, and one Czechoslovak division and one American regiment participated against sixty-three Austro-Hungarian divisions. The battle divides itself into two great tactical movements:

First, the daring and rapid advance of the Italian 29th Army Corps closed up the enemy's forces in the Trentino; there these forces west and east of the Adige were separately attacked and defeated by the Seventh, First, and Fourth Italian Armies. Second, this manoeuvre enabled the assault from the Brenta down the Piave to the sea to be pressed forward without fear of a flanking movement on the part of the enemy. The forward movement was made by the

Italy's Final Victory

SCENE OF THE
SECOND BATTLE OF
THE PLAVE: THE
SOLID BLACK LINE
SHOWS THE BAT-
TLEFRONTS OF OCT.
24 AND THE
BROKEN LINE
MARKS THE PO-
SITION OF THE
ITALIAN FORCES AT
THE TIME OF THE
AUSTRIAN DEBACLE
ON NOV. 3, WHEN
THE AUSTRO-ITAL-
IAN ARMISTICE WAS
SIGNED.



Twelfth and Eighth Armies, by the Tenth, under Lord Cavan, containing, in addition to the Italians, the allied major detachments, and by the Third Army, under the Duke of Aosta, on the lower Piave.

THE BATTLE IN DETAIL

Early on the morning of Oct. 24 the Italians deluged the enemy's positions in the Asiago and Monte Grappa regions with artillery fire; there the British and French minor detachments entered the enemy's advanced positions and captured prisoners and munitions. Meanwhile, the Italians themselves crossed the Ornic River in the Grappa region and captured Monte Solarole and parts of Monte Prassolan and Monte Pertica. On the Piave the British of the Tenth Army captured the island Grave di Papadopoli and other river garrisons of the enemy, occupying their positions.

Within twenty-four hours after the offensive had begun the Italians had captured 3,000 prisoners; the enemy's line in the Grappa region was giving way and he was retreating from his positions on the left bank of the Piave. By the 26th the Tenth Army was crossing the Piave in force, and next day a bridgehead had been firmly established at Valdobbiadene by the Twelfth Army. By the 28th the three Piave armies were well across the river, while British and Italian cavalry were pressing the enemy's rear guards and capturing thousands of prisoners. By the 30th 33,000 prisoners had been taken. On that date the Third Army on the extreme right entered the battle, with the 332d American Regiment on its left.

From now on until the end there was a rapid, enthusiastic advance along the entire front, with the Eighth and Tenth Armies in the lead. The former by the first of November had rushed beyond Vittorio; the latter had crossed the Conegliano-Oderzo highway. The Austro-Hungarian retreat had become a flight, in which the enemy when overtaken freely surrendered and made no attempt to remove his vast supplies of munitions. By the first of November also the Twelfth, Eighth, Tenth, and Third Armies

had reached the Livenza, and established bridgeheads there, with the cavalry covering the ground between that river and the Tagliamento. To the northeast the advance beyond the railway terminal at the City of Belluno had completely destroyed communication between the Austrians in the Trentino and those in Veneto. The number of prisoners had increased to 50,000.

Up to the eve of the armistice 100,000 Austrians had been taken, together with 2,200 guns. In the Trentino the cities of Rovereto and Trent had been occupied; on the plains Udine, the former headquarters of Cadorna, had been overrun by the Italian cavalry; on the Adriatic the great Austrian seaport of Trieste was in possession of the land and sea forces of King Victor Emmanuel III., and there the tricolor was flung to the air from the tower of San Giusto. When the armistice went into effect the next day the Austro-Hungarian military forces had been defeated in the field in a manner which was never to be suffered by the Germans in Belgium and France. The armistice providing a capitulation saved the armies of Emperor Charles from death or a voluntary surrender where they stood. After a duel of forty-five weeks with her ancient enemy Italy came forth the supreme victor.

THE END IN TURKEY

After the annihilation of the Seventh, Eighth, and Fourth Turkish Armies by General Allenby on the terrain between the Plains of Sharon and the River Jordan by rapid movements which began on Sept. 19 the succeeding events in Palestine and Syria down to the time of the Turkish surrender on Oct. 31 were little more than patrol operations for the occupation of the principal towns evacuated by the Turks. The same may be said of the movements of General Marshall's army, operating 450 miles across the desert to the east in the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

The rapidity with which Allenby's cavalry and camel corps moved is illustrated by the fact that on Oct. 1, less than a fortnight after the campaign had begun, detachments, together with a part of the Arab army of the King of Hedjaz, en-

were in full retreat from these positions, and, on his extreme right wing, had evacuated Tabriz, in Persia. His column in the Caspian region was still waiting on eventualities in the vicinity of Baku, which, after occupation, it had been obliged to evacuate, together with the Armenians.

On the very last day of the war Marshall was still heavily engaged with the Turkish forces north of Kaleh Sherghat, where he captured over 1,000 Turks, and his armored cars were on the point of executing an enveloping movement similar to that performed by Allenby's cavalry, when, with the Arab army, it had practically surrounded three Turkish armies seven weeks before.

CLEARING UP THE BALKANS

The practically unconditional surrender of Bulgaria on Sept. 30 still left the allied armies under General Franchet d'Esperey occupied with the Austrians and Germans in Serbia and Montenegro, and the Italian Army in Albania with the Austrians there, until the Austro-Hungarian Government accepted the armistice, which went into effect on Nov. 4.

As last month's review closed a French column had reached Ipek in Montenegro; the Serbs were at Krushevat, on their way to Serajevo, in Bosnia; other allied columns had penetrated up the Orient Railway beyond Nish in the direction of Belgrade, and had reached the Rumanian frontier near Radujevac and Vidin, and were preparing to cross the Danube. Meanwhile, the main British and French armies and Italian cavalry

were seeing that the terms of the Bulgarian surrender were being carried out in that territory. Two-thirds of the Serbian land had been recovered.

By Oct. 21 a Serbian column had reached Trstenik in the direction of the Bosnian frontier, while further east another had reached Zajecar, twenty-eight miles south of the Danube at Negotin and forty-five miles northeast of Nish. On the Danube at Vidin the French had cut the Austro-German river communication to Turkey via Bulgaria and had captured the enemy's supply and naval flotilla.

On Oct. 23 French troops entered Negotin, while further west the Serbians smashed the German line of Rajhani-Stalatz. Meanwhile, the Italian advance in Albania was encountering little opposition, for, as the Austrians withdrew, the native bands invariably hoisted the Italian tricolor. On Oct. 30 the Serbian cavalry on its way to Belgrade reached Semendria, twenty-four miles southeast of the old capital, and on Nov. 3 Belgrade itself was occupied. The country south of the Danube by that date had been practically cleared of the Austrians and Germans, while on the west the Second Serbian Army had reached the Bosnian frontier and a Serbian flying column had occupied Serajevo.

Even after the Austro-Hungarian capitulation of Nov. 4 the pursuit of the Germans still continued into Hungarian territory north of the Save and Danube, where, it was reported, the Hungarians welcomed the Serbians.

The Aviators' Share in the Victory

German Protest Against Raids

ALLIED supremacy in the air, which had long been pronounced, became overwhelming in the last weeks of the war. The initiative there, as well as on land, passed definitely into the hands of the Entente. The retreat of the Germans from the occupied parts of France and Belgium was greatly accelerated by the effective work of the allied aviators.

Bridges were destroyed, convoys shattered, enemy concentrations broken up, to a degree beyond precedent. Nor was the activity confined to the western front. There were important operations in six separate theatres of war, from the coast of Belgium to the fringes of the Syrian desert. Heavy destruction was wrought on the Palestinian front, in the Balkan

battle zone, on the Piave, and in the Monte Grappa region.

British reprisal raids on munition plants and railroad centres in the Rhine Valley continued without abatement. In three months British aviators raided towns in that region 249 times and dropped 247 tons of bombs on strategic points. Great damage was inflicted. Mannheim, Treves, Metz, Sablons, Frankfurt, Düsseldorf, Coblenz, and Cologne suffered heavily. Attacks were made Oct. 29 on the Morhange and Frescati airdromes, on factories at Mannheim and Saarbrücken, and on railway junctions at Longuyon, Tecouviez, and Thionville. In the air fighting that accompanied the raid thirty-two enemy machines were destroyed and ten driven down out of control. On Nov. 1 British air forces dropped bombs on railroad junctions at Baden, on chemical factories at Karlsruhe, and on blast furnaces at Burbach. The raiders returned without the loss of a plane.

So great was the agitation aroused by air raids upon the German cities that on Nov. 4 the German Government sent the following protest to Washington:

The German aerial forces have been under orders since the beginning of October of this year only to make bomb attacks which are directed solely against important hostile military objects within the immediate area of operations of war. These orders were issued on the assumption that the enemy aerial forces were to receive similar instructions.

In assuming this the German people find themselves disappointed. A short time ago the enemy made bomb attacks on the German towns of Wetzlar, Kaiserslautern, Mannheim, Ludwigshafen, Freiburg, Forbach, and Wiesbaden, claiming numerous victims among the civilian population. Nor has occupied territory been spared.

It is evident that Germany can refrain from aerial attacks on enemy territory behind the area of operations only if, on their side, the enemy from now on will reciprocate and also refrain from making aerial attacks outside the area of military operations.

In the expectation that the intention, shared by the other side, to further humanity and preserve important objects of culture, will meet with the understanding of the opponents, the German Government proposes to the Governments of the other belligerent countries that corresponding

instructions be issued without delay to their aerial forces, informing it of the measures taken.

In view of the repeated raids of German air forces in the last four years not only on defenseless towns in France, England, and Belgium, but also on hospitals plainly marked and far beyond the fighting zones, the German protest brought forth no immediate response, though the last air raid on London had been made on May 29, 1918.

Evidence accumulated that the dropping of propaganda material by allied aviators over enemy lines was seriously disturbing the Central Powers. An Austrian army order, published in the *Allgemeine Tiroler Anzeiger* of Sept 9, ran as follows:

Enemy airplanes landing in our lines must be absolutely prevented from getting away again. Information of landing of enemy airplanes must immediately be notified by telegram. In order that the troops, gendarmes, and civil population should work in close co-operation, the local military commander should notify the fact at the same time to the military authorities at Innsbruck and Linz, to the Provisional Governor of Salzburg, and to the Provincial Gendarmerie Commanders. Further distribution of manifestoes and proclamations by enemy aviators constitutes a crime against the State. Any aviator who distributes such manifestoes or is even found carrying them, thereby places himself outside the limits of international law and will be considered guilty of a crime punishable with death.

From among the hundreds of dramatic incidents in the air fighting on the western front this one may be cited: Two British aviators, flying low in one machine, brought about the surrender of sixty-five Germans, and without leaving their airplane shepherded the party across No Man's Land to the British lines. The pilot and his observer had been attacked from a trench and sunken road. The pilot dived and replied to the enemy fire with his machine guns; killing one and wounding three. The Germans in a panic ceased firing and hoisted a white handkerchief. As there were no British infantrymen in that neighborhood, the pilot descended to within fifty feet of the ground and ordered the Germans out of the trenches, circling around them to insure that none escaped. All were safely brought in and handed

over to the nearest British troops. The aviators then resumed their patrol.

Our fighting in the air started last April with one squadron up near Toul. This grew to four squadrons by the end of May. But America's real entrance as an air power dates from the latter part of June, when our airmen entered the Marne fighting. Roughly speaking, our air service took part in three large operations—first, the Marne fighting; second, the St. Mihiel battle, and third, the struggle north of Verdun. By the middle of October, 1918, our aviators had brought down between 500 and 600 German planes.

Testimony given before the House Appropriations Committee in Washington by Colonel H. H. Arnold of the Air Service showed that 11,000 American aviators had already been trained, of the 30,000 provided for in the aviation program. On Nov. 1 there were 8,390 American fliers in France and 6,210 in this country. At that time about 2,500 fighting airplanes of all kinds had been

shipped to France, more than 8,000 training planes had been built, and the production of Liberty motors had reached 1,000 a week.

When hostilities were suspended on Nov. 11 our American aviators had destroyed 661 more German airplanes and 35 more German balloons than the Americans had lost. The number of enemy airplanes destroyed by the Americans was 926 and the number of balloons 73. Two hundred and sixty-five American airplanes and 38 balloons were destroyed by the enemy.

On the day of the signing of the armistice there were actually engaged on the front 740 American airplanes, 744 pilots, 457 observers, and 23 aerial gunners. Of the machines, 329 were of the pursuit type, 296 were for observation, and 115 were bombers. Between Sept. 12 and Nov. 11 the air forces operating with the First Army dropped 108,984 kilograms (about 120 tons) of high explosives on the enemy lines, supply depots, and railheads.

Final Acts of Oppression

Devastation and Suffering Marked the Pathway of the Retreating German Armies

REVELATIONS of hardships and cruelty suffered by the inhabitants of occupied territories followed in the wake of the retreating German armies. The last atrocities of the invaders had taken such forms as the enforcement of peasant labor, deportations to Germany, wholesale requisitions, pillage, and the needless destruction of cities and villages. Dr. Woods Hutchinson described the situation in recaptured regions of Belgium and France on Sept. 22, 1918, as follows:

"When crossing the beautiful Pays Reconquis last May, lovely still even in its utter desolation, my farm-bred eye was caught by one redeeming feature in the scene of destruction, a soft green background for the picture of horror and despair. This was the waving green seas and sheets of wheat which shimmered

over all the fields, over every foot of tillable soil, and rippled right up to the edge of the roadway and to the foot of the shapeless heaps of ruins which had once been human homes.

"It was so far the best crop of wheat that I had seen anywhere in France that it provoked inquiries. Then I found that it had been grown under instructions from Berlin, from the Wilhelmstrasse itself, after this fashion: Sixty per cent. of all the plowable soil was taken over and cultivated by the German Army itself, with its own artillery horses and tractors. Twenty per cent. of the land was cultivated by the peasants and the army together, while the remaining 20 per cent. was cultivated by the peasants themselves, under the direction and watchful eye of the German officials. All that the army grew it took for itself, and

half of the crop which it had cultivated jointly with the peasants, so that all that the peasant had left was 30 per cent. of his former crop, and the bulk of this was purchased for the use of the army and paid for in promissory notes, redeemable and payable after the close of the war! Which was extremely nourishing for the peasant and his family.

"The net result was that the German Army which occupied Northern France and Belgium grew, with the assistance of the peasants, all the grain that was required for themselves and their horses, and even sent some back for the civilian population at home.

"And I was informed that the same methods and the same results were enforced on the Russian and on the Rumanian fronts also.

"The reason for the joint cultivation of one-fifth of the land was apparently to get the German under-officers acquainted with the members of the peasant population and their various working capacities. When this had been ascertained, every old man or old woman, every mother of a family, every boy or girl over the age of 12, was assigned a certain number of hours' work each day, either upon the land, or cutting wood, or washing the soldiers' clothing, or cooking, or making roads, or digging trenches, or, if house-ridden, sewing sandbags. A book was issued to each one, in which was written down the number of hours per day required or the amount of piece work to be turned out. This had to be inspected and signed each week, and in some cases each day, by the local officer, and at the end of the week turned in to the military police officer in charge of the district. If the bearer of the book could not then show that he or she had performed the full task of work required he was flogged, imprisoned, or otherwise severely punished, and threatened with deportation into Germany to work in the munition factories or the mines."

DEPORTATION OF CITIZENS

Deportations of French and Belgian inhabitants continued to the end of the German occupation. With reference to

the labor of prisoners of war within the German lines a British White Paper of Oct. 29 stated: "Some prisoners were forced to work often within the fire of their own guns. On one occasion 1,300 to 1,500 prisoners were billeted in an old church. 'The place was fearfully crowded and we had only straw to lie on, which got filthy and verminous; but the crowd was such that many of us were unable to sit or lie down.'"

The following official document for the forcible conscription of the women in Lille, Easter week, 1916, was discovered after the Germans evacuated the city:

All inhabitants of households, with the exception of children under 14 years and their mothers, and with the exception as well of aged people, must prepare at once for their deportation in an hour and a half. An officer will make the final decision as to which persons shall be conducted to the camp of assembly. For this purpose all inhabitants of households must assemble before their habitations; in case of bad weather it is permitted to remain in the lobby of the house; the door must be kept open.

All pleas will be useless. No inhabitant of the house, even those who are not to be transported, will be permitted to leave the house before 8 in the morning, German time.

Each person will be entitled to ten kilograms of luggage. If there is excess of weight the entire luggage of such person will be refused without any consideration. It is absolutely necessary to provide one's self in one's own interest with utensils for eating and drinking, and also with a woollen blanket, good boots, and linen. Every person must carry his or her identity card.

Any one who endeavors to avoid transportation will be ruthlessly punished.

ETAPPEN,
Kommandantur.

WHOLESALE REQUISITIONS

The following estimate of the total of enforced contributions exacted from the Belgians during the period of German occupation was made by Belgian officials on Oct. 20:

Local contributions and fines levied by Germany on Belgium in 1914, £8,000,000.

War contributions from November, 1914, to October, 1916, £38,400,000.

War contributions, seven months, to May, 1918, £23,000,000.

War contributions from May, 1917, to May, 1918, £28,000,000.

War contributions from June to October of the current year, £15,000,000.

Raw materials and machinery taken by the Germans were reckoned by them in January, 1915, at £80,000,000. The damage to December, 1914, estimated by the North German Gazette, amounted to £200,000,000. This makes a grand total of £384,200,000, [£1,921,000,000.]

These items do not include material destruction and requisitions since January, 1915, which alone must be reckoned at several hundred million pounds.

During the Winter of 1916 Belgian workmen to the number of 1,750,000 were deported to Germany. The future production of these men was thus totally lost to their country.

PILLAGE AT BRUGES

Of pillage Perry Robinson, in his cable dispatches, wrote on Oct. 21:

"In Bruges on Friday night all civilians were told to stay within doors until 11 o'clock next day. The order was obeyed, and it gave the German soldiery the finest opportunity they had had for looting. A ring or knock would be heard at the door of a shop or house. On the door being opened two or three German soldiers were within with pistols ready. At one private house the owner opened the door and was met with a demand for shirts. He said he had no shirt but the one he wore and those at the laundry.

"'What time is it?' asked one of the soldiers. The man took out his watch and immediately they demanded the watch and then ordered him to take them into his house and give them any other watches and jewelry he had. They carried off three timepieces and some rings.

"At various shops I heard similar stories of men coming and ringing at the door, and then, while flourishing a revolver, filling their pockets with whatever caught their fancy. Of course, there has been in these towns the same continuous thieving as at Lille and elsewhere—the same abuse of 'requisitions' and the same terrorism.

"In Ostend all empty houses were stripped clean of everything, as were also the great hotels. These last furnished rich hauls of 'requisitioned' goods. The kitchen battery of a big hotel has about ten coppers on an aver-

age, which, of course, are all gone, also all mattresses and woolen goods—all taken under formal requisition. Then every day soldiers came in and took one thing after another. The guardian of one hotel told me how they came with sacks and carried off things that were portable, and finally removed all the furniture, either to be sent to Germany or sold or used to furnish dugouts."

EXPERIENCES AT LIEGE

In a dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES Nov. 4 the following appeared:

"Liège is full of soldiers, mostly those returning from the front. Besides a large house already emptied of its occupants to accommodate Prince Rupprecht, more and more houses are being evacuated in the city. There are many signs that a large number of troops are expected.

"German officers are as insolent and arrogant as ever, and either turn the people out of their houses altogether or allow them to live in garret or cellar, or, if alone, an officer often chooses the largest and finest rooms for himself, without any consideration of the occupants. All the hospitals except one have been taken by the military, and the sick are turned out, in spite of the large numbers of patients at present.

"Houses which have been occupied by officers during the war are entirely spoiled and plundered of their valuables. Oriental carpets are taken with the excuse that the wool is requisitioned, and of course anything of bronze or brass is valuable; vases, works of art, pictures, old furniture, and clocks, as in the seventies, are looted.

"All these are taken and sold in Germany or Holland. The hunt for brass, copper, and bronze has been untiring in the last few months. Walls are broken and cellars ransacked to find hiding places.

"An order was issued a few weeks ago that even all water faucets in houses would be removed. However, this order was countermanded a week ago, when the ardent search for metal was also abandoned. People are asking whether this is an indication of peace. Fines are

no longer imposed for hoarding or hiding."

SELLING STOLEN FURNITURE

The Norwegian Journal *Morgenblatt* of Christiania received a significant letter from a correspondent, who described as follows the traffic that had developed in the sale of furniture stolen from Belgium:

The importation of furniture [into Norway] is one of the activities promoted by the war—all the more unexpected because it overthrows the ancient foundations of the philosophy of law and the rights of people. "It is permitted to exact war contributions from the conquered, that is the State, but it is not permitted to appropriate private property; that would be robbery," says Kant, one of the thinkers oftenest cited by the exporters of the furniture in question.

Indeed, as Kant would say, this furniture is stolen from French and Belgian homes. The traffic is so flourishing because the cost price defies competition and the supply exceeds the amount which the furniture makers could furnish, at any rate in Norway.

The *Speditionen und Lagerhaus Akt Ges.*, *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and a great many other old and new firms, as announced in the *Koelnische Zeitung*, furnish information and estimates in regard to the transportation of furniture from the Belgian cities to Germany and Austria-Hungary.

We do not, however, find the furniture cheap, for it has passed through many hands, the express company, the speculators, and the retailers. But, in the first place there is not much expense except the estimates made by the above mentioned firm and others. And these estimates include only the expense for transportation by railroad, upholsterers, movers, and damage; and not even these expenses when the furniture has been removed by an official order. "The dining room suite was charming," wrote the wife of a German officer to her husband; "now you must try to get us a salon in the Empire style."

"Furniture from belligerent countries." But it is not hidden in the sombre shop of a receiver of stolen goods. It is posted in the *rue de l'Université* (*Universitetsgaten*) on the sign of the shop and in all the houses and in the advertising columns of the papers. It is purchased by our "nouveaux riches." The most beautiful pieces were already sold, said the man whom I found in the shop.

"The furniture comes from numerous Belgian and French homes," he said; "it comes directly from France; I am selling it for a Norwegian who is traveling."

GHASTLY DEVASTATION

A graphic description of the devastation and ruin left in the wake of the German armies was cabled by Walter Duranty on Oct. 19 to THE NEW YORK TIMES:

"Words cannot express the utter desolation of the *Passchendaele* battlefield. Already Ypres is a deplorable ruin, whose central square, which was once a thing of beauty, flanked by the marvelous Cloth Hall and the thousand-year-old houses, now resembles the outskirts of a new American town.

"Grass and weeds are the tragedy of Ypres; one cannot even tell where the houses stood or the roads once ran. But the appalling shell-torn waste that is the battlefield of Flanders surpasses the wildest visions of *Doré* in ghastliness and gloom. For nearly four miles the road of rotting planks that is the sole passage across the ridges winds amid acres of shell holes merging one into another.

"No single tree or bush or hedge or building remains to tell that human beings once cultivated this desert. Here lie a rusting tank and three broken caissons. Further on is a hole that was a dugout where men lived and died. Everywhere are shattered concrete, barbed wire in crazy festoons, convex roofs of corrugated iron that gave some shelter against the elements, planks by millions for roadways, and faded crosses that mark innumerable graves.

"This frightful realization of *Macbeth's* 'blasted heath' is the resting place of tens of thousands of brave men to whom death must have been a relief from more than mortal hardship. Now only rats—huge, gaunt, and hungry since the humans have departed—inhabit the accursed spot, and run sluggishly across the road before the automobiles and then bump slowly over the shell holes."

DESTRUCTION OF CITIES

That this picture is not singular to one front is proved by other correspondents. Of Douai one wrote: "Not one of several hundred houses is in a livable condition. * * * The south and east

sides of the Grand Place were blown to the ground. A number of houses in the southern part of the town were burned apparently out of sheer caprice. The handsome City Hall was stripped of its candelabra and the archives there were thrown about in confusion." Again of Audenarde this was written: "Today the city is deserted, the doors of the dwellings are left wide open; through the shattered windows one can easily judge from the disorder of the bedding that the inhabitants must have fled in a hurry, surprised as they were by this criminal bombardment. Not a soul is encountered, and a shower of shells continues the destruction, wrecking houses and monuments. The beautiful Town Hall seems irremediably damaged. While I am writing, the bombardment is going on." An Associated Press correspondent with the French Army in Champagne wrote on Oct. 23:

"The region along the Retourne abounds with indications of willful devastation of villages that were never within range of artillery, but were found razed to the ground. In others, where houses were still erect, they were mined for slow destruction, while the purely military installations, such as barracks built by the Germans for their own

troops, were left intact. Orders for the burning of Juniville, a large village in the valley of the Retourne, arrived on the day of evacuation. The Germans had built comfortable quarters, with casinos, officers' clubs, moving-picture theatres, hotels, and rest houses for the soldiers in the village. The people pleaded with the officers to spare their homes, but the torch was put to every house. The village was one vast brazier when the French entered it. Mont St. Remy shared the same fate.

"Châtelet, Alincourt, Bignicourt, and Ville-sur-Retourne were partially saved because the French troops pressed the Germans there so closely that the sappers left behind to do the work were surprised. Some of these men fled before they could set off the mines which had been prepared. Others were captured."

An instance of mining a church was reported on Nov. 4 by the officer commanding the American troops on the British front south of Le Cateau. "By means of wires," he wrote, "the charge was connected with the monstrance on the high altar in such a way that if the sacred vessel were moved an explosion would have brought the church down on the heads of the worshippers."

How Peace Came to the Battlefronts

The Wave of Rejoicing That Swept Over the Allied Armies and Nations

When the signing of the armistice between the Entente Powers and Germany ended the war on Nov. 11, 1918, the reaction from the tension of the conflict found expression in great demonstrations of joy throughout the allied world. The victorious nations gave themselves up to holiday. Strangely enough, the relief and delight found more unrestrained expression among the civil populations than among the men who had carried on the grim work of fighting. New York, London, Paris, Rome, went wild with uncurbed enthusiasm, and their example was followed on a smaller scale in every city and village of the Allies. Edwin L. James cabled from the American front in France the day the armistice was signed:

NOVEMBER 11, 1918.—They stopped fighting at 11 o'clock this morning. In a twinkling of an eye four years' killing and massacre stopped, as if God had swept His omnipotent fin-

ger across the scene of world carnage and cried, "Enough!"

In fact, it seemed as if some good spirit had helped set the stage for the ending of the great tragedy. They told me at

the front today that never before had the telephones and wireless worked so well. All our divisions, all our regiments, all our companies, got the word to quit at 11, and quit they did.

History will record that the Americans fought to the last minute. Aye, more, they fought to the last second. I picked the sector northeast of historic Verdun on the scarred hills where were buried German hopes, to spend what may be the world's greatest day. On this front we attacked this morning at 9:30 o'clock, after heavy artillery preparation.

Reaching the front this morning, expecting to find quiet reigning in view of the imminence of the cessation of hostilities, I found the attack in full swing, with every gun we had going at full speed, and roaring in a glorious chorus, singing the swan song of Prussianism. It was a glorious chorus drowning the discord of German shell-fire. We were attacking.

Picture, if you will, that scene at 10:30 this morning. Back in the rear every one knew that the war was to stop at 11 o'clock, but in the front line no one knew except the officers. The doughboys knew nothing except their orders were to attack. They had heard rumors, but at 10:30 they were chasing the Germans back from their last hold on the hills east of the Meuse. At 10:40, at 10:50, at 10:55 they were fighting on. What could be more dramatic than when at 11 the platoon leaders in the front line sharply called the order, "Cease firing!" and explained that hostilities had been called off?

THE LAST SALVO

If one listened then, one heard just at 11 the great salvo from all our guns, and then silence. They tell me the men stood as if numbed with shock, and then smiles spread over their faces and they broke into laughs as they listened and learned the Germans, too, had called off the war.

Then through the fog across the ravine they saw the boches spring from their positions and shout and sing with joy. They saw white flags in the cold wind and they saw the boches waving

their hands in invitation to come over. But strict orders had been issued to our men against fraternizing, and the Germans, getting no encouragement, kept on their side of No Man's Land.

When all this happened I was standing with a grizzled American General at Beaumont, just back of the line of one of our crack divisions.

"It's so big," said he, "that I cannot grasp it at all," and then he pulled from his pocket a paper, and handing it to me, said, "Here's the order that stopped the war."

What he handed me was a copy of the order written, I understand, by Marshal Foch, the self-same order being issued to all the allied troops this morning.

It was just after 11 o'clock when a General invited me to go from within the last front line. We started walking eastward from Beaumont. Over terrain torn so that there was not one inch that had not its shell hole, we climbed the heights of the Bois de Wavrille. Toiling through rack and ruin, stumps and wire and fallen trees, we came after an hour to the eastern edge of the Bois de Wavrille from which the Germans had been driven this morning.

IN VIEW OF THE ENEMY

Across a ravine lay the Bois Herbebois, with St. André Farm a mass of stones on the slopes nearest us. Half way up the hill toward the Bois Herbebois ran a road, and that road was the front line. Along it were doughboys ready if the boche changed his mind about stopping hostilities.

Right up the hill was the German line at the end of the woods. We could see Germans walking about. With a French Captain and an American Major I started across, but the General called us back. Going up to the hill near St. André Farm, we got a good look at the boche lines, where the Germans appeared as unconcerned as if on a picnic. Out fifty yards ahead of our front line was a dugout from which curled smoke. In it were three boches cooking supper. A platoon of our men wanted to go get them, but a Lieutenant ruled against it, so the Germans went on cooking supper.

Over these hills, the scene of bloody

warfare since the war started and the scene of perhaps the world's most bitter battle when the Crown Prince tried to take Verdun, an almost unearthly calm rested. Where the roar of a million and one shells had so often torn the air one could have heard a sparrow twit had the ruthless war left a sparrow there. Torn and twisted and tortured was that land. Of all the woods no tree was left whole. There were only blackened and stark sticks. Of pretty villages there were only moss-covered and shattered stones, of roads not one trace was left. Over all were sombre shadow and silence that would have seemed ominous had one not known that it was harmless. The war had stopped.

THE FIRST CAMPFIRES

While we were there at the front Germans could be seen getting back, as if seeking sleeping quarters for more comfort. As we left the scene cold dusk was settling in a wet blanket over the landscape. As we reached the edge of the woods the General called my attention to hundreds of campfires lining the hills as far as the eye could see. It was the first time fire had burned on the front line since the days when the Kaiser ran amuck and started more than he and his misled people could finish. Germany stopped at the eleventh hour.

As we came back along the roads the landscape seemed to be filled with cheering Americans. The news had spread everywhere and our men were behaving just as a victorious football team and its fans after the last game of the season. No Fourth of July in the United States ever saw such fireworks as tore their red, green, and blue streaks across the foggy sky.

And what we saw at Verdun would stir the pulse of a dead man. Poor, torn, suffering Verdun! It had been suddenly changed to a place of glory. Gathering darkness hid its wounds, and what one saw was the French Tricolor and the Stars and Stripes flying from the house-tops and parapets, searchlights showing their glory in all its splendor. At the top of the grizzled fortress walls a band, half French and half Yankee, was playing all the tunes it knew, while through

the streets marched rejoicing Yankees and their allies, whom they love. What could be more fitting for allied victory than that immortal Verdun should celebrate it?

FRATERNIZING FORBIDDEN

To ward off danger from fraternizing the following orders were issued by the American military authorities to their brigade commanders:

1. You are informed that hostilities will cease along the whole front at 11 o'clock A. M., Nov. 11, 1918, Paris time.

2. No allied troops will pass the line reached by them at that hour in date until further orders.

3. Division commanders will immediately sketch the location of their front line. This sketch will be returned to headquarters by the courier bearing these orders.

4. All communication with the enemy, both before and after the termination of hostilities, is absolutely forbidden. In case of violation of this order severest disciplinary measures will be immediately taken. Any officer offending will be sent to headquarters under guard.

5. Every emphasis will be laid on the fact that the arrangement is an armistice only, and not a peace.

6. There must not be the slightest relaxation of vigilance. Troops must be prepared at any moment for further operations.

7. Special steps will be taken by all commanders to insure strictest discipline and that all troops be held in readiness fully prepared for any eventuality.

8. Division and brigade commanders will personally communicate these orders to all organizations.

FIRES OF HELL PUT OUT

The rejoicings at Mons and Ghent on the two days following the signing of the armistice were described by Mr. Gibbs as follows:

Nov. 12.—Last night, for the first time since August in the first year of the war, there was no light of gunfire in the sky, no sudden stabs of flame through the darkness, no long, spreading glow above the black trees where for four years of night human beings were being smashed to death.

The fires of hell had been put out. It was silent all along the front. With the beautiful silence of nights of peace, we did not stand listening to the dull

rumbling of artillery at work, which had been the undertone of all closer sounds for 1,500 nights, nor for sudden heart beats at explosions shaking the earth and air, nor say in whisper to ourselves, "Curse those guns!" At 11 o'clock the order had gone to all batteries to cease fire. No more men will be killed, no more be mangled, no more be blinded. The last boyhood of the world was reprieved on the way back from Mons.

I listened to this silence which followed the going down of the sun and heard the rustling of russet leaves and the little sounds of night in peace, and it seemed as though God gave a benediction to the wounded soul of the world. Other sounds rose from towns and fields in the yellowing twilight, and in the deepening shadow world of the day of armistice. They were sounds of human joy.

Men were singing somewhere on the roads, and their voices rang out gladly. Bands were playing, as all day on the way to Mons I heard their music ahead of the marching columns. Bugles were blowing.

BRITISH TROOPS GAY

In villages from which the enemy had gone out that morning round about Mons crowds of figures surged in the narrow streets, and English laughter rose above the silvery chatter of women and children. British soldiers were still on the march with their guns, and their transport, and their old field cookers, and all along their lines I heard these men talking to each other gayly as though something had loosened their tongues and made them garrulous.

Motor cars streaked through Belgian streets, dodging traffic, and now and then, when night fell, rockets were fired from them, and there came gusts of laughter from young officers, shooting off their pistols into the darkness to celebrate the end of hostilities by this symbol of the rising stars, which did not soar so high as their spirits. From dark towns like Tournai and Lille these rockets rose and burned a little while with a white light.

Our aviators flew like bats in the dusk, skimming tree tops and gables,

doing Puck-like gambols above the tawny sunset, looping and spiraling and falling in steep dives which looked like death for them until they flattened out and rose again. And they, too, these boys who had been reprieved from the menace which was close to them on every flight, fired flares and rockets, which dropped down to the crowds of French and Flemish people waving to them from below.

Late into the night there were sounds of singing and laughter from open windows in towns which had been all shuttered, with people hiding in their cellars a week ago or less, and British officers sat down to French pianos and romped about the keys and crashed out chords, and led a chorus of men who wanted to sing any old song.

ON THE ROAD TO MONS

It was worth going to Mons yesterday. I stopped at brigade headquarters on the way, and an officer there said:

"Hostilities will cease at 11 o'clock this morning, and thank God for that!"

Everywhere the news had gone ahead of me. Soldiers assembled in the fields for morning parade were flinging their steel helmets up and cheering. As they marched through villages they shouted out to civilians, "Guerre fini, guerre fini, boche napoo!" And the women and children came running to them with Autumn flowers, mostly red and white chrysanthemums, and they put them in their tunics and in the straps of their steel helmets.

Thousands of flags appeared suddenly in villages where no French or Belgian flag could be shown without fines and imprisonment until that very morning, when liberty had come again and every Tommy in the ranks had a bit of color at the end of his rifle or stuck through his belt, and every gun team had a banner floating above their limber or their guns, and their horses had flowers in their harness.

For miles there was a pageant on the roads, and as there moved one way endless tides of British infantry, and cavalry, and artillery, and transport, with all that flutter of flags above them, with the great banners of Belgium and France

like flames above them, another tide moved the opposite way, and that had its flags and its banners.

It was the pitiful, heroic tide of life, made up of thousands of civilians, people who that morning had come back through the German lines. They were men from 15 to 60 who had been taken away from Cambrai and Courtrai, Lille, and Roubaix, and Tourcoing, Tournai and Valenciennes and hundreds of towns and villages in the wake of the enemy's retreat, because to the very end the German command conscripted this manhood to forced labor.

SCENES AT GHENT

Nov. 13.—I passed last night in Ghent and saw the joy of this city of Belgium after its liberation. It was the last Belgian town to be rescued before the armistice. The Germans had clung to it as the pivot of their retreat, holding the canal in front of it by machine-gun fire, and it was not until 2 o'clock on Monday morning that they went away.

Twelve Belgian soldiers were the first to enter, at 7 o'clock, led by a young Belgian Lieutenant, whom I met last night, and a few minutes afterward all the streets were filled with the citizens of Ghent shouting, cheering, embracing these soldiers and each other.

The enemy had gone after four years of oppression, and as dawn came it rose upon a day of liberty. Bells rang out from all the churches as they are now ringing while I write, and from the old belfries of Ghent there were joyful carillons.

The Belgian troops marched in, and their artillery passed through, and the people covered them with flags, and the music of their bands was overwhelmed by shouts of "Vive la Belgique."

It was beyond the British sphere of action, and yesterday when I went into Ghent with two other men the sight of our uniforms aroused new enthusiasm, and crowds surrounded us with outstretched hands and words of thanks to England. It was astonishing how many people spoke English in those crowds of men and women who pressed close to tell of things they had suffered, and again,

as always in these captured cities, of the awful misery of British prisoners.

Darkness came into this Old World town, with its tall Flemish houses of red brick and stepped gables, unchanged in many parts since Charles II. was in exile here, and with its Hotel de Ville and Palais de Justice richly sculptured by Flemish craftsmen who were great artists, and with its churches and cathedrals and belfries, whose bells have rung above the city through many centuries of joy and woe—darkness came, but not in the hearts of the people nor in their windows. For the first time in five Winters of war they lighted their lamps with open shutters, and from many windows there streamed out bright beams which lured one like a moth to candlelight because of its sign of peace. There were bright stars and a crescent moon in the sky, silvering the Flemish gables and frontages between black shadows and making patterns of lace in the Place d'Armes below the trees with their Autumn foliage.

In these lights and in these shadows the people of Ghent danced and sang until midnight chimed. They danced in baker's dozens, with linked arms, men and girls together, singing in deep voices and high voices, all mingling, so that when I went to my bedroom and looked out of the casement window it rose in a chorus from all over the city, like music by Debussy.

KING ALBERT'S ENTRY

Today in Ghent there are vast cheering crowds, and King Albert is making his triumphal entry into his city, and the sun is shining with a golden light upon all the old roofs of Ghent and upon the crowded balconies from which banners hang.

The King and Queen came riding in with the young Prince, escorted by Belgian, French, and British Generals, and as they came white flowers were thrown from all the balconies, and their petals fell about like confetti. They took up a position outside the old club in the Place d'Armes, and cheers swept around them in storms. Then there was a march past of Belgian troops, men who had fought

on the Yser in the old bad days of mud and blood, and those who, in the last days, had stormed their way through with guns and cavalry. They had flow-ers in their rifles and on their helmets, and looked like veterans as they marched under their heavy packs.

The Queen of the Belgians wore a light habit with a little linen cap, and was a simple figure. There next to her was the tall King, whose face has been bronzed and hardened by four years in the field with his men. It is a great day for Belgium, and the air is full of music and the gladness of a brave people whose courage has won through to victory.

CELEBRATION IN NEW YORK

The United States held a premature jubilation on Nov. 7, based on a false cablegram, but there was enough emotion left, when the real and authentic news of the signing of the armistice arrived before daylight Nov. 11, to start a celebration in New York City that lasted without interruption for fully twenty-four hours, and while it was going on stopped all kinds of business in the city except theatrical performances and the dispensing at retail of food.

And what was true of New York was true of the nation. Throughout the country there were joyous celebrations of the signing of the armistice, marked by parades and the ringing of bells. Every city, village, and hamlet thus expressed its emotion at the victorious ending of the war.

Yet it was not altogether the same kind of celebration that had occurred when the premature news was celebrated. That event had let off much surplus steam, and nothing else could quite get up the enthusiasm which was then manifested. When the premature peace report dropped suddenly, as if out of the skies, on a city which had not expected the news at that particular moment, New York was like a city which found itself saved after entertaining gloomy forebodings. On every countenance in the street, in the early hours of that day before the peace report was known to be false, there was a heartfelt,

unconscious smile of rapture, an outward token of the coming to every man and woman of glad tidings of great joy. The devil was dead, and everybody felt a particular personal interest in his demise.

This first spontaneous expression of relief on Nov. 11 had already been discounted; there was more of a prearranged air about the celebration. But if it was deliberate, it was none the less heartfelt, none the less of universal appeal. The whole city joined in celebrating the final and complete disappearance of German autocracy, a disappearance whose surprising fullness was not known when the false peace report came. And so, while there was not the impressive revelation of a people's soul which was evoked by the false news, there was none the less a celebration which the City of New York will hold in its memory for many years.

Whistles, sirens, and bells kept up a constant din the entire day; all business was suspended; the streets were packed and jammed; spontaneous processions formed in every block; effigies of the Kaiser hanging and in coffins were conspicuous; dense snowstorms of bits of paper filled the air and streets, and at night the city was in a state of joyous celebration that almost approached delirium.

AT PARIS

It was to the accompaniment of great guns firing a salute to Victory along the banks of the Seine that Premier Clemenceau, speaking from the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies, told France the extent of the great triumph of the Allies. At that moment those other guns in the bitter action of four long years, from the North Sea to the Swiss frontier, had been silent for five hour.

Paris had known definitely from 11 o'clock that the armistice had been signed and that the fighting had ceased, but the great moment of the great day had been reserved for the time when Clemenceau should make the declaration in Parliament and read the conditions of the armistice.

He had hardly begun when the crowd in the Chamber heard the muffled boom-

ing of guns outside, and knew that all France was rejoicing. There were no formal preliminaries. No attempt at ceremony was needed or undertaken to add anything to one of the most impressive sessions in the history of all Parliaments. The Premier mounted the tribune almost immediately after entering the Chamber. He waited for the end of the tumult of applause, and then, without a word of introduction, began reading those conditions which were being announced simultaneously in all allied capitals.

In the terms themselves was the best possible oratory—victory as read by this wonderful old man of nearly 80. This Clemenceau, this "Tiger of France," who has known so well how to save his people. It was the Clemenceau who as a member of this same Chamber nearly fifty years ago voted against surrender to the triumphant Germany.

Often he was stopped by applause which even blotted out the sound of the guns—when, for example, he read that Alsace-Lorraine was coming back, that the submarines were to be given up, that the victorious troops were to go to the Rhine.

Only once, and then for only an instant, did this master of sarcasm allow any sarcasm to creep into his voice. It was when he had occasion to refer to the Imperial Government of Germany. Laughter swept across the Chamber, shared in even by that sparse group of the Extreme Right, known as Royalists. There was for the moment, at least, no Right, Left, or Centre. France as represented in that Chamber was united in her hour of triumph.

As he came down the tribune the venerable Premier had to stop on his way to the Ministers' bench and shake hands with his enemies, the Socialists, who crowded about him.

Applause and cheering were not enough for this session of the Chamber. The Deputies as they rose to adjourn spontaneously began singing the "Marseillaise." The hymn was taken up by the galleries and by the crowds in the corridors. It spread to the vast throng standing in the twilight outside on the river banks

and bridges, and soon all Paris was singing its song of victory.

All day and everywhere the rejoicing went on, and it continued all night. From the Bastille to the Madeleine, down the Rue Royale to the great corral of captured German guns in the moonlit Place de la Concorde, up the Champs Elysées across the many bridges, singing, weeping, laughing.

IN LONDON

King George, accompanied by the Queen and Princess Mary, drove in an open carriage to the Mansion House in London on Nov. 11 to congratulate the Lord Mayor and the citizens of London. He was everywhere greeted with extraordinary enthusiasm. The City gave itself up to wholehearted merriment and infectious joyousness. At night all London was brilliantly illuminated and the populace surged to the streets. Spread over three miles from St. Paul's to Oxford Circus and down Whitehall to Victoria the streets were full from curb to curb with laughing, jostling, happy people, and traffic difficulties were solved in the simplest fashion by turning back nearly all buses.

A marvelous night scene was witnessed off the Scottish Coast when the grand fleet celebrated the armistice. On a thirty-mile line, warships of every description were simultaneously illuminated. Myriads of sirens blew off with awesome sounds. Hundreds of searchlights played fantastically. Fireworks and star shells were shot up.

A Te Deum for victory was sung and solemn thanksgiving was offered on Nov. 12 in St. Paul's Cathedral, London. The royal family, the Government officials, all the diplomatic corps, the clergy, and over 10,000 people were in attendance.

The signing of the armistice was elaborately celebrated at Rome, and the Vatican issued a note of thanksgiving.

Throughout the entire world, in cities, towns, villages, and at countrysides, the celebrations were spontaneous and unrestrained, being signalized by the blowing of whistles, ringing of bells and impromptu processions and demonstrations of joy.

The Redemption of Belgium

Final Advance of the Allied Armies That Freed the Coast and Liberated Valenciennes and Ghent

By PHILIP GIBBS

The forced evacuation of Belgium by the German armies continued with scarcely a pause from the middle of October to the declaration of the armistice on Nov. 11. The advance of the Allies and the joy of the liberated towns as their deliverers entered were described with his distinctive charm by Mr. Gibbs in his cable dispatches to The New York Times, which copyrighted them for its affiliated publication, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The most memorable of these pen pictures are here presented:

B RITISH FRONT IN BELGIUM, Oct. 18, 1918.—To go into Lille this morning was as good as anything that can come to a man who had seen four years of war, and I am glad that I have lived to see the liberation of that city. I saw the joy of thousands of people who, during all those four years, have suffered tragic things, unforgettable outrages to their liberty and spirit, and have dwelt under a dark spell of fear and have waited month after month, year after year, with a faith that sometimes weakened but never died, for the rescue that has now come to them.

It seems a miracle to them, now that it has come suddenly, and they fill their streets like people in a dream, hugging their gladness, yet almost afraid that it is unreal and that they may wake again to find the swarms of field-gray men about them and guns in their gardens and the German law hard upon them.

All the bridges had been blown up as the last act of the enemy at 1:30 o'clock yesterday morning, before his flight, and most of the British troops were still on the west and south side of the canal and had not entered the city, but they had built footbridges here and there, and I crossed on one and walked into the heart of the people, who were ready to give a warm welcome to any Englishman in khaki.

They opened their arms in great embraces of gratitude and love for those who have helped to rescue them from their bondage, and I saw the joy of vast

crowds, and the light in thousands of eyes was like sunlight about one, and in a few hours one made hundreds of friends who thrust gifts into one's hands and poured out their emotion in words of utter simplicity and truth, and thanked one poor individual as though he were all the army and had done this thing alone.

It was overwhelming and uplifting. Before one had gone far up the first avenue of Lille one was surrounded by a great crowd. A lady broke through the ring, and, clasping both hands, said: "I embrace you for the gladness you have brought us." She kissed one on both cheeks, and it was the signal for general embraces.

Pretty girls came forward and offered their cheeks, and small boys pushed through to kiss the men bending down to them, and old men put their hands on one's shoulders and touched one's face with their grizzled mustaches, and mothers held up their children to be kissed.

This did not last for a few minutes. It lasted all the time I was in Lille. For hours tens of thousands of people were in the streets, and my hands were clasped by many hundreds of them, by all close enough to take my hand.

Children walked hand in hand with me for a little way as if they had known me for years, and talked all the time of their gladness because the Germans had gone. Then other children took their places and other groups gathered, and one was closed in by new crowds who

seized one's hands and cried: "Welcome! Welcome! Long live England!"

PRAYED FOR THE ALLIES

I passed today through Armentières, a town of shapeless ruin, and thought of all the death that has been there while Lille remained an unattainable place. Thousands of British have fallen around here in four years of terrible fighting, and in April last, after the German offensive, when they drove through Armentières itself, Lille seemed further away than before, and that to many of the British men was all the way from life to death.

Now, this morning I passed the last rubbish heap of ruin, the last dead tree stump, the last shell craters and barbed wire, the last dead horses on the road, and came very quickly to that great city beyond the canal, that was so close to the British lines and yet so far, where there are fine churches, colleges, shops, factories, private houses, and an enormous population of rich people and poor, all under the evil spell of German rule, all passionate against its tyrannies, torn with emotions and agonies that were hidden from the Allies until today.

Women lay awake, as they told me today, and cried out: "When will the English come?" Children wept themselves to sleep, as their mothers told me this morning, because another day had passed and the English had not come. "We had so long to wait for you, very long," said many of these people today.

CONSCRIPTED 8,000 GIRLS

After the first terror of the German occupation and the first nagging of law which regulated all their lives, forbade them to be out in the streets after 8 o'clock in the evening, and shut them up in their houses like naughty children at 2 in the afternoon when the German commandant was annoyed with some complaint, one of their worst days came when, just before Easter, 1916, 8,000 young women of Lille were forcibly seized and sent away to work in the fields, hundreds of miles from their homes.

It was a reign of terror for every girl

in Lille and for their parents. Different quarters in the town were chosen for this conscription of girls, and machine guns were posted at each end of the street, and families were ordered to gather in doorways when the German officers came around and made arbitrary choice, saying to one girl, "You," and to another, "You," and then ordered their men to take them.

Mr. Moore, a clergyman, told me that some girls whom he knew were dragged out of their beds and carried screaming away. They were girls in all conditions of life, and a young one whom I met today told me that she was chosen but escaped by threatening to kill herself rather than go, for it was to be a life of misery and horror to any girl of decent instincts.

One of them who was taken and spent six months in this forced labor told me that she had no change of linen all that time and slept on a truss of straw in an old barn, at first with men who were put into the same barn with them and then only with women.

They never had enough to eat in the early days, though the food was better later, and many of these girls fell ill from hunger, and their brothers, who were also taken, suffered. More unspeakable things happened, and there is no forgiveness in the hearts of those who suffered them.

That was the first exodus from Lille, and the second happened twelve days later, when 12,000 men and boys were sent away further into the German lines so that their labor should not be given to the Allies.

"I went when my poor boy was taken," said a lady this morning. "He was only 14, and such a child in his heart. They were laden with packs and kept in the citadel for two nights before leaving, with little food, and when they were assembled their sisters and mothers walked with them as far as allowed, weeping and crying, and the boys and men tried in vain to hide their own tears, and it was a breaking of hearts."

JOY WITH A SOB IN IT

Oct. 20.—Under pressure of the allied armies the enemy's retreat continues,

with severe rearguard fighting on the British front east of Roubaix, Douai, and Le Cateau, but every hour is giving back to Belgium and France precious soil and cities, and is liberating thousands of their people from German bondage.

These are wonderful days when the agony of war is passing from stricken souls, so that out of misery they are lifted to joy, which in itself is a kind of pain, because it is so sudden. Strong men cheer with tears streaming down their cheeks, as I saw many times yesterday in Bruges. The laughter of women breaks suddenly into sobs.

We who are witnesses of these days, having been spared the long ordeal of war and seen so much of its death and tragedy, are not untouched by this emotion. Our eyes are not dull when we go into the light of these people's gladness. There are moments when it is not easy to hide behind the mask which men try to wear when these things touch them. They are good days to live in.

Down a long, straight avenue of trees in Autumn foliage, richly colored like gold and crimson banners for this day of triumph, we went into Bruges, the most beautiful old town in Belgium—this fairy-tale city with its great belfry towering high above the little Old World houses with stepped gables and with the spires of its three tall churches in the blue sky reflected in canals which go between streets crossed by hundreds of small stone bridges.

It was as though we had stepped out of the horror of this four years of war into Flanders of the sixteenth century on a pageant day when the city was celebrating some festival of joy after the raising of a siege. From every house, with its Old World gables, floated Belgian and English flags. Balconies carved 500 years ago were draped with Union Jacks and Belgian colors. All the people of Bruges were in the streets in massed crowds outside the Hôtel de Ville, with its lacework front of stone, and before the Gruuthuus and around the gates of Bruges, with their fat old towers, like giants' castles in Grimm's fairy tales.

Every child in these crowds, and many women, carried banners, so that all the city was filled with color. Belgian sol-

diers marching through had garlands on their helmets and flags and flowers on their guns. The crowd swayed and surged in the streets and squares, and gusts of cheers rose up to one, and then, because we were the first English to come into Bruges, amazing things happened to us.

The words "English" and "England" were cried by thousands of people and followed us everywhere through these quaint old streets, and were called down to us from high windows, where women and children waved colored kerchiefs, and rose up from all that vast crowd in Grande Place by the Hôtel de Ville.

When we walked, the people of Bruges came around us, and we were embraced by all who could get close to us. Old men and young women clasped our hands, and as they spoke of their gratitude to England tears streamed from their eyes and their voices broke. They could not say all they wanted to say. Old women kissed us and hugged us, and said, "The English are our saviors," though Belgian soldiers were the first in Bruges, and praised God because their misery had passed.

As in Lille, so in Bruges, Englishwomen came out of the crowd and said: "I am English. Welcome. Thank God! Thank God!" And then they wept because their hearts had overbrimmed.

As at Lille and Roubaix and Turcoing, so in Bruges, everybody spoke a little English, even the children, because they had been learning it for four years until this day should come. They gathered around, all speaking together, all telling of the things they had suffered, all passionate against the enemy, who had been hard with them, who had robbed them, imprisoned them, outraged their liberties and their homes.

FIFTY MILES OF BATTLE

Oct. 21.—The British troops are engaged in heavy fighting on the whole length of the front from northeast of Courtrai to southeast of Le Cateau for more than fifty miles, and in spite of the enemy's desperate resistance in order to hold the line of the Scheldt, southward from Ghent, covering Tournai and Valenciennes, they are getting close to that

canal everywhere, and are beyond it between Denain and Le Cateau.

This morning's advance by the Second and Third Armies threatens the crossings of the canal, and the two historic cities of Tournai and Valenciennes will soon be within their reach.

There was terrific fighting yesterday by English, Scottish, and Welsh divisions for heights above the River Selle, and the tank corps rendered great service to the infantry by getting across to the east flank and destroying many German machine-gun nests in spite of the flooded ground.

The engineers have been wonderfully gallant in their work of throwing across pontoon bridges under heavy fire, especially under the hail of machine-gun bullets from high ground on the enemy's side, and by their courage the field gunners were able to get across close behind the infantry and open fire on hostile positions at close range.

On the Third Army front by the town of Solesmes, south of Valenciennes on the German line of resistance, there has been extremely severe fighting, and the enemy has massed artillery behind the Scheldt, with which he barraged the line of advance fiercely, using large numbers of gas shells in order to soak the woods and villages with poison vapor.

SUFFERINGS OF COURTRAI

I went into Courtrai itself this morning. It has now been freed from the enemy, but it was not wholly a joyous entry like that into Lille or Bruges or other towns where civilian crowds have greeted any Englishman with cheers or embraces.

The people here, 25,000 to 30,000 of them, have suffered too much to have any complete reaction, yet some of them called out "Good morning," and all their men doffed their hats to us, but with gravity and a kind of dullness like people who had long been stunned by misery.

I could not wonder at that. I was chilled by the sinister spirit of this old city, so beautiful in time of peace, with its tall belfry of St. Martin's Church high above its gabled houses and the Flemish Town Hall and broad market

place, where six centuries ago English merchants came to buy their cloth from Flemish burghers, and where after the battle of spurs many knights with broken armor and tattered plumes were brought in as prisoners of Flemish craftsmen who had fought against them for their liberties.

Through many centuries of history Courtrai has been a famous town in Flanders with a rich trade in cloth and wool, and from the windows of houses still standing silken banners were hung to welcome Kings like the fourth Edward of England or on the last days of the Guilds.

I remembered these things today when I went into the city across the canal with broken bridges where two days ago there was bloody fighting and where today new pits were dug by German shells, and when I went into the grand place and saw people standing in their doorway or hurrying to their vaults to escape from shellfire I thought of these contrasts of history.

UNFORTUNATE CIVILIANS

Oct. 23.—Near Valenciennes the enemy is filtering out of the big Forest of Raismes, and the British have been able to bite off half of it, called the Forest of Vicugne, and advance around the rest of it without much resistance or risk. * * *

I am afraid that there must be many poor peasants trapped along this line of battle, woodcutters crouching in the undergrowth through which machine bullets are slashing, and wives of French charcoal burners hiding with their babies in the cellars of little farmsteads.

This has happened on the line of the advance beyond big towns, and it is a tragedy which stirs the hearts of the British troops, who go stepping day after night far from the main lines of communications into this great unknown country which they call "the blue." They give some of their bully beef to these women and children, though they are ravenously hungry after cold nights and exhausting days, and they break off hunks of bread and thrust them into the hands of boys and girls, whose pinched

faces tell their tale, though they do not beg.

Lamentable things are happening in some of these places, as at St. Amand, near Valenciennes, which was captured by British cavalry. In this village the enemy had collected nearly 1,500 people who were suffering from what is called Spanish influenza. He turned one building into a hospital for them and crowded it.

Then when he left the village to escape the cavalry which had closed around it, he shelled it with mustard gas. Most of his shells fell around the hospital, though his gunners ought to have known and had pity, and these poor stricken souls, who went hiding in their cellars, so ill already that many could not stand, and though dying, (and some are now dead,) were aware of the poisonous vapor stealing into their lungs and burning them.

That has just happened, and the British are now getting these people away in ambulances as fast as they can be brought up, and this morning I saw many hospital nurses on the way to look after these gas victims.

The problem of the civilian populations liberated by the advancing British armies is serious and adding to the burden of the fighting organization. One corps east of Douai has 42,000 people on its hands, all destitute, utterly without means of getting food, in grave peril of starvation unless the army sends supplies without delay.

DOUAI A DEAD CITY

In Douai itself there is tragedy, but of another kind without the human touch, for Douai is dead. In this home of old scholars and of many centuries of splendid history and good craftsmanship there is no life except that of a stray cat or two, like one I saw affrighted by my footsteps today in the lonely halls of the Hôtel de Ville, where upstairs and downstairs there was an utter loneliness and great silence amidst the litter of its archives flung about by German hands in search of loot.

Where are the people of Douai? No single face looked out from the windows of its old houses today. Its cathedral was

a house of silence. In the dwellings cupboards were open and bare and all furniture overturned and crockery and glassware smashed by deliberate industry.

It was a noble old city, and its gables and old carvings and sixteenth century frontages would tempt an artist's hand, and everywhere a man with a knowledge of history finds the spirit of old France calling to him with the voices of its saints and scholars and Princes and burghers and fair women famous in the pages of France, but it is a city of ghosts and no human being is there, and I and two other men today were alone in it, and its solitude scared us so that we were glad to leave.

KING ALBERT IN BRUGES

Oct. 27.—On Friday morning, [Oct. 25,] after one or two private visits, the King and Queen of the Belgians made their state entry into Bruges. The Queen rode on the left of the King, and on his right was the young Prince Leopold in the uniform of his regiment of carabineers.

Every soul in the city was in the streets or at the windows and balconies, and there were flaming fires of enthusiasm above the people, who had waited four years for the day when the entry of the brave soldier who stayed with his army in the narrow strip of ground which was all his kingdom would symbolize to them the return of their liberties.

For a time while King Albert reviewed his troops the people of Bruges held back in a hollow square, but afterward when he went up the steps of the Governor's house they broke bounds, and tens of thousands of them surged around him, cheering that tall figure which looked down upon them, with its hand at a salute, with a most joyous and wonderful emotion.

From hundreds of old houses in Bruges long banners floated with the rich colors of the Belgian flag, and on this splendid day of Autumn the trees along the canals and the walls of the houses above the stone bridges were gold and scarlet in the glory of their dying foliage, so that Bruges was like a painting in an old illuminated book, and one went with wonder into the heart of it.

A belfry rang out a joyous carillon, and from other tall towers of churches, built high like dream castles above the gabled roofs, there was the booming of deep-toned bells, very soothing below the singing notes of the belfry chimes. The voices of many centuries seemed to mingle with the shouts of the living drawn into the past history of Bruges, when there were other wars and other servitudes, and the music of the bells was the call of the old sadness of life mingled with that dancing carillon like the laughter of children who forget.

BRUGES'S YEARS OF SORROW

Poor Bruges will not soon forget these last four years, for they have scarred the spirit of her people. Physically they have not suffered much. They put aside that part of their suffering, the dearth and scarcity of food, the lack of coal, the shabbiness of clothes that had been worn for four years—a suit of clothes costs \$135—first with a shrug of the shoulders and the words, "All that was nothing." But what hurt them, what was hard to bear, was their utter helplessness under iron tyranny.

Some of them speak fairly of the German private soldier; with astonishing generosity, indeed. "They were well behaved, orderly, and, apart from the inevitable brutes among them, gave no trouble," said one of the most notable gentlemen of Bruges, and he added: "It is right and fair that we should tell that to the world." But having said that, he and other men I met denounced the German officials and the German officers of the regular army type with passionate indignation.

"They were utterly lacking in any spirituality," said a friend of mine, Mr. Jean de Brouwer. "Many of them were inspired by a kind of satanic pride and philosophy, and they have a bestiality of character which is not accidental, but deliberate and educated."

He told me stories of gross behavior which would be unbelievable if I did not have good evidence. The worst of these men were submarine commanders who infested Bruges. They were swaggering bullies, like the professional duelists in old days, taking great risks for the sake

of applause and adulation from their fellows.

Later their risks became too great and their doom so almost certain that they were cowed and lost something of their braggadocio, so many of them went out and never returned. They were like men under sentence of death. They never told their losses. No German submarine was ever reported lost in their newspapers, but the people in Bruges who knew them by sight and by name in the streets and shops ticked them off.

SECRET POLICE

Worse than the German officers of the most brutal type were the German secret police, who went about among the people as spies in plain clothes, and took venomous delight in tracking out small offenders against German law, so that they might be punished by heavy fines or imprisonment. Hundreds of men in Bruges were fined, sometimes enormous sums, or taken to prisons in Germany for trivial reasons.

Jean de Brouwer was fined 1,500 marks for writing to the authorities in French instead of Flemish, and this was one incident in the deliberate effort made by the German authorities to sow seeds of dissension between the Flemish and French speaking populations of Belgium.

The nuns of a Flemish convent were fined 1,000 marks because one of their ladies, when asked the time by a German officer inspecting their house, pulled out a watch and gave the Belgian instead of the German time. The Superior of the convent, who happens to be an English lady, wrote the German commandant of Bruges, protesting against this fine, pointing out that all the clocks in her house were set to the German time, and that the act complained of was due to the forgetfulness of one young nun. The answer she received was insulting.

"Your letter is full of lies," was the reply, "and, being English, that is what might be expected."

The taking of wool from every home and every mattress and linen from beds and cupboards, and brass from door handles and lamps and ornaments, was galling to the people of Bruges, but in order to replace their woolen mattresses

by straw they had to pay 1 mark 25 for every kilo of straw, or a hundred times more than the pre-war price, and, having taken their goods and their factories, the Germans resold the manufactured goods according to the same scale of prices.

GERMAN DISCIPLINE BROKEN

Oct. 30.—Germany is both beaten and ruined, recent prisoners say. However, German machine gunners, who are the élite of their army, are fighting bravely and doggedly in order to gain time for retreating troops. Our pursuit has been too rapid for the enemy's plans of orderly withdrawal, and he is still holding on to his present line because he has not had enough time to do his packing up and is afraid of losing masses of material. But behind these military arrangements, which are still being carried out with method and discipline, there are bigger things, which make them only the last demonstration of German militarism in the fields of war.

In spite of Hindenburg's order that German soldiers have no concern with politics, the imminent surrender of their army leaders, the despair and passion that are breaking loose among their people, and the knowledge of defeat have broken the spirit of the German armies as a fighting machine, and they are not unconcerned with the doom that is upon them. Civilians in the newly liberated towns of Lille and Roubaix and others tell me that the breaking up of German discipline and well-being was plainly visible about a year ago and during the last six months could not be hidden.

The fighting machine and fighting spirit of these men were wearing out and withering. Their horses became so thin and starved that even in the streets of Lille they used to drop down dead. Rations of the men were reduced, and they became pinched and pallid. The arrogance of the officers, brutal beyond words in the early days to citizens of Lille, became chastened, and among the men there was a growing revolt against the officer class and "capitalists," whom they denounced as the authors of the war. They were struck in the face and slapped with whips by their officers for any trivial offense, and they cherished

these things and said: "We will cut their throats when we are free of this."

NEARING VALENCIENNES

Nov. 1.—Valenciennes was apparently closed in by Canadian troops this morning after heavy fighting, and the enemy probably will abandon it within a few hours. All the thousands of civilians who still are living there and are waiting with desperate anxiety for our entry will then be rescued from days of terror.

When I went up among the Canadians today the sound of the shellfire was terrific, and Canadian officers tell me their troops attacked today under support of a more powerful concentration of guns than they had three days ago under German counterattacks.

There were a number of farms, farmsteads, and cottages, like Targette and Chemin Vert, to the left of the village of Aulnoy, just below the Valenciennes railway, in which the enemy had organized defenses. Over these places our barrage fire rolled like a tide, wiping them off the map of France, and at the same time our guns fired a number of smoke shells, which made a dense white fog, obliterating all view of our advancing troops and putting the Germans in a haze so thick they could not see three paces about them.

THE FOE HELPLESS

Their machine gunners could not find their human targets, and were helpless. The German infantry of the 6th Division were helpless. They were as baffled as if blankets had been flung about their heads. One German officer taken prisoner this morning with many others said his position was so hopeless in this fog that he told his company there was nothing to do but surrender, and led them forward as the Canadians advanced, to hand them over at a small place called Le Vessie. At the southern edge of Valenciennes there was a German field gun in action, firing at close range through this mist, but the Canadians closed around it and captured it.

The enemy's guns had put down a fierce line of fire before the attack started, or soon afterward, but their batteries were quickly silenced by the

power of our artillery, and after that the Canadians were only faced by machine-gun fire from positions in ruined buildings and in embanked ditches where the Germans held out to the last. The Canadian casualties were not heavy, I am told by their own officers, and they were perfectly successful in reaching their objectives along the railway, which is the southern boundary of Valenciennes.

The Germans have already lost many men on this southern side of the city, and the Canadians were surprised at the number of German dead lying about the Rhonelle River after the fighting of recent days. For the survivors it is a hopeless business, for they know now that they are not only beaten in the field but in the world.

"We have been betrayed," said one of the German officers today, "and that is why we have lost the war."

He had a list of betrayals, beginning with Italy and going on to Rumania, and then to Bulgaria, and now, worst of all from his point of view, Austria. They acknowledge that with Austria out of the war they will find it impossible to fight on alone, except in a losing fight to save their pride; so humiliation and despair have entered their souls, where once arrogance had a dwelling place and a sense of victory over all the world.

AMONG THE FLEMISH VILLAGES

Further across the French frontier toward the town of Audenarde in Belgium there is another battle in progress which began yesterday and is continuing today with Belgian, French, American, and British troops attacking side by side. It is a battle among Flemish villages and farmsteads where the peasants are still living, helplessly entangled in nets of horror with German machine gunners firing from their windows and allied troops tramping into their courtyards with naked bayonets, and the killing of men in their bedrooms and cellars.

Into the villages from which the enemy has been lately driven poison gas comes from a shellfire which is not very loud but makes a little hiss as each shell bursts and liberates its fumes.

We stopped all use of gas because of these civilians, but the Germans are using it every day, and in the Flemish villages many babies are dead and dying and our ambulances are carrying away women and girls gasping for breath and blinded by this foul weapon of war.

Our men give these village people gas masks taken from German prisoners now safe behind the lines and teach them how to use them, but it is of no avail because it needs long training and discipline to keep on gas masks any length of time.

They were fighting hard yesterday in a wood called Spitalbosch, which the enemy strongly defended behind barricades dug in great roots of trees. It was like the fighting the American troops had in the Argonne, and very difficult and perilous, but these men have gone forward with fine courage and have routed the enemy out from many of his lairs in this woodland, and by their good service have helped the progress of the French on their left, at this moment striking from Audenarde; and the country north of it breaks through the German line south of Ghent and will lead surely enough to the liberation of that Belgian city, which is yearning for the luck of Bruges.

VALENCIENNES CAPTURED

Nov. 3.—After fierce fighting by English and Canadian troops the old City of Valenciennes, across the Scheldt Canal, was entered yesterday morning. At 7:50 A. M. the General commanding the Canadian troops which encircled the town sent this historic message: "I have the honor to report that Valenciennes is completely in our hands."

It was a fine achievement which the English troops share with the Canadians. Against these Yorkshire territorials and regulars of country regiments came the enemy's desperate counterattacks on Nov. 1 after our advance in the morning through the villages of Aulnoy and Preseau, strongly held by large numbers of German troops with orders to defend these positions to the death.

From the north all advance was made impossible by the opening of the Scheldt sluice gates, which flooded that side of the city, and the enemy's only way to escape was by the southeast, so that here he had concentrated all his available men. They fought with great courage and obstinacy, but it was unavailing against the Canadians and English, supported by an immense concentration of artillery.

Many German dead lie across the little Rhonelle River, and 4,000 prisoners were taken by the combined forces. The enemy's counterattacks were made with the help of tanks, but they broke down utterly, so that the British captured tanks and many more prisoners.

I went into Valenciennes yesterday morning soon after its capture, when there was still heavy fighting on its southeastern side, so that all the British guns were in action with enormous noise as I passed them in the outskirts of the city, and flights of shells were passing over its houses, where many civilians experienced mingled joy and fear, knowing that they were free again, but afraid of this fury of the guns around them.

OUTLYING VILLAGES DESERTED

The way to Valenciennes from Douai was full of haunting pictures of the war, because Canadian and English troops fought through many of the villages along these roads, and those places have not escaped unscathed.

Their people have fled from those nearest to Valenciennes because of the German shells which smashed through their roofs and walls and made wreckage in many houses. Some of them have been sliced in half, so that one looks into rooms where cottage pianos and women's sewing machines and babies' cradles still stand against the furthest walls amid broken beams and plaster.

Only a few soldiers move among these abandoned villages, and yesterday, which was a foul day, with the wet mist steaming through their shell-pierced walls, which shook like sounding boards to the roar of gunfire, they smelled of tragedy. Through Orgy and

Audry to La Sentinelle—suburbs of Valenciennes on this side of the Scheldt—there was hardly a living soul about, except odd figures like shadows in the wet fog, lurking under the walls—British soldiers, as one could tell by the shape of their steel hats.

All along the railway from Douai the bridges had been blown up by the enemy and lay in monstrous wreckage across the line. Beyond, in this thick veil of mist, black slag mountains, like Egyptian pyramids, loomed vaguely. Factory chimneys were faintly penciled above them, as though this were a war in Lancashire. Dead horses, horribly mangled, lay at the roadside. The war had passed this way not long ago. It was still very close to Valenciennes, and that city was between two fires. Most of the fire came from our side. The guns were crowded in this fog, through which their flashes stabbed with sudden gusts of flame.

The monsters raised up their snouts and bellowed from the muddy fields near by, shaking the earth and sky. Field batteries, stark in the open, were hard at work, and as I passed within a few yards of them their sharp strokes hit my eardrums like the crack of hammers.

Then we came to the Scheldt Canal and saw Valenciennes spread out before us on the other side—a long, narrow city, built along the line of the Scheldt, so that one sees it from end to end, with its churches and factories and towers high above its crowded roofs.

VIEW OF FROISSART'S CITY

Valenciennes, the old city of lace-makers, famous through a thousand years because of the history of its people and the noble men and women born within its walls and the many sieges and captures and conflicts when it became the prize of robber princes and warring empires! I thought of Sir John Froissart, that very gallant knight and mediaeval war correspondent, who was born here 500 years ago and came riding here across the bridge when there was a pageant of chivalry within its walls, and troubadours sang to the ladies of Valenciennes, with their own lace about their long white necks.

The ghost of Sir John Froissart walked

with me as I crossed and looked for the first time on this fair city and saw flames rising from its old houses on the south-east side and heard the flight of many shells whining across its roofs and the booming of many guns echoed back in deep resonance like the low notes of organ pipes, enormously long drawn. That gentle chronicler would have been sad at heart to see the peril of his city, and yet not without exultation, because of its liberation from the enemy who had held it for four years under an iron scourge.

There was still the noise of machine-gun fire somewhere on the right—long bursts of staccato shots—and I had heard from a Canadian Colonel that the enemy was still holding out in a machine-gun post in the suburb of Marly. We kept our ears alert for any "piling" of a close bullet. A German ready for death might take many sure shots from any window or cellar here before paying the price.

But where were the people of Valenciennes? The solitude was beginning to be oppressive. This was not like the entry into Lille. There were no manifestations of joy in this liberated city. The fury of that gunfire overhead had kept the people hidden in their houses.

Presently here and there I saw some faces peering out, and then a door opened, and a man and woman and their thin children appeared. The woman thrust out a skinny hand, grasped mine and began to weep. Then she talked passionately, with a strange mingling of rage and grief. "O my God!" she said. "Those devils have gone at last! What have they not made us suffer!" Her husband spoke to me over his wife's shoulder. "Sir," he said, "they have stolen everything, broken everything, and have ground us down for four years. They are bandits and brigands!" The woman held my wrists tight in her skinny hands and said: "We are grateful to the English soldiers. It is they who have saved us."

STORMING LE QUESNOY.

Nov. 5.—It was an astounding victory yesterday south of Valenciennes, about Le Quesnoy and Landrecies, and after his heavy defeat the enemy is retreating

in disorder from some sectors of his front. The 4th British Corps, commanded by General Harper, was in the centre of this attack, with the 37th and New Zealand divisions on this side of Ghissignies and Le Quesnoy.

The last-named place is a mediaeval town, defended by high ramparts and inner and outer bastions, strengthened by Vauban, the famous Engineer of Military Works under Louis XIV., and it was garrisoned by over 1,000 Germans, with orders to defend it at all costs. They were brave men, and determined to obey this command. The New Zealanders, however, were equally determined to take Le Quesnoy, and they set out to assault it frontally as soon as the attack had been launched with a powerful bombardment.

Those New Zealand boys, among whom I have been this morning, have been fighting with hardly a break since they went away from Hebuterne, near Albert, three months ago, but their spirit remains high, and yesterday they achieved one of their most heroic feats. They stormed the outer ramparts of Le Quesnoy in old-fashioned style with scaling ladders, and made breaches through the walls, as in the old days of Henry's men-at-arms, but with more peril because of machine-gun fire which swept them from the inner defenses. They gained part of the outer ramparts, but could get no further, and the German garrison remained strong inside their keep.

New tactics were adopted by the New Zealand General, who ordered one body of his men to go round Le Quesnoy on the north, and another to work round it on the south, leaving pickets all around the town. This was done, and the town was completely surrounded by the New Zealanders, who joined hands on the east side.

A DRAMATIC SURRENDER

Some of their battalions then fought forward against determined resistance from the Germans in the villages of Herbignies and Jolimetz, where they broke their way into the enemy's artillery positions and captured many guns. Aston-

ishing things happened there, but meanwhile the German garrison of Le Quesnoy was called upon to surrender. Messages were first dropped inside the town from British airplanes flying low above the place.

"You are completely surrounded," was the first message dropped in this way. "Enemy troops are far to the east of you. If you will surrender you will be treated as honorable prisoners of war."

The German garrison of Le Quesnoy read these words, but no order to surrender was given. Later in the morning two deputations were sent to them, each one consisting of a New Zealander officer and two German officer prisoners. Going through a breach in the outer ramparts they shouted out the summons to surrender, with the promise of honorable treatment. A few men accepted this offer and came out to give themselves up, but most of the thousand remained within their bastions and still gave no sign of capitulating.

So it was all day until evening, when, after astonishing successes further forward, the New Zealanders determined to close in upon Le Quesnoy and force its surrender at the point of the bayonet. From the outer ramparts they stormed the inner walls, which were very high and perpendicular, so that they were not easy to scale. They forced their way in despite all machine-gun fire, and after fighting in the streets of the town they received the capitulation of the remaining members of the garrison, amounting still to nearly a thousand men.

VAST WAR MACHINE

Nov. 6.—The blow inflicted upon the enemy by the British victory of Monday south of Valenciennes, at Landrecies and Le Quesnoy was so heavy and vital that German battalions, which had escaped capture and were in reserve lines, have been forced to retreat from the Forest of Mormal and on a wide front east of it.

Haig's troops are following them closely, and behind them once again that vast machine, which is the complement of the modern army, with its engineering services, its material needed for roads, rails, and bridges, its food for men and guns, is on the move, so that the

fighting men shall not be out of touch with their supplies.

No mortal can imagine what this means in terms of traffic and in human energy unless he has seen the mechanism of war. It means the surging forward of motor truck columns and transport wagons far back for scores of miles from the new front line, for when one link of the chain is extended all that chain has to be dragged ahead, and it is a chain made by hundreds of thousands of men, with all the material of their labor.

It means that the big guns have to get on the move, crawling up narrow roads on monstrous caterpillar tractors. It means that the tanks have to find new hiding places. It means that the roads are narrow channels down which battalions on the march are crowded to one side, mud-splashed and jammed by endless columns of field batteries, by motor buses and motor trucks, swaying perilously along high-cambered tracks on the edge of greasy ditches; by staffs and the transport of corps and divisional headquarters, shifting their lodgings from one village to another; by pontoon bridges on heavy wagons; by airdrome equipment, packed up for removal; by field kitchens, ammunition columns and the army of road menders who follow up the fighting men.

AMAZING AIR BATTLE

The aviators who are hurrying the enemy's retreat have beaten all their records lately in air combats, and their most famous day, when they destroyed something like seventy hostile airplanes, has already been surpassed.

One exploit is now the talk of the army, and it seems to be as wonderful as anything that has been done by these knights-errant of the air. It happened over the Forest of Mormal, in British hands since yesterday, and there, over those dense woods with a queer kind of Eiffel Tower in the centre of them, flew a Major of one of the British flying squadrons, searching for the whereabouts of the British troops and for any German fighting plane which he might challenge to a duel.

He saw a two-seater, flying at 1,000

feet to escape the "Archies" and any other trouble, and the Major climbed up to it in a wide spiral and then from below fired at it. The German pilot and observer fell, their machine breaking in the air, and one man dropping in a parachute. Immediately a Fokker biplane came into view, and the Major heard the whistling of bullets through his plane, and then felt a hammer stroke on his left thigh. He had been hit, and for the moment was stunned.

His airplane began to spin out of control, but the Major became conscious of his danger, and, instinctively touching his levers, again got his grip on the engine. Then he saw that he was surrounded by fifteen Fokkers, crowding about him for the death shot. His defense was by attack, and by a marvelous manoeuvre he got his shots in first, and three enemies fell, but machine guns were chattering about him and bullets singing past his wires.

Another hammer blow struck him, this time shattering his left thighbone. He fainted clean away and his machine dived helplessly, but once again the spirit of the man awakened to the instinct of self-preservation and anger against those who were out to kill him. He handled his machine again, mastered it, and looked out for the Germans.

ONE AGAINST MANY

From twelve to fifteen enemy scouts were in his sky, taking up the hunt for him. He flew at one, and saw his burst of fire set it alight, so that it began falling in flame. At the same time bullets were about him like wasps. One of them smashed his left elbow, and his arm dropped and hung loose and useless.

With one hand he managed now to steer and shoot against a new swarm of enemies that came like midges. He dived steeply to escape them, but eight more scouts chased him down. He could not avoid them, so he fought them. He fought by manoeuvring for position with every stunt known to airmen with a little morning wildness in their hearts, but this was cold, deadly skill. It was watched by ground observers, who held their breath at the sight of that one

British airplane, banking, nose diving, looping, with the flock of Germans about it.

For ten or twelve minutes he juggled with his airplane to get his target among the vultures. He hit two and put them out of action, and then they had had enough, and he landed successfully. But when his machine came to a rest he did not jump out. He sat all crumpled up, with his head drooping, and it was on a stretcher that he went away. He is now in a hospital, gravely wounded, and every man out here who knows how he fought between fifty and sixty hostile aircraft and destroyed four and drove down six hopes with all his heart that this air knight will recover from his wounds.

SCENES IN TOURNAI

Nov. 10.—The spirit of victory is in the air. The British troops are following up the retreating enemy with bands playing and are going up the roads with flags on their rifles and on their gun limbers through villages from which the German rearguard had gone only an hour or two before, and where the French and Flemish cheer them as they pass with cries of "Vivent les Anglais!"

It is glorious Autumn weather, with a sparkle of gold in the sunlight and the glint of gold on the russet leaves and shining pools along the roads. It is Sunday, and in many churches in France and Belgium and in cathedrals which escaped destruction by a narrow chance, only scathed a little by battles around the town, "Te Deums" are being sung, and people who a week ago crept to church close in the shadow of the walls, afraid of the noise of gunfire around them, and who a day or two ago saw the gray wolves of the German Army still prowling in the streets, though with a hang-dog look, are now singing their praises to God because of their deliverance, almost doubting, even yet, that after four years under the hostile yoke they are free—free to speak their minds, free to display the flag of their nation, free of fines and punishment and requisitions and spying, and German police and German arrogance, free in their souls and hearts after four years of servitude under hostile rule.

So it was in Tournai today. For three weeks the people there had lived in cellars, listening to the fury of gunfire along the Scheldt Canal and closing in about them. * * * A month ago more than 10,000 went away from Tournai, but that was behind German bayonets after a rollcall of all able-bodied men, who were forced to go while their women wept for them. A week ago the roar of the bombardment increased and never ceased day or night, and the people became haggard in their cellars, because of this awful noise above them. But they were comforted by the knowledge that this British gunfire was not directed on Tournai, and they said:

"The Germans have lied again. We shall not be killed by our friends."

Then, two nights ago, above the noise of the guns there were louder noises—stupendous explosions shaking every stone of their cellars and their vaulted roofs as by an earthquake, and the people of Tournai guessed that the Germans were blowing up the bridges over the Scheldt Canal, and that it was the signal of their retreat.

BRITISH AT MONS

Nov. 11.—The British troops knew early this morning that the armistice had been signed. I stopped on my way to Mons. Outside brigade headquarters an officer said: "Hostilities will cease at 11 o'clock." Then he added, as all men add in their hearts: "Thank God for that!"

All the way to Mons there were columns of troops on the march, and their bands played ahead of them, and almost every man had a flag on his rifle, the red, blue, and white of France, the red, yellow, and black of Belgium. They wore flowers in their caps and in their tunics, red and white chrysanthemums given them by crowds of people who cheered them on their way—people who in many of these villages have been only one day liberated from the German yoke.

The men marched, singing, with a smiling light in their eyes. They had done their job, and it was finished with the greatest victory in the world.

The war ended for the British at Mons, as it had begun there. When I went into this town this morning it seemed to me a most miraculous coincidence, and a joyful one. Last night there was a fight outside the town before the British forced their way in at 10 o'clock. The Germans left many of their guns in the gardens before they ran.

This morning Mons was full of English cavalry and Canadian troops, about whom there were crowds of townspeople, cheering them and embracing them. One old man told me of all they had suffered in Mons, but he wept only when he told me of the suffering of the British prisoners.

"What a shame for Germany," he said, "what a shame, when these things are known about your poor men starving to death! Our women tried to give them food, but were beaten for it, and fifteen days ago, down there by the canal, one of your English was killed because a woman gave him a bit of bread."

Little children came up to me and described the fighting the night before, and many people narrated the first fighting in Mons in August of 1914, when the "Old Contemptibles" were there, and fought their battle through the town and then on their way of retreat outside.

All that is now a memory. The war belongs to the past. There will be no flash of gunfire in the sky tonight. The fires of hell have been put out, and I have written my last message as war correspondent, thank God!

Mr. Gibbs's eloquent descriptions of scenes in Mons and Ghent appear elsewhere in these pages under the title "How Peace Came on the Battlefronts."

French Armies' Final Victories

Pen Pictures of Bruges When Entered by the Allies, and of Battles for Other Cities

By WALTER DURANTY

By the middle of October the French forces under Gouraud, Debeney, and Guillaumat had established a close liaison with the American First Army, which, after clearing out the Argonne Forest, was developing an advance east of the Meuse. The French attack was directed toward Vouziers and Mézières, while the Americans sought to cut the Longuyon-Sedan-Mézières railway. The fighting was stubborn and the terrain difficult, but the French stormed their way through the enemy lines with great captures of men and guns and rapidly advanced toward their objectives. Walter Duranty, after depicting conditions in Bruges and other recaptured Belgian towns, accompanied the French armies and cabled vivid descriptions of the fighting to THE NEW YORK TIMES. These have been copyrighted for its affiliated publication, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, and are given herewith.

BRUGES, Oct. 20, 1918.—“President Wilson saved Bruges,” said Town Clerk Victor, to whom I talked today. The same opinion is universal among the 50,000 people remaining in the city. “The President’s reply caused a marked change in the German attitude,” continued M. Victor. “Thus the commandateur had notified some two-score leading citizens ten days ago that they would be removed as hostages. We were conducted to the station for departure, when suddenly a counterorder for our release came from General Headquarters. The enemy carefully refrained from injuring buildings or works of art and confined his destruction to the arsenal and his own depots. A high Prussian officer admitted that there had been a decision to spare invaded territories henceforward as far as possible. For the Germans, fear of punishment is the beginning of clemency.”

Not only Bruges’s famous buildings are intact, but priceless pictures and art treasures were so well hidden before the enemy’s arrival that everything has been saved. The fact is the Germans never for a moment thought that Bruges would pass from their possession, and consequently did not trouble to consider the question of removing its monuments until it was too late. In the Palace of Justice they did not touch the carved mantelpiece, a masterpiece of mediaeval art,

merely saying that the space on the wall opposite it was reserved for the Kaiser’s picture directly peace established their hold on the city.

Although the last boches departed during the night of Friday to Saturday, [Oct. 18-19,] the evacuation began fully three weeks ago, and for the last fortnight there had been a steady flow of documents, stores, &c., by train and barge to Antwerp. The enemy made no secret of his preparations, and on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday a series of explosions and fires in the arsenal and port warned the inhabitants that deliverance was near.

ENTERING BRUGES

The first Belgian soldiers entered the city yesterday morning, but mine craters at crossroads and the destruction of the canal bridges prevented the passage of vehicles until today. It was a thrilling progress along the beflagged streets between dense rows of people who cheered to the echo every car, camion, motor cycle, or foot soldier along the route to the central square, where the chimes—the sole brasswork not unhidden that had not yet been stolen by the boches—and the famous great bell of the belfry tower were ringing for the second time during the war. The first time was that day of gloom for the inhabitants when with full pomp and music the boches announced

the signature of peace with Russia, the "beginning of the allied end," as all called it.

An interesting feature was the display in the windows of shops and houses of linen and copper utensils walled up in cellars during four years to escape the German requisitions. Each copper pot, sheet, and tablecloth was proudly decked with a rosette of the Belgian colors. Portraits of the King and Queen were everywhere.

As regards food, Bruges is to be reckoned fortunate. For the poor the American Committee functioned admirably; for the rich there was wholesale smuggling from Holland, wherein the Germans readily participated. One could buy sugar at \$1 per pound, coffee at \$8, and tea at \$10. Milk at 20 cents per pint and butter at \$5 per pound were reserved for the invaders, but could nevertheless be bought *sub rosa*.

GERMANS TOOK BRIBES

For the inhabitants it was a point of honor to enjoy the same comforts as the invaders, no matter at what cost or risk of fines and imprisonment. They took pleasure in buying with the complicity of German officials—generally offered at a price which now is deemed excessive. Just the same the commandateur never ceased perquisitions and pillage. From the leading printer in the town eight tons of lead type were taken with the words: "It will make missiles to fire upon your damned Belgians as Solf's payment."

As early as 1916 the price of clothes was beyond reach to any save millionaires. One girl I saw had manufactured a coat from a blanket, another from a curtain. Shoes were soled with old bicycle tires, and bicycles ran on the front wheel on felt and the rear on springs. The Germans mercilessly pillaged unoccupied houses and, as at Ostend, forced the inhabitants in many cases to yield to them choice dwellings with their contents under pain of fine.

From the outset the authority of the Burgomaster was set aside by the invaders, but until recently a local Magistrate was allowed to try civil cases.

Three months ago the Germans suppressed the court.

I visited the Port of Bruges, which formed the principal centre of the submarine campaign against the North Sea and British coast. As many as forty submarines often assembled within the huge basins of the port—to say nothing of torpedo boats, three of which still remain with their smokestacks projecting from the water, sunk to avoid capture.

M. Brandel was arrested by the Germans at the outset and imprisoned several weeks because he refused to put his services at their disposal. The Germans told him the port henceforth would be the State property of Germany, which would develop it and make Bruges a second Hamburg, through which should pass the trade of Belgium and Northern France.

With this end in view the boches had begun a vast scheme of construction of new docks to double the port area. Scores of houses had been pulled down to provide the necessary space. Five floating docks were built, and the number of cranes, dock buildings, and repair yards increased tenfold.

GERMAN CRUELTY

Oct. 21.—German rule in Bruges was marked by a combination of cruelty and corruption without parallel since the days of Spanish tyranny in Flanders. Supreme powers over the city were vested in the port commander, Admiral von Schröder, who proved a worthy successor to the infamous Duke of Alva. By Schröder's orders hundreds of persons have been shot after the travesty of a trial on the scantiest evidence.

"For a case of espionage presumption is sufficient evidence and proof unnecessary," was one of his sayings, and another: "It is better to shoot a score of innocent people than to let one spy escape." On that system the Germans did "justice" in Flanders.

The most notorious case was the murder of Captain Fryatt. I talked today with a man named Schaloigne, whose cousin shared a cell with Fryatt during the trial. After a brief hearing the Captain was removed from the court while

his judges deliberated. "I fear there is little hope," said Fryatt. "They call it a trial, but it looked like a put-up job to me. Everything was cut and dried for condemnation."

Hardly were the words out of his mouth when they came and led him away, and five minutes later the Belgian heard the fatal volley in the courtyard. Fryatt's body lies in a nameless grave in a corner of the cemetery, but it is said that the sexton has a record of the exact spot.

It is worthy of note that before his departure a few days ago the German Military Judge Zepfel, who presided at Fryatt's trial, declared: "The British will want my head in payment of Fryatt's life, but it is Schröder alone who is responsible. I simply obeyed his orders which insisted absolutely on the death penalty."

TORTURE OF FOUR BELGIANS

An even more horrible case was that of a Belgian named De La Place and his three companions, condemned to be shot after half an hour's trial. At dawn the following morning they were led out to the courtyard of the Lancers' Barracks, where the execution took place, and were fastened to posts opposite which a firing squad was ready. Just as the last knot was being tied an officer entered the courtyard, crying: "Admiral's orders. Your appeal has been heard." And all four were taken back to prison.

Incredible as it may seem, this hideous farce was repeated a week later, with a similar respite at the last moment. Then, after another fortnight's imprisonment, during which the Belgians continued protesting their innocence of all charges against them, they faced a firing squad for the third time, and the death sentence was carried out. One of them named Gloovére had become a raving maniac since the second application of torture, but the Germans knew no mercy. Soldiers bore him out and fastened him to the execution post with the others.

VISIT TO ZEEBRUGGE

Oct. 23.—I visited Zeebrugge today, the scene of one of the most audacious exploits in the war's history. Along the coast from Blankenburg the sandhills

separating the road from the beach were honeycombed with battery positions succeeding one another absolutely without interval. There must have been hundreds of guns varying from six to twelve-inch and tons of big shells still left by the Germans. Everywhere one could see long muzzles turned seaward.

As Zeebrugge drew near, the gun emplacements in many cases were obliterated by gaping craters fifty feet across, made by aerial torpedoes or projectiles from the largest English naval cannon. The port of Zeebrugge made a striking picture in the bright midday sunshine. Just at the right of the little group of hotels and villas that formed the town begins the long mole—its entrance commanded by a battery of six-inch guns still intact—but after running out a hundred yards into the sea it curves northward for half a mile parallel with the shore, thus making a sheltered harbor in front of the mouth of the Bruges Canal, which enters the sea between two long piers some six hundred yards north of the town.

The tide was low and the wrecks of sunken ships stood high out of the water. Close against the mole and nearly at the end was the Brussels, and beyond it unknown vessels. Nearer the coast was a dredger, sunk by the Germans. Then exactly off the end of the canal was the wreck of the *Thetis*, the old British warship which was sunk in the famous attack. Between the still smoldering timbers of the burned pier I could distinguish other British ships, the *Iphigenia* and the *Intrepid*—long, battered masses of twisted, rusty iron.

BLOWING UP MINES

Suddenly there came the rat-a-tat of machine guns from a flotilla of motor launches grouped off the end of the mole and a moment later an enormous column of mud and water rose a hundred feet in the air, followed by an ear-splitting explosion as the bullets fired one of the many mines that had formed a barrage at the northern end of the harbor.

I walked as far as possible along the mole. After twenty-five yards the solid concrete wall, twenty feet high and thirty feet across, gave way to the timbers of

wooden pier work, under which the tide swept right up the harbor. There was a forty-yard gap in the mole, torn by the explosion of a British submarine crammed to the hatches with trinitrotoluol and driven headlong against the breakwater on the night of the attack. The inhabitants of Bruges, twelve miles away, were startled by that terrific blast, which dwarfed the roar of the bombardment—the heaviest in their experience.

The Germans soon bridged the gap with a pier solid enough to bear a railroad, but the rush of water through it was steadily silting on the harbor, and rendered it almost useless in rough weather. Just where the further end of the pier rejoins the stone work the timbers had been dynamited by the Germans, and a five-yard hole, over which drooped broken rails, barred further progress. * * *

For more than a month the canal was blocked entirely, German efforts to budge the concrete-filled Iphigenia being vain. Finally they managed by dredging to render passage at her stern practicable for small submarines and torpedo boats at high water, but the channel remained closed to large vessels.

ORGIES OF THE U-BOAT MEN

Oct. 24.—The U-boat men were the spoiled darlings of the German forces in Belgium. Bruges, as the central base of the whole submarine campaign against British ships, was flooded with posters entitled "England's Peril," showing a fantastic number of dots around the British Isles, each of which represented a vessel torpedoed.

While on shore the U-boat men were allowed practically unlimited license. Their pay, already very high—the lowest grade of officer received 800 marks monthly—was almost doubled by supplementary allowances for the period of active service. Promotion—for those who survived—was exceedingly rapid, and decorations were rained upon them. Huge awards of prize money were given for allied warships sunk, and on a sliding scale according to tonnage for merchant ships. Thus the destruction of a hospital ship or transport of 10,000 tons would be worth 1,000 marks to a new-

joined midshipman, and upward or downward from 5,000 for a Lieutenant Commander to 250 for an ordinary seaman.

The finest houses in Bruges were at their disposal as quarters, and the cream of famous Belgian wine cellars was "requisitioned" by the invaders. The favorite amusement of the U-boat officers ashore was an orgy of champagne, terminated by the demolition of every piece of crockery and furniture in the house. Several fine old mansions were set on fire as a result of such bouts, but instead of being punished the officers had a fresh dwelling immediately offered them.

I visited one such house belonging to a millionaire grain merchant named Catulle, near the port, which had been the headquarters and officers' club for U-boat men at Bruges. The basement had been transformed into a palatial rathskeller, whose walls bore well-executed cartoon frescoes, with rhyming mottoes, and were decked with colored brass lamps and flags taken from allied vessels. Here Prince Adalbert, the Kaiser's son, spent a plentiful leisure while at Bruges last year. Nominally the commander of a corvette, he distinguished himself chiefly by the length and extent of his drinking bouts. With boon companions of the aristocracy he would start drinking at 7 in the evening, and the orgy would end toward dawn, only when the entire company was lying besotted under the tables.

PILFERING FOOD

Oct. 25.—On all sides one hears of the misery of their "home folks" as related by Germans back from leave. The wholesale corruption—leading sometimes, as in the case of the Ghent supply staff, to a gigantic scandal—was due primarily to the appalling need of the German civil population. The same cause was responsible for the vast system of smuggling from Holland. Although in the country districts of Germany there was enough hidden food, the urban populations have been in many cases literally starving.

During the first six months of the war food was sent home freely from

Belgium, but when the military authorities realized, after the battle of the Yser, that they faced a long war, the whole of the immense food production of Belgium was reserved for the army. Nevertheless, officers and men going on leave persisted in carrying supplies. In vain punishments were rained broadcast and leave curtailed. It was impossible to suppress leave entirely, and the severity of the orders against the removal of food only spread the corruption wider. At the present moment the famous German discipline has in this respect broken down completely. Nothing—neither honor, duty, nor patriotism—can prevent the troops at the front from endeavoring to save the millions at home from starvation.

Now the Germans have lost the Belgian treasure house, and in a few weeks not only civilians, but the army itself, will be feeling the pinch of starvation. It is this which makes the German situation so desperate.

DESPERATE FIGHTING

Oct. 26.—Although the armistice question for the moment overshadows the military operations, the gigantic battle on the western front continues with the utmost desperation.

The climax of the French attack is General Guillaumat's drive east of Laon against the Hunding positions, the long-prepared line protecting the German centre. It is characteristic position warfare that the poilus are waging against a quadruple trench system reinforced by concrete shelters, five lines of barbed wire, each twenty feet deep, and ground sown with anti-tank mines. Nevertheless, Guillaumat's troops have broken through on the ten-kilometer front between St. Quentin-Le Petit and Herpy. [Herpy is on the Aisne, two miles west of Château-Porcien.] In the centre of the attack the village of Banogne still holds out, but the latest information is that the French progress is steady.

With every available gun the Germans are opposing the advance by a deluge of gas and high explosive shells. They are still fighting bravely, but the vastly increased proportion of officers captured—from 5 to 7 per cent., instead of 1½

to 2, as heretofore—proves that it is difficult to maintain German discipline.

Far more startling evidence of Germany's decadence is the fact that in this hour of her crying need for soldiers some men of the 1920 class have to be kept at home—some who had reached the front were actually withdrawn—to keep down internal disturbances.

There has been hardly less bitter fighting on the front of the armies of Debeney and Mangin, who are steadily reducing the Marle-Mortiers salient. Despite savage counterattacks, Debeney's advance continues, and 800 fresh prisoners were reported this morning.

GERMANS OUTMANOEUVRED

Oct. 27.—The great battle begun on the 24th by the armies of Debeney, Mangin, and Guillaumat against the German centre continues to rage with unabated fury. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the fact that, while the air is filled with talk of an armistice and peace, the Germans are fighting with the utmost desperation.

Their motive is obvious: First, to prevent the rolling up of their flanks and the colossal disaster that would result from the rupture of their centre; second, to impress on the Allies that the German Army is still a force to be reckoned with and to create a current of opinion favorable to peace negotiations. It is at once a supreme sham of resistance and the final attempt to bluff the Allies and their own population into the belief that the German military situation is not yet hopeless.

Thus counterattacks in which engineers, staff orderlies, labor battalions, and every available man have been engaged have been hurled during the last thirty-six hours against Guillaumat's forces, which on the 25th had pierced to a depth of two kilometers beyond the Hunding line on the twelve-kilometer front between the River Serre and Château-Porcien. The French refused to abandon a foot of ground, but their progress was for the moment checked, and this morning's news announced a terrific bombardment of the French advanced lines before dawn, followed by more unsuccessful counterattacks. On Guillaumat's

mat's left the struggle was hardly less bitter, but Mangin forced the passage of the Serre this morning east of Cr cy. On his right he is meeting counterattacks of the same violence as those directed against Guillaumat.

At the moment of cabling I learn that the Germans are retreating on the whole twelve-mile front of the First Army, (Debeney's,) whose advance guards occupied Jouqueuse Farm and Bertaignemont Wood, five kilometers nearer Guise than the furthest point reached last night. The German withdrawal extends to Mangin's left, which has crossed the Serre near Assis and occupied enemy trenches without much opposition. Once more Foch has outmanoeuvred the enemy, who must abandon the Hunding Stellung, the last and most formidable bastion of the centre line.

WEST OF THE ARGONNE

Nov. 1.—General Gouraud attacked today west of the Argonne simultaneously with a great American drive further east. Although the front of the attack is only about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide, from the region of Semuy to Falaise—both in the hands of the enemy—the importance of the operations is very great in relation to the American push.

Gouraud is aiming northeastward, and his successful progress in connection with the American advance on the other side of the Argonne will pinch out the forest massif north of the Grand Pr  defile, whose deep ravines and fastnesses, strengthened by elaborate fortifications, have proved such a formidable obstacle to the Americans during the past weeks. In fact, American progress northward toward the all-important junction of M zi res would be impossible unless this position on their flank were reduced.

It is a daring manoeuvre that Gouraud is undertaking, as the southern part of his line for the five miles between Teron and Falaise is across the Aisne to a depth of only about a mile—a somewhat inadequate starting point for an attack—with a deep river in the rear.

During the night many footbridges were prepared and placed in position without much interference from the en-

emy. At 5:15 A. M. began an artillery preparation of the utmost violence, lasting thirty minutes. At 5:45 the infantry attacked in fine weather through a haze, whose cover was augmented by smoke shells. Owing to the river and broken character of the ground tanks could not be used, but the latest reports indicate very satisfactory progress.

Thus in the loop of the Aisne opposite Semuy Village, Rilly was occupied by 7:10 A. M. and the loop was cleared of the enemy—a gain of two kilometers in less than an hour and a half. Still more valuable was the capture of Voncq, further south. Hidden in mist and smoke clouds, the French charged over the railway embankment, which had been the German front line, and flung their bridges first across the canal, then the river, 100 yards beyond.

By 9 o'clock assault companies had reformed on the further bank and, regardless of machine-gun fire and a heavy artillery reaction, had begun an attack on the village. With irresistible  lan they rushed the slopes of the high spur on which Voncq is situated, and by 9:55 the last defender had surrendered. This position dominated the whole valley of the Aisne to Vouziers. Further south, beyond Vandy, the advance was equally successful.

CROSSING THE CANAL

Nov. 4.—The entry into Ghent and the great Franco-British drive toward Maubeuge and the Belgian frontier are today's pendant to the Franco-American victory in the east, similarly pointed in the direction of M zi res and the frontier of Germany.

Today I visited General Debeney's army, whose left wing is playing a part on the flank of the British attack comparable to General Gouraud's achievement in clearing the Argonne while the Americans drove forward.

It was a difficult task assigned to the French on the twelve-kilometer front north of Guise, protected by the brimful Sambre-Oise Canal. During the night the bridging preparations were completed, and at 6:30, after a brief bombardment, the engineers began their work under cover of a mist and of smoke

shells. The German resistance, both with artillery and machine guns, was very strong from the outset, but by 8 large forces had effected a crossing, and their subsequent manoeuvres cleared the way for their comrades at the points where the German defense was maintained.

Before 10 o'clock the crossing was accomplished on the whole front of the attack, and the no less difficult task of advancing against a strongly posted enemy, with a waterway in the rear, was in full swing. The poilus pushed irresistibly up the slopes east of the canal, and the latest advices indicate that they have advanced to an average depth of two kilometers despite counterattacks on the left from the western horn of Nouvion Forest, which affords the usual favorable cover for the defenders.

In this supreme battle the French are fighting with a spirit and élan which, after their extraordinary and continuous efforts since March, may well be regarded as one of the greatest miracles of the war. Their dogged courage which saved the Allies in the critical three months has been fired by success into the same invincible fury of victory that animated the soldiers of Napoleon.

THE END IN SIGHT

Nov. 6.—The Nauen wireless message announcing the departure of the armistice envoys from Berlin occasions no great surprise at French headquarters. At the same time it is pointed out that the extreme haste shown by the enemy to demand conditions, of whose severity they already have a good idea from the terms accorded their allies and the prognostications in the Swiss press, proves that the German war chiefs realize what is known here, that the military situation is no less dangerous than internal conditions. * * * Only weak rear-guards oppose the allied advance. Large captures of material are everywhere reported. It is growing hourly more certain that nothing but surrender will avert disaster. For the first time I can affirm with confidence that the end is in sight.

Nov. 11.—Even in its death agony German militarism clung fast to its prin-

ple of hideous savagery. All this morning the German batteries have been pouring a deluge of high explosives and poison gas on Mézières, where 20,000 civilians—men, women, and children—are penned like trapped rats without possibility of escape.

Words cannot depict the plight of the victims of this crowning German atrocity. Westward the broad stream of the Meuse cuts them off from an army of their countrymen whose soldiers, maddened to frenzy, are giving their lives without a thought in the effort to reinforce under the pitiless hell-storm their scanty detachments on the eastern bank.

French forces which yesterday crossed the Meuse a few kilometers east of Mézières were met by a counterattack of Prussian Guards, pressed home with a determination that in other circumstances would have commanded the respect even of enemies.

At 6 last night the torment of Mézières began. Incendiary shells fired a hospital, and by the glare of a hundred fires the wounded were evacuated to the shelter of the cellars in which the whole population was crouching. That was not enough to appease the bitter blood-lust of the Germans in defeat. Cellars may give protection from fire or melinite, but they are worse than death traps against the heavy fumes of poisonous gas.

So the murderous order was given today, and faithfully the German gunners carried it out. In a town that has been protected by miles of invaded territory from war's horrors there were no gas masks for the civilians and no chemicals that might permit them to save lives with improvised head coverings. Here and there, perhaps, a mother fixes a mask, found as by miracle on the body of a dead enemy, across her son's face, that he, at least, may escape the death she knows will take her. Others may pass the shell barrier and reach, stunned and torn, the comparative shelter of the neighboring woods, but they will be fortunate exceptions. The great majority must submit to martyrdom—final testimony that civilization is a thing apart from the unclean barbarism of the boche.

The Battle That Won Sedan

How the American Army Cut the German Supply Line and Took the Historic City

By EDWIN L. JAMES

A prodigious task was assigned to the American First Army when, having cleared the Argonne Forest, it was ordered to cut the Longuyon-Sedan-Mézières railway, the most important enemy line of communication. The success of the movement would bottle up all the German armies, with only one avenue of withdrawal, through the Liège gateway. The German High Command realized the peril and threw in their crack divisions to avert it. Some of the fiercest fighting of the war ensued, but the American élan was irresistible. The cutting of the line and the capture of Sedan were graphically described by Edwin L. James, who accompanied our First Army up to the time the armistice was concluded. His dispatches to THE NEW YORK TIMES were copyrighted for its affiliated publication, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, and are given herewith:

OCTOBER, 22, 1918.—While the attention of the world has been centred on the glorious victories of the French, British, and Belgian armies in the north, where the Germans have been driven back so many miles, the world must not forget the large degree in which that advance has been facilitated by the fact that to the Champagne and Meuse front has been drawn one-fourth of the German military strength to meet the French Fourth Army and the American First Army, whose rush threatens the whole enemy army.

The success of the American operation north of Verdun is not to be measured in kilometers gained, but in its effect on the whole situation. Since General Pershing's men launched their first attack, in the mist of the morning of Sept. 26, they have fought and put out some twenty German divisions, among which are some of the best in the German Army, such as three of the five guard divisions and the 28th, known as the Kaiser's Own. In front of us now there are some eighteen more divisions, and others are being brought up day by day to confront us.

On the front of the First American Army the last four weeks have seen some of the fiercest fighting of the whole war, where the best soldiers the

Kaiser has are fighting youthful Americans under orders to hold at all costs the line which protects the Luxemburg gateway, the most important artery of the German Army. Captured German officers explain: "We have just got to hold north of Verdun." A captured order of a German General says the fate of the Fatherland may hang on the fight north of Verdun. If the Mézières-Luxemburg railroad system is reached or put under easy gunfire, all communication for the German front from in front of Laon to the Meuse falls.

TAKING ARGONNE FOREST

In the battle we have advanced generally from fifteen to eighteen kilometers, breaking through the Hindenburg line and taking the Argonne Forest. The taking of the Argonne positions will go down in history as one of the big accomplishments of the war. It is not easy to tell the story of our fight. One reads in communiqués of stubborn resistance, or bitter and heavy counterattacks, and of continued artillery fire. But those terms have become so trite and worn from overuse that they fail to convey to the imagination real meanings.

The enemy's main resistance has been confined to the holding of the line. He has made counterattacks from time to time, but generally apparently for the purpose of frustrating our attack plans, and not

to regain lost terrain. In fact, captured orders tell the Germans to make counterattacks only when success seems assured, but, on the other hand, to yield no foot of territory which can possibly be held. And so the German command has placed a large concentration of artillery against us and innumerable machine guns. Therefore the fighting resolves itself into the grueling job of reducing machine-gun nests, and the progress of the battle has become the unsensational affair to which the machine gun has reduced so much modern warfare.

One must bear in mind that the machine gun is the prime weapon for defense. This means that a certain number of men on defense, with machine guns well placed, as the Germans know how to place them, can hold back a much larger number of men who are equally good fighters. To attack these machine-gun nests, or rows of them, frontally is too expensive to be generally done. They must be reduced by manoeuvring, flanking, and surrounding. When one realizes that on some parts of our front these venomous little weapons are placed one to a yard, one realizes what a severe task our soldiers have.

GERMAN FORCES USED UP

That the defense of their line is expensive to the Germans is proved by the replacement of twenty divisions in less than four weeks because they had been so cut up that not enough was left to function, or else so worn out that they could not stand the pressure by Pershing's men. Nearly every day brings identification of new German divisions brought from other parts of the line. We have met troops brought from Flanders, from Cambrai, St. Quentin, and, in fact, from all parts of the German front. The German lines are held in undiminished numbers in front of the American First Army, the German command taking chances elsewhere in order to try to make sure that the Americans do not break through north of Verdun.

A glance at the order of battle map shows that the concentration of divisions in front of us is so heavy that there is scarcely room to write their numbers. Only one other part of the whole front

is so heavily held, and that is the Cambrai-St. Quentin sector.

In a word, the task being performed by the American First Army is part of the general battle scheme. It is the hardest, bitterest, and least sensational task of the whole battle, but some army has to do it, and Pershing gladly accepted the commission, knowing that it would be no such picnic as the reduction of the St. Mihiel salient.

I believe that fully one-sixth of the rifle strength of the whole German Army has been thrown against the American First Army in the last week. There were four divisions in front of us just before the attack. These have been reinforced by fully thirty more, which unquestionably Ludendorff could have used to advantage elsewhere had it not been for the American attack.

From this statement of facts it is hoped that those who may have doubted, because our advance is not to be measured by the same kilometer scale as is the advance in the north, will realize that we have achieved and are achieving good success. The battle is a strain upon our strength; it is likewise a strain upon the German strength. We have more strength to expend than the Germans have. Both sides are throwing thousands after thousands into the mill that grinds north of Verdun, but America's strength will have thousands to throw in when the Germans have no more thousands to throw in should the fortunes of war keep the mill grinding.

If one of the purposes of allied effort is to destroy the German military machine, then the American First Army is doing a big job.

CAPTURE OF ST. JUVIN

Oct. 23.—It may now be told that the American unit which captured St. Juvin, east of Grand Pré, was Company H, 2d Battalion of the 306th Regiment of the 77th Division. Company H was led by Captain Julius O. Adler of New York City.

Captain Adler and twenty-six men of his company were left after the day's fighting, in which St. Juvin and Hill 182, north of the village, were captured. Com-

pany H took 352 prisoners, including a German Major.

On the morning of Oct. 12, Major Gen. Alexander, commanding the 77th Division, ordered the 2d Battalion of the 306th Infantry to take St. Juvin, where the boche, with his main position of resistance on Hill 182, held the sore spot in our line. Company H was in reserve, and at once received the commission.

Crossing the Aire River about daylight, the Americans started over the valley plain, when the Germans caught sight of them and opened up with 77s and machine guns from Hill 182. Leading his men, Captain Adler started straight for the village, having been told that only a scattering of Germans were there. As they neared the houses, more machine guns opened on them.

Captain Adler says he had forty-six men when he got into the village. Using hand grenades largely, these forty-six, scattered in squads, moved through the village swiftly, killing a number of Germans and taking sixty prisoners. Then they started off for the hill crest lying a few hundred yards north.

The few Americans there were scattered and opened fire in all quarters. The Germans, believing the Americans to be present in force, and seeing others approaching in the distance, began to surrender when Adler's men approached, while others fled. With four machine guns, Company H, or what was left of it, got in effective work; and when the Germans were cleared off the hill our men began to count their prisoners. One hundred and ninety-two more had been taken on the hill.

The less than half a hundred Americans held the position unmolested, except for artillery fire during the afternoon. On the night of Oct. 12 other American units went up on either side and consolidated the positions.

SHOOTS TWO GERMAN MAJORS

Next morning the Germans made a counterattack in force. The small number of Americans holding the trench on the crest of the hill were forced to fall back into the village.

Captain Adler sent three runners by separate routes for reinforcements, and

set about holding the Germans until aid arrived. From a German officer taken on the day before he had borrowed a heavy Leuger pistol. He was carrying his own ammunition and automatic as well. With six of his men he engaged in a close-range fight with the Germans who had filtered into the northern end of the village.

Rounding a corner, Captain Adler ran into two German Majors leading a counterattack. His automatic was empty. Drawing his Leuger pistol, he shot one of the Majors dead and wounded the other. Seeing their leaders gone, the German driving force weakened, and the little company was doing well on its own account when ample reinforcements arrived and again occupied the trench on the crest of Hill 182.

Captain Adler came through unhurt. He is now Acting Major, commanding the 1st Battalion of the 306th Regiment. The 77th Division is composed of New York men.

A SURPRISE ATTACK

Oct. 24.—The First American Army hit the German line two smashing blows today, one on either side of the Meuse. On the west of the stream we reached the Freya Stellung at Grand Carré Farm, north of Banthéville. East of the river our advance was larger, taking our line to Boisetraye Hill, commanding the village of that name, which lies just west of the important point Damvillers.

This attack, made in a northeastern direction, was started early in the morning under the cover of mist and succeeded from the beginning, the enemy being taken by surprise. Quickly recovering, he directed an intense artillery and machine-gun fire at Pershing's men.

The total advance was one kilometer deep on a front of three kilometers. We hold Boisehouppy, Boisebelleu, half of Boiswavrille, and Boisetraye. After the first surprise the enemy contended bitterly every foot of ground.

Our advance on Grand Carré Farm took us astride the Germans' new line of defense, the Freya Stellung. This fight was marked by intense artillery fire. About 11 o'clock the Germans started a

concentrated fire on our new positions, and within fifteen minutes were dropping from eighty to a hundred shells a minute. Our own artillery reached drumfire, and held that concentration for several hours.

Despite this hell of shellfire our troops made their way over the crest running southeast of Grand Carré Farm and filtered into ravines beyond, thereby crossing the Freya Stellung.

FIGHT FOR HILL 360

Oct. 25.—Bitter fighting has been in progress all day for possession of Hill 360, lying east of the Meuse and southwest of Damvillers, and tonight our troops hold the hill. This promontory, sticking up above other hills northeast of Verdun, gives observation over the whole area in which the Americans are operating east of the Meuse River.

The hill was of the greatest value to the Germans. When the Americans attacked it yesterday they found the enemy in deep trenches, leading into dugouts that seemed impenetrable and were defended by 7s and 155s. The whole wooded hill was one great nest of machine guns. We first attacked the hill yesterday afternoon, and got half way up the thousand-foot slope, and held on until this morning at 4 o'clock, when a fresh regiment of Germans drove the Americans back down the hill.

Between 6 o'clock this morning and 3 this afternoon the Americans attacked five times, each time being driven back. At 4 o'clock another attack was made, and when I left the front at dusk word had just come in that we had two companies on the crest of the promontory, which had been cleared of the enemy.

Meanwhile a hot engagement was in progress at Belleu Wood, north of Hill 360, where a German counterattack drove back our advanced elements. After three American attacks we have reached the further edge of these woods, which have been won and lost six times in the last three days.

In the region of Grand Pré we attacked locally this morning, meeting tense and firm resistance. We made a slight advance north of Grand Pré and Bois Loges, taking some prisoners. We met and repulsed four counterattacks in

this vicinity in the morning. We have strongly organized heights north of Brieuilles, and control the town, which the Germans continue to shell heavily.

SCENE IN VERDUN

Oct. 26.—Big German guns are worrying the weary stones of this torn city of Verdun, rent and tortured by four years and more of war. Here a shell screams into a moss-covered stone pile marking what once was some one's handsome home, and because the ruin is already complete it does no more harm. Another bumps its way through the rusty skeleton of what was once a pretty railroad station and for the thousandth time wracks the battered wreck. Another sticks its nose against the noble rampart of the ancient wall and tumbles into the moat as if recognizing the uselessness of spending its message of hate against the stones the Germans have tried so hard to reach in times gone by.

What could be more weird than to stand in this silent city, the historic corpse of the world's greatest slaughter, the graveyard, too, of the Germans' fondest hopes, and hear the oppressive quiet, broken by the ugly whining of the enemy's 210s coming from over the hills to the northeast?

Over these hills, whose scarred rims are torn so that the skyline looks much like a misused saw, the Americans are tearing their way into the vitals of the German Army. It is the toughest job that they ever undertook. It is one of the toughest that ever soldiers tried. The terrain is just one hill after another, one ledge rising beyond the next, with tattered woods giving the enemy the best of shelter for his machine guns.

WORK OF SIGNAL CORPS

The Germans know every inch of ground over which we are fighting, and are enabled to make their artillery fire very accurate. In addition, it is heavy, and the enemy is expending an enormous amount of ammunition against our men fighting northeast of Verdun.

I give this instance to depict the violence of the shellfire. Behind the attacking troops run telephone lines, and the wireless has been set up. Yesterday dur-

ing one attack lasting two and a half hours the telephone line was cut twenty-three times by shells, and nineteen Signal Corps men were killed in repairing it. One wireless apparatus was downed seven times in two hours.

Alarmed by the pressure of our troops, the Germans yesterday put in 800 Prussian shock troops, who gained only a temporary success, being driven back within an hour. On this front the Germans late yesterday put in a fresh division against the American divisions.

The fighting is no less severe west of the Meuse, where the Germans are contesting bitterly every foot of ground we gain and hurling frequent attacks against us. For the last twenty-four hours there has been almost constant fighting for possession of Belle Joyeuse Farm, which we have captured twice and as many times have lost.

We have had Grand Pré free from Germans three times. Twice they have come back, but now they are out and we hold a handsome margin north of the ruins of this once pretty Aire Valley town.

BIG AMERICAN GUNS

Oct. 28.—American guns of large calibre* have begun firing on the Longuyon-Sedan-Mézières railroad, the most important German line of communication, with the object of interrupting traffic and ultimately breaking the line.

Thus the offensive of the American First Army begun Sept. 26 begins to achieve its objective. Our advance of some eighteen kilometers now makes possible the shelling of the German communication line to defend which the German command has made such enormous

efforts in past weeks. Of course, the nearer we get to the line the greater is the number of guns which can be used against it. It is not permitted to give details about the big guns, but it may be said that they are among the largest that have been used in the war.

Brisk local fighting continued today on both sides of the Meuse. East of the river there were heavy contacts in the Bois de la Grand Montagne and in the vicinity of Bois Bellu. We took Belleu Wood for the fifth time yesterday afternoon, only to be later driven out again. We have now retaken it again, despite terrific German artillery fire.

Just west of the Meuse our patrols pushing forward found that the Germans had deserted Cléry le Grand. North of Grand Pré the Germans also withdrew from Belle Joyeuse Farm, which has changed hands eleven times in the last ten days.

CUTTING THE SEDAN ROAD

Oct. 29.—Long-range, big-calibre American guns are again shelling the important German communication system running through Longuyon, Montmedy, Sedan, and Mézières. It is this system through Luxemburg that forms one of the two gateways between Germany and the German Army, the other clearing through Liège. The main line of the Longuyon-Sedan system runs through Montmedy, and this line up to Sedan is now the target of our giant rifles.

Any one familiar with the destructive power of big guns knows what will happen when the mammoth shells from these guns fall on a roadbed. It may fairly be said that the work of destruction of the most important artery of the German Army is now under way. To protect this road the Germans have thrown the best of their army against the Americans moving northward on the Meuse front. This has cost the enemy nearly 100,000 men so far.

The distance of our front line from the railroad is now some thirteen miles. This means that an advance of a few more miles will bring the road within accurate range of 155s, of which we have hundreds available for making sure the cutting of the German communica-

*These were American 16-inch naval guns, manned by officers and bluejackets of the American Navy. Secretary Daniels authorized the statement about this time that these naval gunners on the west front were under the command of Rear Admiral Charles P. Plunkett. The first party of officers and men for the expedition had reached France on June 9. The first shipment of material left the United States on June 20. The entire organization was completed and ready to move to the battlefield in France in August. This battery went into action for the first time on Sept. 16. It continued in active operation to the end of the war.

tion system. However, it should be stated that there is not the slightest doubt that every foot of this advance will be most bitterly contested by the anxious boche. Order after order has been captured calling on the German soldiers to hold the Americans at all costs and to throw them back wherever advances have been made.

TRANSPORTING BIG NAVAL GUNS

When the word of what big German guns were doing came to America, a certain officer conceived the idea of doing some big-league shooting on account of the United States. Rifles of the desired size and range were in America. This officer persisted in his idea until he got the guns assigned to him. They were too big to go into the hold of any available ship, and so he lashed them to the decks of ships and got them to the French ports. There he was told that their weight was too great for the French roadbeds. He insisted that he would see that payment was made for any damage, and so he unloaded the rifles.

Then he was told that they would not go through the tunnels. He fixed them so they would go through the tunnels. Against many obstacles, this officer got his guns into the battle area, where they were held until the proper time came for their use. A few days ago it was decided that the time was ripe, and the guns were hauled into position, and have now been turned loose on the big-league job.

In considering the work of these guns and the potentiality of their success one must bear in mind that the railroad line at which they are shooting is the Germans' chief shuttle line, which is used to shift troops quickly from one part of the front to another. This means that if at any time up to the present the Americans had made a drive in the region below Nancy the Germans would have used this road to shift troops there. Running through Longuyon, the railroad system, in addition to running into Germany through Luxemburg, branches as the *voie de rocade* through the Metz area and down into lower Lorraine and Alsace.

INFERNAL MACHINES

Boche duplicity continues to be illustrated by the high-class infernal machines he leaves behind. The ingenuity of these seems to depend upon the time Heinie has to work them out. In some regions every dugout has its little contrivance of death, but of all the assortment, the one he left at Château-Chéhéry ranks first. It was here that ammunition dumps and dugouts began to explode two days after the Germans left that place some two weeks ago. Ten days after the enemy was gone, two dugouts blew up from time bombs. Our engineers have found many types of infernal machines, such as those fixed to eight-day clocks and thermometers.

For ingenuity, one found yesterday was remarkable. Eight feet from the entrance of a handsome dugout that would make a good shelter for weary doughboys was found a cane, hanging carelessly over the balustrade of a stairway. It looked harmless, but a certain engineer Lieutenant had learned to be wary. Walking around the cane, he examined it. It appeared to be all right. Turning on his flashlight, he went over it minutely, and half way between the ferrule and the handle he saw a small black string tied. This string led to the balustrade, and down to where a person would naturally stand at the foot of the stairs when grasping the cane. Beneath this spot a four-foot-square hole was filled with an explosive corresponding to TNT.

BREAKING THROUGH

Nov. 2.—The American First Army has broken through the German line north of Verdun and is pursuing the retreating Third and Fifth German Armies. On our left the French Fourth Army is pursuing the enemy.

Crashing through the Freya Stellung on a wide front, the Americans today captured Champigneulle, dashed on to Thénorgues, and then by storm took the important German railroad centre at Buzancy and captured Fosse, Barricourt, Villers-devant-Dun, and Doolcon. Our line has pushed on beyond those places and at many points we have lost contact with the retreating enemy.

Late today our doughboys have outrun their communications and, bad weather making aerial observation impossible, we can get no exact information at this hour of where our front line is.

The Germans put up a stiff fight at only two places today—Buzancy and Cléry-le-Petit, which is over near the Meuse River. On our left, where the enemy put up such a bitter fight yesterday, he had gotten out during the night except for weak rearguards, and when he started forward along the east edge of the Forest of Boult this morning it was like child's play compared with what our men have been through for the last five weeks.

Soon these rearguards were rounded up, and there was no resistance worth speaking of from 9 o'clock up to noon. Early in the afternoon we lost contact, and commanders sent a hurry call for as many big trucks as could be spared.

PURSUED BY TRUCKS

These trucks, which were rushed up over crowded roads, arrived about 3 o'clock. At once they were loaded with doughboys and started north after the retreating Germans. Last reports say they have not overtaken the Germans. Their joy ride, of course, was limited by the difficulties of getting up supplies and ammunition over roads made wretched by rain today.

Surely few stories of the war are more picturesque than that of the half hundred big American trucks, with our doughboys with ready rifles perched on the hoods and machine guns mounted above the drivers' heads, filled with fighting men on tiptoe for a fight, roaring northward on a grand hunt for the Germans.

What has happened is that the German armies have been worn down in the bitter battle of the last five weeks in which the Americans inflicted losses of more than 100,000, including 30,000 unwounded prisoners. After three weeks of grueling warfare we hit strongly yesterday morning, meeting the strongest resistance the enemy could put up. It was evident that when we began another intense artillery preparation this morning the Germans gave up the job

of holding the line and got out of our way. Then the Americans reaped the fruits of the bitter but unsensational battle of the last month and more.

BUZANCY CAPTURED

It was our plan this morning to try to bring up our right, and especially our left, to the approximate line of Bayonville. Our centre corps turned to aid the left corps, only to find the left sweeping ahead. The commands were hurriedly changed and the centre turned about north. Our left swept on through Champigneulle, through the Bois des Loges, which had been taken and lost seven times, and with the centre corps surrounded the village of Thénorgues, where we counted several hundred prisoners and seventy-two machine guns.

Meanwhile, the centre, starting out just as a heavy, cold rain came on, captured Hill 313, finding resistance so slight that it surprised the men. Over the open fields they moved forward to Fosse, eleven kilometers ahead of yesterday's starting point.

Our troops then were on three sides of Buzancy. At noon we stormed the place after brisk artillery preparation, and in forty minutes we had taken this not inconsiderable town, capturing orders issued yesterday commanding the garrison to hold it at all costs.

Further to the east our troops which started from north of Remonville ran into bitter machine-gun resistance in the Bois Barricourt. Withdrawing a bit, we gave the enemy a dose of 75s and then cleared the woods. Through this barrier we swept on to Barricourt village, about on a line with Buzancy.

RAPID GERMAN RETREAT

Nov. 3.—For the third day the American First Army has continued its sensational advance north of Verdun against the demoralized Third and Fifth German Armies. In some sectors Pershing's men have been pursuing the enemy since dawn without catching up. The German retreat is approaching a rout. The French Fourth Army, on our left, is pushing ahead with fine speed.

From left to right we join with the French near Noirval. Our troops near

Brieulles-sur-Bar have taken Authé. In the centre we have swept on behind Champy Bois to Bois Belval. We have also taken Aucourt Farm and Beauclair. On the right we have pushed beyond Halles and Montigny. East of the Meuse great activity is reported behind the German lines.

The capture of the heights east of Beauclair, on the west bank of the Meuse, places our line seven miles from the Germans' main railroad line, the Mézières-Sedan-Longuyon system, in the vicinity of Lamouilly, which means that the line will be under range of our 75s as soon as they can be got up. We have hundreds of these accurate little guns available for cutting this line.

Nov. 4.—German resistance to the onward sweep of the American First Army has developed, and late today it became apparent that the German command had effected a stand against our troops. In the afternoon bitter fighting developed along the Meuse south of Stenay, where the German Fifth Army sent up heavy reinforcements in order to prevent our crossing the river at all costs.

CROSSING THE MEUSE

Nov. 5.—Accepting the challenge of the Germans, who threw in heavy reserves yesterday in an attempt to hold the line on the Meuse from Sivry to the north, the American First Army turned eastward today, cleared the west bank of the river from Sivry up to beyond Pouilly, and, using pontoons thrown across in the dark hours of early morning, effected passage across the Meuse at three points below Stenay. Tonight Pershing's men have crossed in force, throwing the Germans back from their defense line on the Canal de l'Est, east of the Meuse. General Liggett's men late today were fighting on the outskirts of Stenay, less than one kilometer distant from the main part of the town. * * *

There is a story of staying qualities and bravery of both doughboys and engineers in the crossing of the Meuse. Yesterday we forced the river and got small detachments across, which the Germans drove back. Twice yesterday we got a bridge over, only to have it de-

stroyed. Under cover of intense darkness last night we got a large number of pontoons along the west bank, and, starting soon after midnight, our engineers threw three bridges across near Brieulles, many of them working in cold water up to their armpits.

Hearing a noise, the Germans started machine gun and artillery fire going. We rushed patrols across, which met the German patrols and beat them back. The German counterattack after the crossing also was stopped. By this time enemy shells had wrecked one of the bridges, so the engineers put across a fourth to give the requisite three. By the time it was daylight our men were marching across in force. I am not permitted to tell how many thousand we had got over at noon.

To the north, near Cléry-le-Petit, we effected another crossing, and still one more was made. Despite continuous shelling all day, we used the crossings with little interruption of serious consequence. Our troops which crossed met heavy fighting all afternoon as they pushed the Germans back over the canal, where hundreds of the enemy were drowned.

SIX VICTORIOUS DAYS

Nov. 6.—The success of the American First Army is developing fast into one of the greatest victories of the war. For six successive days we have driven ahead since dawn, and when the sun went down this evening our troops were within sight of Sedan, which lies six miles across low flung hills from where the triumphant doughboys rest north of Chémery. They are on their way to write a new story of Sedan which will call blessed the name of a city the French have hated to remember since the dark days of 1871.

Running across the battlefield from left to right we have pushed beyond Chémery, have reached Raucourt, passed Pourron, and are on the outskirts of Mouzon. We poured troops across the Meuse and to the east of the river smashed into German positions with striking success. We hold Lion-devant-Dun, Fontaines, the edge of the Bois St. Germain, and are nearing Stenay.

We have the boche beaten and the rearguard efforts he puts up melt quickly after we hit them. Six kilometers was the measure of our advance today just west of the Meuse. With the French Fourth Army smashing across the Aisne at many points today, coming up on our left, Pétain is pushing up toward Mézières and Charleville. General Foch's message to General Pershing gives big importance to our victory.

Reports have just come in that Stenay has been evacuated by the Germans. Word has been sent to American commanders that 850 civilians remain in the town. Reports also say that the civilian population of Montmedy has been evacuated and the population of Sedan has been told to get ready to move. The Germans have sent to the Americans a list of villages with civilians, presumably to avert bombardment. Laneuville, where 210 civilians were left by the enemy, was shelled. Because of this boche warfare the Americans were forced today to take these people back to safety.

Late today Americans at Laneuville received a message brought from Stenay asking that our men reach the people there soon with something to eat, and also get them from under the German shellfire. The Germans are able to see from the hills that we have not occupied this town, but they keep shelling it.

CAPTURE OF SEDAN

Nov. 7.—When the German emissaries were dispatched to the front today to receive the armistice terms the German Army was all but bottled up, having only one avenue of escape—that through Liège. This bottling up was largely done by the First American Army, which is driving the last remaining Germans out of Sedan. Thus the men fighting under the Stars and Stripes have achieved what is perhaps one of the most brilliant victories of the war, and certainly the most important offensive victory.

Among the troops which reached Sedan was the 42d (Rainbow) Division, including the old 69th New York. Other divisions participating in our rush north are the 77th, (New York,) 78th, (New Jersey and New York,) 80th, (Pennsyl-

vania,) 32d, (Michigan and Wisconsin,) 90th, (Texas and Oklahoma,) the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 5th regulars, 89th, (Kansas and Nebraska,) 26th, (New England,) and the 29th, (New Jersey.)

In the First Army's remarkable six days' advance of forty kilometers it not only liberated a hundred French villages and several thousand civilians, but also captured the City of Sedan, liberating 5,000 French folk. It also cut the main German railroad system of communication from the western front through Luxemburg. Moreover, the Americans have driven the German Fifth and Third Armies, which were holding the pivot of the whole front, in full retreat.

SET WHIRLWIND PACE

Our victorious troops set such a fast pace as to break all communication with the rear, and the weather made airplane observation impossible. That is why our commanders did not know until this morning that the doughboys had reached historic Sedan yesterday afternoon at 4 o'clock and had drawn their line along the river which cuts off a small portion of the city. Early this morning the work of putting across bridges started.

It is a sweet reward for the Americans to achieve this brilliant success after five weeks of bloody and disheartening fighting. The troops know that they broke the best German resistance that the Kaiser could put against them, and now they are reconciled, for they have changed the memory of Sedan from a sorrowful recollection to one of joy; they have changed Sedan from a name for defeat to a name for victory. Nov. 6 will go down in history along with July 18 as a great day. On July 18 the Americans and French started the offensive of the Marne and on Nov. 6 the Americans cut one of the two German communication and withdrawal lines and made the German military situation impossible.

The German retreat has been accomplished under great difficulties. American guns are hammering them as they run, and in their haste they are leaving behind uncounted millions in war material. The German Army has been swept clean of horses, and oxen

have been hitched to the German guns. One report says that French cows, hitched to German 77s, are toiling far ahead, away from the pursuing Americans. Food, lumber, clothing, coal, ammunition, rifles, cannon—everything that is used in war has been left behind by the Germans in their flight, which became precipitate.

Deserters tell us of a hundred Germans from one division leaving and fleeing home, convinced that it was useless to fight the Americans any longer. An idea of the elaborate plans the Germans made to keep us back is given by the fact that at Sedan were found incomplete dams for flooding the Meuse below the city. In this they were only slightly successful, and the flood is no longer a menace to France. The Americans dynamited the dams this morning.

SUMMARY OF THE BATTLE

Nov. 8.—Now that after one of the hardest fought and bloodiest battles of the whole war the American First Army has reached Sedan, it is perhaps fitting briefly to review the final phase of the struggle which has led to one of the most important victories the Allies have achieved.

The first phase, starting Sept. 26, took Pershing's men seven miles ahead through the Hindenburg and Völker Stellungen, but failed to break the German hold in the Argonne Forest. The second phase began on Oct. 4, and, after a grueling fight, took the First Army through the Kriemhilde Stellung, breaking the four-year hold of the Huns on the Argonne, and gave us Grand Pré. This phase lasted until Oct. 31.

One week ago yesterday the third phase began. On Nov. 1 General Liggett's army started against the Freya Stellung, forty kilometers south of Sedan, and in six days crashed through to historic Sedan, sweeping the west bank of the Meuse clear, liberating hundreds of villages and thousands of French civilians, and capturing a vast and valuable amount of war material.

Of course, the most important effect of our victory was cutting the German railroad system from Mézières through Sedan and Longuyon, which was not

only an important *voie de rocade*, but the more important of the Germans' two lines of communication between their battlefield and the Fatherland.

In our sweep, which freed more than 700 square kilometers, we took some 10,000 prisoners and 200 guns.

When we peeped ahead in the wet dawn of Nov. 1 we had occupied the heights north and east of Grand Pré, the Bois de Bantheville, and Hill 288, as well as the hills south and on the river. We had a difficult barrier in the remaining sector of the Kriemhilde Stellung in front of the villages of St. Georges and Landres et St. Georges. By a series of fortunate local operations we had prepared an excellent jumping-off line.

CAUGHT ENEMY UNPREPARED

The enemy expected our attack, but had planned for a date two days later than we had, which, by the way, was the same thing he did in the St. Mihiel battle. It was at 5:30 o'clock in the morning that our attack started on the whole front of more than twenty-five kilometers, preceded for two hours by intense artillery preparation, in which we fired some 200,000 gas shells. The centre of our army was held by a division which has made itself famous wherever it has appeared in battle. It was this division which made the furthest advance of the day, and alone took 3,000 prisoners. While our centre shot ahead, our left was held up at the Bois des Loges. On the right we encountered heavy resistance along the Meuse, despite which we occupied Cléry-le-Grand.

On the morning of Nov. 2 we resumed the attack at dawn. The remarkable thing about the second day was that gains were made greater than on the first day, a thing never before occurring on the western front. In the centre we not only smashed ahead for eleven kilometers, capturing the important German railhead at Buzancy, but on the right we broke the resistance, reaching Fosse, and on the left, where we had been held up, we broke the enemy's resistance so thoroughly in the morning attack and put the boche to such hurried flight that the infantrymen were loaded on to trucks and

sent ahead as far as Briquenay in an effort to catch up with the enemy.

Soon after the attack was resumed on the morning of Nov. 3, it became apparent that the enemy's organization had been knocked to pieces. In three days we had defeated seventeen German divisions and broke them up so that their liaison was broken and no organized resistance could be made. Our advance on Nov. 3 enabled us to bring the German railroad through Longuyon and Montmedy under fire of our field guns.

BROKE STENAY-ORMONT LINE

In liaison with the French Fourth Army on the left, we broke the German hold on the Bois Boulé. We made good gains along the Meuse, and by night the advance had reached eighteen kilometers from the starting line of Nov. 1. Before noon on Nov. 4 we had reached the heights south of Beaumont, where we encountered the German line running from Stenay west of Ormont. We broke through this successfully, but attempts to cross the Meuse between Dun and Stenay failed under heavy German machine-gun and artillery fire from the heights east of the stream.

The roads back of the enemy on the line east of the Meuse were filled with advancing troops, which told of their determination to hold the Meuse line. Reinforcements also appeared against us west of the Meuse. This day we advanced six kilometers.

The night of Nov. 4-5 saw four pontoon bridges thrown across the Meuse under cover of heavy darkness, and shortly after midnight our troops began to pour across and continued up to noon. One bridge, which was destroyed, was replaced and the bridgeheads were maintained. While the troops on the right were gathering a firm foothold across the river, in the centre we took the town of Beaumont, finding 500 civilians there, and cleared the heights north of that place.

When we started again at dawn of Nov. 6 the German high command had given orders for a withdrawal behind the river after it had become apparent that it could not halt the Americans on this

side. While our advance was not spectacular east of the Meuse, west of the river by noon we had reached the outskirts of Mouzon and passed on to seven kilometers from Sedan. Just after noon our centre started forward again, and at 4 o'clock reached the southern outskirts of the city, where the French met a decisive defeat in 1871.

On Nov. 7 we bettered our positions east of the Meuse and brought up needed supplies and ammunition west of the river, while our engineers built bridges across the river at Sedan under heavy fire from the German guns on the heights north of the city.

On the night of Nov. 7 we received word that 5,000 French civilians in Sedan were awaiting liberation. The French on our left were rapidly moving up toward Mézières and Charleville.

This brief sketch tells only a fragmentary story of the forty-kilometer advance of the American First Army, which has given to American arms credit for one of the most telling and brilliant victories of the world struggle. In no other battle in which Americans ever fought were any such numbers engaged on either side. The number engaged since the battle started far exceeds 1,000,000 men.

NEARING THE END

Nov. 10.—The fact that this might be the last day of the war had no recognizable effect on military operations along the American front. The truth of the matter is that the United States fighting men were busy today on the greatest front they ever worked on, for we were fighting over a 115-kilometer line from Sedan east to the Moselle River near Pont-a-Mousson.

The terrific effort of the American First Army in the Meuse sector, while using up some forty-three German divisions, of course taxes us heavily. But now the Second Army has its outfit and it works well, as was shown by the success of its first operation today.

The advance of the Second Army was made from a front approximately the same as that reached following the reduction of the St. Mihiel salient by the First Army in the middle of September.

General Bullard's Second Army took over this front when the First Army was shipped north of Verdun for our great drive starting on Sept. 26.

The First Army continued to distinguish itself today by capturing the important town of Stenay, lying on the eastern bank of the Meuse, which the Germans had endeavored to hold by hundreds of machine-gun nests and by terrific artillery and machine-gun barrages from the hills beyond Stenay. Stenay was a town of some 3,000 inhabitants before the war. We found 850 civilians there who came out from their cellars and warmly welcomed their Yankee deliverers.

Operations of both the First and the Second Army continue and they will keep the boche busy on their fifty-kilometer front until called off. Every one in the American Army is looking forward to tomorrow at 11 o'clock. The army is ready for any turn the war may take.

LAST DAY OF FIGHTING

To Mr. James's story may be appended this Associated Press account of what the American troops did on the last day:

Nov. 11—The line reached by the American forces at 11 o'clock today, when hostilities ceased, was being staked out this afternoon. The Germans hurled a few shells into Verdun just before 11 o'clock. Thousands of American heavy guns fired the parting shot to the Germans at exactly 11 o'clock. On the entire American front, from the Moselle to the region of Sedan, there had been artillery activity in the morning, all the batteries preparing for the final salvos.

At many batteries the artillerists joined hands, forming a long line as the lanyard of the final shot. There was a silence of a few seconds as the shells sped through the heavy mist. Then the gunners cheered. American flags were raised by the soldiers over their dugouts and guns and at the various headquarters.

News that the armistice had been signed spread rapidly along the American front from the Moselle River to the

region of Sedan. Reaching the various headquarters early in the day, the news passed by wire and wireless to division and regiment, and finally from mouth to mouth to the boys in the forward lines. It was among the boys who had been under shell fire for days that there was the most genuine rejoicing.

Both sides kept up an intermittent artillery fire on Sunday as a reminder to each other that the order to cease hostilities had not been received. With nightfall the duel became weaker, each side awaiting the final word as to the set hour for desisting all firing of guns.

THE FINAL ADVANCE

Northeast of Verdun the American infantry began to advance at 9 o'clock this morning, after artillery preparation of Ornes. The German artillery responded feebly, but the machine-gun resistance was stubborn. Nevertheless, the Americans made progress. The Americans had received orders to hold the positions reached by 11 o'clock, and at those points they began to dig in, marking the advanced positions of the American line when hostilities ceased.

Along the American front awaiting the eleventh hour was like awaiting the arrival of a new year. The gunners continued to fire, counting the shells as the time approached. The infantry were advancing, glancing at their watches. The men holding at other places organized their positions to make themselves more secure.

Then the individual groups unfurled the Stars and Stripes, shook hands and cheered. Soon afterward they were preparing for luncheon. All the boys were hungry, as they had breakfasted early in anticipation of what they considered the greatest day in American history.

Germans who came into the American line later today said their orders had been to retire with as little delay as possible. They added that they had expected to be back in their homes in Germany a week from Sunday.

The Blasted Valley of the Somme

By SIR GILBERT PARKER

Sir Gilbert Parker visited the battlefields of the Somme early in October, 1918, when the Australians were still driving forward beyond the broken Hindenburg line. While his impressions were still fresh he wrote them for The London Telegraph, and the most vivid portions of his article are here reproduced.

AT Amiens, the deserted city, was the first exhibition of the Hun desecration that I saw—nearly every shop closed, and the Hotel de la Paix only just open after a long period of quiescence, and everywhere round it were abandoned shops and deserted homes, and near by, with its shattered walls and exposed and ruined rooms, Hotel Perigord, from which hang beds and carpets and curtains as they have hung for many a day. What would have happened if the Huns had captured Amiens can best be imagined by recalling Péronne, where every house and shop was shattered and the cathedral was a mass of ruins, though three sacred figures were untouched in the destruction, as though signs should be left of this holy war against heathen horror. At least the beautiful cathedral of Amiens was standing, with only a few windows broken, with one hole through the roof and one buttress injured, and its lovely rose windows left untouched save for a few missing pieces of glass, though streets near to the cathedral were badly hammered. Also the Palais de Justice near by had escaped, but the Bureau de Change at the cathedral gates had been destroyed.

Amiens, thank Heaven, was not taken. The Australians at first prevented that, and were presently bulwarked and strengthened by the British. If Amiens had fallen a very severe blow would have been dealt to the cause of the Allies, but the same good Providence was with us as in 1914, when, being four to one in men and eight to one in arms and ammunition, the Germans did not get to Paris, as they did not get to Calais, or take Verdun, or hold Ypres, and, strangest of all, did not get to Venice. Was there a man in Europe that did not believe Venice was lost? I think not.

Who prevented it? If this is a struggle between good and evil, between right and might, then God's hand was with the Allies, and, as if in proof of it, of the reality of this Armageddon, the real Armageddon is taken, and Palestine is retaken from the Mohammedan. All these things I thought of as we went down the road with Captain Loudon, an intelligence officer of the Australian forces, from Amiens to the vicinity of Péronne, where we were to sleep, and from where we were to go to the Hindenburg line.

AN AIRPLANE ATTACK

That night at dinner we had the first real taste of war at the front. We were sitting at dinner, when an officer said: "There's a Hun airplane. We can tell it by the difference in the vibrations. The British airplane has one continuous grind, while the German has pulsations and stops. Listen." A little later there were two sounds of bombs, and a few minutes after that the door opened, and an orderly said that a bomb had exploded in the camp, and that several men were killed and wounded. The next morning I went with the Colonel to visit the portion of the camp in which we were, and there I saw the bloody ground where men had been wiped out in an instant. It was fair battle, but it was ugly, and no man in those forces was unmoved.

After my visit to the camp we walked to Péronne, seeing American troops in driblets pass and repass, and watching the Australians drilling and on the march. One thing struck my fancy. It was the brass bands playing little columns of Australian troops, with towels on their arms and over their shoulders, on their way to baths which the Germans had left behind. I said to the officer

with me, "I'm glad to see those bands; but why have you so much music?" He said, "We have seventeen bands hereabout, and can't you understand what an effect it has on the troops? First, there is the attitude of mind. A pleased mind bends more readily to discipline; and look at those men marching. Can't you see that they instinctively keep step better, and that makes for discipline. Our men are all right, but they are independent in feeling and habit, and we have to treat them like intelligent human beings."

MOUNT ST. QUENTIN

The journey to Péronne was more than interesting; it was dramatic, for over beyond it was Mount St. Quentin, where we saw spread out all round the high plateau the great valley which could have been commanded and held successfully against a great army. Yet it was taken by a few thousand Australians, who faced this Gibraltar with proud and fearless hearts and took it. I believe that Mount St. Quentin could have been held by 500 men against 10,000, yet it was taken by Australians far fewer in number than the defending forces. They are great soldiers are the Australians, like the Canadians and New Zealanders, and they have no fear. They are worthy competitors and comrades of the British Army.

On those heights of Mount St. Quentin, where we stood exactly a month from the time it was taken, one saw the relics of the battlefield in German knapsacks, helmets, all kinds of war material, and dead bodies only partially buried; and one understood that the race which could take this apparently impregnable plateau could drive the Germans out of France and march to Berlin. And it is being done—and done fast and sure. What a change in a month! There are over 254,000 officers and men captured, and 3,669 guns, and over 23,000 machine guns, and Bulgaria is done, and Turkey will come next. And this was the army that treacherously sacked Belgium, that helped the Turks to slaughter ruthlessly the Armenians, that assisted Austria to devastate Serbia, and that has disgraced the history of mankind. The Austral-

ians have great and natural pride in their defense of Amiens, in the taking of Villers-Bretonneux, and in the battle of Mount St. Quentin. Three very remarkable events, which have had a great effect on the war and have assisted well the splendid British Army to drive the German back.

These things were much in my mind as we took the road from Australian Headquarters and Péronne to the Hindenburg line, which we were to see in the hands of British and Australian troops. It was a sad, yet glad, progress we made from Péronne to Tincourt, Marquaix, Roisel, Templeux, Hargicourt, and Villeret—sad because of the war devastation that we met, glad because the Hindenburg line was taken a week ago—and I saw it two days after it was taken—and the canal, with its underground tunnel of three miles, which had been thought impregnable. As we passed along the road the guns on either side—the 9.7 and smaller guns—were pounding away, deafening our ears, and the battle was still going on, for the Germans had recovered themselves somewhat after their heavy defeat.

THE SHELLS ROAD

From the heights above Villeret we could see the British airplanes and several observation balloons, and in the far distance a German observation balloon, and it struck me that the German balloon could see us and the trains of artillery wagons in the narrow road, and I ventured to say that they would probably try to reach us, but was told that they had not yet recovered their poise and got their guns to work. Yet I was right, for presently we saw a shell burst directly in the road in front of us, about 250 feet away, then another and another. It was a trying moment, for the Germans were getting the range, and if they succeeded in hitting the horses and wagons in front of us, there would be great difficulty ahead of us in getting clear. But Captain C. E. Bean, an astute and admirable guide, insisted on taking another road which was not being shelled, and so we backed out of the snarl of wagons and military vans, and took another road to ruined Bellicourt, for which we were

making. As we did so, two vans filled with dead Australians were halted in the cross roads, and were fresh evidence of the fighting which had taken place at the end of last week and the beginning of this. Let this be said for the soldiers that rode the horses or accompanied the vans, that when the shells fell so near them they showed no signs whatever of panic or anxiety, but went on their way apparently oblivious of their danger. That they were oblivious, of course, is not true. They must have realized their danger, but they showed no signs of it.

Oh, it was splendid, the steady, untroubled spirit of these men, and one could understand that the Hindenburg line had to pass into their hands and the hands of the Americans, who have shown such excellent bravery in all the fighting in which they have shared, and when their supply department—food, &c.—is in order, will be one of the greatest armies in the world, as it is now one of the most courageous and intelligent. We saw a few thousands of them marching back from the Hindenburg line and the canal which they had taken, and I think I never saw a finer looking lot of men—very intelligent, lithe, and capable looking. Those who doubted that the American and Australian, New Zealander and Canadian, would lack in discipline have been proved wrong. They have the gift of adapting themselves to the duty of the hour, and that duty they have performed magnificently in all the fighting in which they have shared, and have subtlety and intelligence and skill to help them on their hard way.

RELICS OF BATTLE

At last we reached the spot where we had to leave our motors, and then began a walk over the worst country I have ever seen. Every yard had its shell hole, and as we went we saw on either hand dead bodies of Huns, with stark, discolored faces, and one lay with his head crushed to a pancake by the wheels of a tank or artillery wagon, while in a cove to the right of us were the remnants of Americans blown to pieces and many putrefying Huns. A little later we looked down on the valley where the endless barbed wire of the Hindenburg line

was stretched, and away to the left was the town of Bellicourt, the road from which the Huns were shelling continuously. One could hear the long swirl through the air, and then the burst of the shell and see the cloud of dirt that rose from the impact. But their aim was bad, and I don't think they succeeded in felling many men.

But on the hillside, as we went down into the valley, we saw American soldier gravediggers putting away in the too thickly populated improvised cemetery the very many dead soldiers who had so gallantly done honor to the Stars and Stripes. And yesterday, as it were, these were civilians like ourselves, with war as far from their thoughts as bounty is far from a miser. And what good spirits did all soldiers whom we saw and met show! Their day of danger was not over, but their day of victory was in their hands. Officers in dugouts, men in carts and by the roadside, everywhere were cheerful, without being jubilant—hopeful and radiant and self-possessed.

IN THE CANAL TUNNEL

Down into the valley we went after seeing afar the points of battle interest, like Bony and Cabaret Farm, and we made our way heavily to the canal, meeting officers who issued from their dugouts taken from the Huns to give us "the glad hand." Down the steep sides of the canal we made our way to the entrance of the long underground ditch, and saw the spot where the Hun had made a storehouse for food and a sheltered but unhealthy home for so many of his soldiers. It was perfectly foul, but then every officer's dugout in the German Army is foul, so we are told by British and Australian officers, and we have to clear up after their physical as after their moral presence. The canal was dark and unsightly when I visited it, and its rough bunks, occasional tables and unsightly furnishings gave little sign of home or comfort. It is what Captain Bean has called "a great unwholesome underground barrack." Its people are all now our prisoners, after their comrades had lain in dugouts, and not being mopped up, had turned their machine guns on the Americans—good

warfare, for which they had paid a full price, for most of them were killed by Australian infantry, who took a sweet revenge on their butchery. Even this canal did not give them security from British and Australian guns, and dead bodies of Huns were found in chambers where shells had laid them low. The endless procession of barges in the tunnel and the solidity of the construction, together with the network of barbed

wire in the valley outside, made the place seem one of impregnable strength. Yet it was taken by the Americans and Australians, in spite of all forecast and expectation, and is a fit comparison with Dixmude, Loos, Ypres, Neuve Chapelle, Lens, Vimy, and a score of other places where Hun deviltry has been over-matched and our feet planted firmly and for the last time on soil from which we had been driven.

Breaking the Hindenburg Line

By SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE

Conan Doyle, the noted British romancer and historian, writing for The London Times, has created a pen picture of the battle near Bellicourt which is full of interest for American readers.

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord;
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored.

THE grand, sonorous, mystical lines of Julia Ward Howe rang in my head as I found myself by most unlooked-for chance an actual eyewitness of one of the historical episodes of the greatest of wars. Yes, with my own eyes I saw the rent in the Hindenburg line while the men who made it were still pushing forward from the further side of it. Even now I can hardly realize that it was so. A kindly invitation from the Australian Government explains my presence on their front, and the energy and good-will of a helpful soldier on the spot, a Captain of Australian artillery, brought about the rest. Let me try to transcribe what I saw.

It was about 11 o'clock when we reached the edge of the battlefield upon Sunday, Sept. 29. The program of the day was already clear in our heads. American divisions were to rush the front line. The Australian divisions were to pass through them and carry the battlefront forward. Already as we arrived the glad news came back that the Americans had done their part and that the Australians had just been unleashed. Also that the Germans were standing to it like men.

As our car threaded the crowded street between the ruins of Templeux, we met the wounded coming back, covered cars with nothing visible save protruding boots, and a constant stream of pedestrians, some limping, some with bandaged arms and faces, some supported by Red Cross men, a few in pain, most of them smiling grimly behind their cigarettes. Amid them came the first clump of prisoners, fifty or more, pitiable enough, and yet I could not pity them, weary, shuffling, hangdog creatures, with no touch of nobility in their features or their bearing.

The village was full of Americans and Australians, extraordinarily like each other in type. One could well have lingered, for it was all of great interest, but there were even greater interests ahead, so we turned up a hill, left our car, which had reached its limit, and proceeded on foot. The road took us through a farm, where a British anti-aircraft battery stood ready for action. There we found open plain, and went forward, amid old trenches and rusty wire, in the direction of the battle.

EASTWARD HO!

We had now passed the heavy-gun positions, and were among the field guns, so that the noise was deafening. A British howitzer battery was hard at work, and we stopped to chat with the

Major. His crews had been at it for six hours, but were in great good humor, and chuckled mightily when the blast of one of their guns nearly drove in our eardrums, we having got rather too far forward. The effect was that of a ringing box on the exposed ear—with which valediction we left our grinning British gunners and pushed on to the east, under a screaming canopy of our own shells. The wild, empty waste of moor was broken by a single shallow quarry or gravel pit, in which we could see some movement. In it we found an advanced dressing station, with about a hundred American and Australian gunners and orderlies. There were dugouts in the sides of this flat excavation, and it had been an American battalion headquarters up to a few hours before. We were now about a thousand yards from the Hindenburg line, and I learned with emotion that this spot was the Egg redoubt, one of those advanced outposts of General Gough's army, which suffered so tragic and glorious a fate in that great military epic of March 21—one of the grandest in the whole war. The fact that we were now standing in the Egg redoubt showed me, as nothing else could have done, how completely the ground had been recovered and how the day of retribution was at hand.

We were standing near the eastward lip of the excavation, and looking over it, when it was first brought to our attention that it took two to make a battle. Up to now we had seen only one. Now two shells burst in quick succession forty yards in front of us, and a spray of earth went into the air. "Whizz-bangs," remarked our soldier-guide casually. Personally, I felt less keenly interested in their name than in the fact that they were there at all.

VIEW FROM A TANK

We thought we had done pretty well to get within 1,000 yards of the famous line, but now came a crowning bit of good fortune, for an Australian gunner Captain, a mere lad, but a soldier from his hawk's eyes to his active feet, volunteered to rush us forward to some coign of vantage known to himself. So it was Eastward Ho! once more, still over a

dull, barren plain sloping upward, with little sign of life. Here and there was the quick fluff of a bursting shell, but at a comforting distance. Suddenly ahead of us a definite object broke the skyline. It was a tank, upon which the crew were working with spanners and levers, for its comrades were now far ahead, and it would fain follow. This, it seems, was the grand stand which our young gunner had selected. On to the top of it we clambered—and there, at our very feet and less than 500 yards away, was the rift which had been torn a few hours before in the Hindenburg line. On the dun slope beyond it, under our very eyes, was even now being fought a part of that great fight where at last the children of light are beating down into the earth the forces of darkness. It was there. We could see it. And yet how little there was to see!

GERMAN GUNS WAKE UP

The ground sloped down, as dark and heathy as Hindhead. In front of us lay a village. It was Bellicourt. The Hindenburg position ran through it. It lay quiet enough, and with the glass, or even with the eye, one could see rusty red fields of wire in front of it. But the wire had availed nothing, nor had the trench that lurked behind it, for beyond it, beside the village of Nouroy, there was a long white line, clouds of pale vapor spouting up against a dark, rain-sodden sky. "The boche smoke barrage," said our guide. "They are going to counterattack." Only this, the long, white, swirling cloud upon the dark plain, told of the strife in front of us. With my glasses I saw what looked like tanks, but whether wrecked or in hiding I could not say. There was the battle—the greatest of battles—but nowhere could I see a moving figure. It is true that all the noises of the pit seemed to rise from that lonely landscape, but noise was always with us, go where we would.

The Australians were ahead where that line of smoke marked their progress. In the sloping fields, which at that point emerged out of the moor, the victorious Americans, who had done their part, were crouching. It was an assured victory upon which we gazed, achieved so

rapidly that we were ourselves standing far forward in ground which had been won that day. The wounded had been brought in, and I saw no corpses, though some friends who had reached the line to our left found eighteen American lads lying dead by the roadside. On that side the fight was very severe, and the Germans, who had been hidden in their huge dugouts, were doing their usual trick of emerging and cutting off the attack. So much we gathered afterward, but for the moment it was the panorama before us which was engrossing all our thoughts.

Suddenly the German guns woke up. I can but pray that it was not our group which drew their fire upon the half-mended tank. Shell after shell fell in its direction, all of them short, but creeping forward with each salvo. It was time for us to go. If any man says that without a call of duty he likes being under shell-fire, he is not a man whose word I would trust.

We made our way back, with no indecent haste, but certainly without loitering, across the plain, the shells always getting rather nearer, until we came to the excavation. Here we had a welcome rest, for our good gunner took us into his cubbyhole of a dugout, which would at least stop shrapnel, and we shared his tea and dried beef, a true Australian soldier's meal.

The German fire was now rather heavy. From where we sat we could see heavy shells bursting far to our rear, and there was a general atmosphere of explosion all round us, which might have seemed alarming had it not been for the general chatty afternoon-tea appearance of all those veteran soldiers with whom it was our privilege to find ourselves. As we started on our homeward track we came, first, upon the British battery which seemed to be limbering up with some idea of advancing. Further still we met our friends of the air guns, and stopped again to exchange a few impressions. They had nothing to fire at, and seemed bored to tears, for the red, white, and blue machines were in full command of the sky.

Soon we found our motor waiting in the lee of a ruined house, and began to thread our way back through the won-

derfully picturesque streams of men—American, Australian, British, and German—who were strung along the road.

And then occurred a very horrible incident. One knew, of course, that one could not wander about a battlefield and not find one's self sooner or later involved in some tragedy, but we were now out of range of any but heavy guns, and their shots were spasmodic. We had halted the car for an instant to gather up two German helmets which Commander Latham had seen on the roadside, when there was a very heavy burst close ahead round a curve in the village street. A geyser of red brick dust flew up into the air. An instant later our car rounded the corner. None of us will forget what we saw. There was a tangle of mutilated horses, their necks rising and sinking. Beside them a man with his hand blown off was staggering away, the blood gushing from his upturned sleeve. Beside the horses lay a shattered man drenched crimson from head to foot, with two great glazed eyes looking upward through a mask of blood. Two comrades were at hand to help, and we could only go upon our way with the ghastly picture stamped forever upon our memory. The image of that dead driver might well haunt one in one's dreams.

Once through Templeux, and on the main road for Péronne, things became less exciting, and we drew up to see a column of 900 prisoners pass us. Each side of the causeway was lined by Australians, with their keen, clear-cut, falcon faces, and between lurched these heavy-jawed, beetle-browed, uncouth louts, new caught and staring round with bewildered eyes at their *débonnaire* captors. I saw none of that relief at getting out of it which I have read of; nor did I see any signs of fear, but the prevailing impression was an ox-like stolidity and dullness. It was a herd of beasts, not a procession of men. It was indeed farcical to think that these uniformed bumpkins represented the great military nation, while the gallant figures who lined the road belonged to the race which they had despised as being unwarlike. Time and Fate between them have a pretty sense of humor.

Growth of Commissioned Personnel of the United States Navy

By CAROL HOWE FOSTER

Instructor in the Department of English, United States Naval Academy

THE commissioned personnel of the United States Navy in April, 1917, included 3,800 officers, staff and line, reserve and regular. In October, 1918, it numbered approximately twenty-five thousand, and was increasing at the rate of some two thousand each month. This accomplishment and the methods followed constitute a noteworthy chapter in naval history.

The inherent democracy of the American Navy is shown by a few statistics of the Naval Reserve Force as it stood on Oct. 1, 1918. In the Naval Coast Defense Reserve there were 3,690 officers—including 692 warrant officers—and 75 per cent. of them were formerly enlisted men. Likewise in the Pay Corps Reserve 75 per cent. of the officers had been enlisted men, and in the Aviation Reserve no less than 90 per cent. of the officers had risen from the ranks. The total number of officers commissioned from the enlisted force was 8,977 in the Reserve and about three thousand in the regular navy.* Enlistment has been made the best and quickest avenue to a commission in the navy.

The navy's resourcefulness is illustrated in the enrolling of provision reserve Ensigns for ultimate submarine duty. In addition to possessing recognized engineering degrees and considerable engineering experience, applicants must be recommended by one of the following institutions: American Institute of Electrical Engineers, American Society of Mechanical Engineers, American Institute of Mining Engineers, National Research Council, or the Naval Consulting Board. By means of these civilian organizations, reservoirs of specially trained personnel have been drawn upon

and the professionally unfit have been eliminated.

In the early days of the war a few college men and Annapolis graduates were, after examination, commissioned in the Pay Corps, Corps of Civil Engineers, and Marine Corps, and then as commissioned officers fitted for their duties in the navy. There were similar openings in the Pay Corps for enlisted men in the navy and in the Marine Corps for enlisted men among the marines. A few of them after passing the required examinations were commissioned and then as officers prepared for their duties. But these were exceptional cases. The standard requirement for a staff officer was that he be a man of thorough training and special skill, already established in his profession.

Between April, 1917, and September, 1918, the various staff corps were increased as follows in their commissioned personnel: Medical from 511 to 2,667; Dental from 44 to 105; Pay from 262 to 1,679; Chaplains from 40 to 160; Naval Constructors from 83 to 268; Civil Engineers from 41 to 180. These numbers include permanent, temporary, and reserve staff officers, but do not include commissioned professors,* as none of these has been appointed since 1913. Temporary commissions are only for the period of the war.

*The staff corps have an established order of precedence, and each corps wears a distinctive color between the gold stripes on sleeve and shoulder strap. First come the doctors, with dark maroon velvet as their color. Second are the dentists, marked by orange. Third are the pay officers, whose color is white. Fourth rank the Chaplains, distinguished by the cross on the collar and by stripes of black lustrous cloth between the gold stripes. Fifth is the order and dark green the color of the Professors of Mathematics; their corps is a vanishing one, inasmuch as no new appointments can be

*Exact figures are not available for the regular navy.

NAVAL RESERVE FORCE

Most line officers have been obtained by way of the various branches of the Naval Reserve Force. In the present Reserve there are five classes. Those in Class 1 must be former members of the regular navy. Those in Class 2 must be qualified for duty in combatant vessels. In Class 3, which is the largest of all, they must qualify for duty in the Naval Overseas Transport Service or the merchant marine. In Class 4, which is next to the largest, they are enrolled for the coast patrol or for special work in the naval districts, such as technical or administrative or inspection duty. Class 4 also contains a great many who are in training for transfer to Class 2 or some other class. Members of Class 5 must be qualified for ground or flying duty in aviation†

Officers for the reserve have been systematically selected in all the naval districts from the enlisted men of the coast guard, regular navy, and reserve force. Men who have some education and demonstrate unusual ability in actual competitive service are quickly picked out for unusual training and advancement. Each district sends out a weekly or monthly quota of those who

made. Sixth come the naval constructors, with dark violet. Seventh, and last, are the civil engineers, with light blue. Staff officers in the reserve force are distinguished by the same colors as the regulars. Formerly their colors were broken, but by an order of Aug. 27, 1918, all distinctions of uniform between reserves and regulars were abolished. In respect to uniforms it might be added that line officers both in the reserve and in the regular navy have a star on the shoulder strap and on the sleeve just above the stripes, and also an anchor on the collar.

†Both reserve and regular officers in aviation are distinguished by their olive drab uniforms with the naval shoulder straps. Other naval officers are allowed the olive drab only by special privilege, as when traveling or on inspection duty in a munition plant. Officers qualified as pilots wear a spread wing on the left breast. Naval aviators who are actually on flying duty have 50 per cent. extra pay. All reserve officers when on active duty in wartime receive the pay and allowances of regulars of the same rank and length of service, and in addition, if confirmed in grade, receive their retainer pay as reserve officers.

seem likely to measure up to the requirements for officers of combatant or merchant ships. Officer material schools in all the districts except the ones on the Gulf are constantly passing men of promise through intensive courses in navigation, seamanship, steam and gas and electrical engineering, gunnery, torpedo work, signaling, navy regulations, &c. Students in these schools hold their enlisted ratings, Chief Quartermaster, for example, until their final examination after the normal four months' course. They are then commissioned Ensign, U. S. N. R. F., Class 4, or are transferred to general detail with appropriate ratings in case they do not prove to be competent for commission. After three months at sea as reserve Ensigns in Class 4 they may, if favorably recommended by their commanding officers, be eligible for transfer to Class 2 and subsequent examination for commission as temporary Ensigns in the regular navy.

NAVAL AUXILIARY RESERVE

For the Naval Auxiliary Reserve a special officer material school has been established at Pelham Park, New York. Here men are trained for deck duties on merchant ships. After they have had one month of military experience and two months' service on coastwise shipping they are given a two months' course of navigation, seamanship, regulations, and signaling.

Those who desire to become engineer officers are taken for the first month to Stevens Institute, where the preliminary training in boilers, engines, and auxiliaries is given; then two months of practical work on coastwise shipping and in different repair plants near New York Harbor. The fourth month's training in organization, routine, care and upkeep, navy regulations, duties of engineer officers and assistants, is again at Stevens Institute.

Commissions in the Naval Auxiliary Reserve have also been given to seagoing officers possessing licenses in the merchant marine. They and the graduates of the deck and engineering schools just described make up the commissioned personnel of Class 3 of the

reserve force. In October they numbered 6,571, or about twice as many as any other class. Next year they will have to take charge of the twenty-two hundred additional ships projected by the Shipping Board and will number close to thirty thousand. In this class promotion is extremely rapid up to the grade of Lieutenant Commander. The present prospect is that some of our large steamers will have to be commanded in 1919 by men of less than one year's total sea service.

Naval aviation required fliers, inspectors, and engineers, and by October, 1918, had developed over 1,600 commissioned reserve officers. Commissions were offered to good officer material where it could best be found. Of 1,709 commissioned and warrant officers 90 per cent. had come from the enlisted force. Their training in electricity, aeronautical motors, navigation, seamanship, meteorology, photography, wireless, &c., was made possible only by the co-operation of various educational and industrial institutions like Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of Washington, Columbia University, Packard Motor Car Company, and the seven flight training schools.

PROMOTING ENLISTED MEN

For producing regular line officers every ship in commission—especially the large ones—has been a floating Plattsburg. All enlisted men are under close observation, and the intelligent are selected and trained as officer material. As fast as a man masters the duties of one rating he is advanced to the next. The commander of the United States naval forces operating in European waters has suggested three months as a reasonable time to serve before each promotion, but it is often shorter. Men thus advanced, through the non-commissioned grades, who have talent for leadership and can pass the necessary examinations, are commissioned at sea as temporary Ensigns in the regular navy.

If a man is excellent officer material and of good general education, but in need of special training in navigation and other technical subjects such as are taught in the officer material schools,

he will probably—if he survives a hard competition—be sent to Annapolis for four months of intense work in company and competition with a few selected from the districts by competitive examination. After final examination he is commissioned Ensign, U. S. N. (T.) Temporary officers are appointed to fill vacancies created by temporary increase in the authorized enlisted strength of the active list of the navy. Temporary appointments continue in force only until otherwise directed by the President or until six months after the war.

Beginning in the Summer of 1917, reserve officers' classes at Annapolis have been graduated and commissioned as follows: 134 on Sept. 15, 1917; 285 on Feb. 1; 388 on June 8; 700 on Sept. 15, 1918; some 450 will be graduated about Feb. 1, 1919. The ships at sea and the Ensigns' School together have developed about 3,000 temporary regular line officers.

NAVAL ACADEMY'S WORK

The most important single source of regular line officers has been the Naval Academy. Classes are now twice as large as those before the war; the present "plebes" are nearly a thousand strong. And the course of study has been compressed to three years. But the navy is still in urgent need of adequately trained deck officers. Accordingly additional quarters for 1,100 midshipmen are being completed, at a cost of three millions. Bancroft Hall will soon accommodate 2,200. Even then the Naval Academy will be unable to supply the demand for its graduates.

For other reasons besides numbers the Naval Academy has been the most important of our agencies for obtaining commissioned naval officers. No other place can give them the same grounding in the duties of both deck and engine room. No other place prepares men at so plastic and formative a period for the exercise of command. The cohesive power of our navy has been due in no small measure to the fact that positions of command, particularly in fighting ships, have been the prerogative of graduates from Annapolis. Naval commanders have been able to work together

so successfully largely because they were sure of just what they could depend on from each other. They knew each other's mental and moral backgrounds. So the backbone of our navy will undoubtedly continue to be composed of regular graduates of the Naval Academy. In the resting place of John Paul Jones and of the trophy flags our navy has captured, they have taken to heart the great ideals of obedience, loyalty, pluck, and honor. Through their unique discipline and their lifelong devotion to naval duties, they are in a peculiar sense the torch-bearers of glorious traditions.

The magnitude of this achievement is matched by its quality. It has been marked throughout by the absence of graft. Appointments have been made on the basis of competitive and comparative merit. Record, personality, and examinations both physical and mental, these and all other available factors have been considered. If "pull" did in a very few cases manifest a disposition to show itself, it had such a pronounced and denounced odor that it quickly defeated its own ends. The way of the grafter and wire-puller has lain under a

barrage of public opinion within and without the service. Staff officers have had to prove that they possessed competence and standing in their profession. Line officers have had to demonstrate superior force of character and superior ability in the performance of their duties. Merit has been the only principle followed.

The growth of the commissioned personnel of the navy might be summarized thus:

COMMISSIONED STAFF OFFICERS

	April 6, 1917.	Aug. 15, 1918.
Permanent	869	1,634
Temporary	None	810
Reserve	128	*2,630

COMMISSIONED LINE OFFICERS

Reserve	552	*13,198
Temporary	None	2,275
Permanent (engin'g only)	None	33
Permanent (Naval Academy graduates, both deck and engineering)	2,270	2,615
Total staff and line.....	3,819	23,195 †1,000 ‡24,195

* August, 1918.

† Increase estimated for Aug. 1, 1915.

‡ Total on Aug. 15, 1918.

End of the U-Boat Warfare

Last Sinkings Before the Recall of the Submarines, Which Ended Three Years of Terrorism

THE German Government's note of Oct. 21, 1918, requesting President Wilson to arrange an armistice, announced that orders had been issued to U-boat commanders to cease attacks on passenger ships. No sinkings were reported after that date.

The British battleship *Britannia* was torpedoed near the west entrance to the Strait of Gibraltar on Nov. 9, and sank three and a half hours later. Thirty-nine officers and 673 men were saved. The *Britannia*, which had a displacement of 16,350 tons, was 453.7 feet in length, had a speed of approximately 19 knots, and carried a peace-time complement of 777 men. Her main armament consisted of four twelve-inch guns.

The American steamship *Lucia*, which had her lower holds fitted with rubber-bound barrels and was believed to be unsinkable, was torpedoed and sunk on the 19th of October, 1,200 miles from the American coast. Four of the crew were killed by the explosion; the remainder were rescued. The vessel was a single-screw steamship of 6,744 gross tonnage. The Irish steamer *Dundalk*, 863 tons, was torpedoed in the Irish Sea Oct. 19; of the crew of 34 only 13 were rescued. No other torpedoings of importance were reported subsequent to that date.

It was reported on Oct. 21 that all German destroyers and torpedo boats, as well as submarines, which had their bases at Ostend and Zeebrugge had

escaped to German ports. At the same time Kiel Harbor was reported to be so crowded with returned submarines that some had to lie outside.

The losses of British shipping due to enemy action and marine risk during September totaled 151,593 gross tons, compared with 176,434 in August and 209,212 in September, 1917. The losses for the quarter ended with September were 510,551 gross tons, compared with 952,938 for the corresponding quarter of 1917.

The Norwegian bark *Stifonder*, 1,746 tons, was torpedoed Oct. 13 by a German submarine 1,000 miles off the American coast. T. Fritji, mate, and nine survivors of the crew were adrift fifteen days in a longboat until they were picked up off Barneгат, N. J. The other members of the crew were lost. When the commander of the U-boat came close alongside the bark on the morning of Oct. 13 he ordered the crew to abandon ship at once. Before placing bombs on board to sink her the German sailors took away a quantity of stores, oil, and gasoline.

SUCCESS OF CONVOYS

In reviewing the submarine record for June, July, and August, 1918, the last active period of the U-boat campaign, The Associated Press gave the following details of the operation of the American naval convoy service, under London date of Oct. 10, 1918:

"In the tremendous arrivals this Summer period is satisfactory. Not one of the incoming troopships was lost, and every soldier was landed. Such losses as have occurred have been on outgoing ships, mainly freighters going back with little or no cargo.

"As the American naval convoy service has borne the brunt of this protection, the results achieved for the first Summer are a notable tribute to the American fleet. In the Mediterranean there are five of the allied navies co-operating in the protective service—the French, British, American, Italian, and Japanese. Here on the Atlantic Coast, however, the French and American fleets furnish the convoys and protective service, and along 300 miles of the front the

American service has a foremost part, particularly in the huge movement of troops and supplies from America.

"The monthly tonnage losses for the Summer were close around 260,000 tons, or about 50,000 tons less than the monthly losses at the opening of the year, and 100,000 tons less than the losses in March. In January the losses stood at about 300,000 tons. They mounted steadily through February and March, until the March total was around 350,000. Then a sudden drop began, and in April the losses were down to 260,000. Again they mounted slightly in May to 280,000. Then there was another fall to 240,000. In July they stood at 260,000, and this has been the level to the close of the Summer.

"The percentage of losses on the Atlantic route since the convoy system began May 25 last is less than that on any other route. In the Mediterranean the percentage of losses is about 1½, and on one exposed route it runs up to 18. But on the Atlantic route, where the American convoy is chiefly concerned, the percentage of losses is around 1 per cent.

"As to the loss of submarines, the one fact known definitely is that they are being destroyed faster than they are being built. But there are not the same exact figures as to the fluctuations of losses, as these are carefully concealed by the enemy, and the loss of an underwater craft is much less apparent than that of one on the surface. But a pretty accurate check is kept on those which disappear and the new ones taking their place.

"Among the new ones are the U-139, U-141, and U-142, built at the Germania Krupp yards at Kiel. They have a length of about 315 feet, with sixteen knots speed on the surface and nine knots under water. They each mount four guns and two machine guns, and have four 500-centimeter torpedo tubes, two forward and two aft.

"But the appearance of new boats in no way keeps pace with the loss of the old ones, which are crippled or sunk, or mysteriously disappear, leaving hardly a trace as the depth bombs do their deadly underwater work."

VAST CARGOES CARRIED

The British Wireless Service on Nov. 6 stated that since the convoy system had been successfully adopted some 26,000,000 tons of food and 35,000,000 tons of munitions had been brought in convoy to England and the food ships lost had been reduced from nearly 10 per cent. to 1 per cent.

In the course of the Summer 307 ships of a tonnage of 1,466,000 had carried the Argentine wheat crop to Great Britain, France, and Italy, and only one ship was lost. This may be compared with the worst period for sinkings, the week ended April 29, 1917, when 119 ships were lost.

Convoys between July 26, 1917, and Oct. 19, 1918, were 1,027 in number, containing 14,968 ships, of which only 118 were lost. The gross tonnage was 77,057,231. The tonnage lost was 654,288. One convoy of United States troops and British ships brought 30,000 men.

The grand total of merchant ships convoyed was 85,772 and the losses were only 433.

The volume of traffic to and from the United Kingdom in less than three-quarters of this year increased by one-third,

while the risk of loss was reduced one-half.

It was stated in November that the claims of neutral nations for vessels sunk by submarines would exceed \$1,000,000,000, represented by the loss of 1,500 ships, with a capacity of 2,000,000 tons; the loss of life exceeded 2,500. By ceding seven interned ships to Spain to replace as many of the eighty-seven Spanish vessels sunk, Germany admitted her liability. The mercantile marine losses of Germany's foes exceeded those of the neutrals, and there were not enough German ships to replace this tonnage. But many of these ships are now interned in neutral harbors. Spain has ninety of them.

The first steamship that entered New York Harbor with lights ablaze since the beginning of the U-boat campaign, 1915, arrived Nov. 2, 1918. The commander had received a wireless dispatch at sea the day before, informing him that the way was clear and that he could steer a direct course for port, which shortened the voyage by twenty hours. Transports and other vessels were burning their lights at sea Nov. 2 for the first time in three years.

The North Sea Submarine Barrage

How Our Navy Helped to Defeat the U-Boat, With the Greatest Mine Area on Record

[AUTHORIZED BY SECRETARY DANIELS, OCT. 30, 1918]

ONE of the most important accomplishments of the Bureau of Ordnance in this war has been the establishment, in co-operation with the British Navy, of the North Sea mine barrage, designed to bar, so far as possible, the egress of German submarines from their home bases into the Atlantic. For this project a new and improved type of mine was invented, many thousands manufactured and transported overseas, large bases were established abroad for assembling and issuance of mine planters, a fleet of mine layers was sent and has been maintained in foreign waters, a score of merchant vessels were fitted out and have been engaged in transportation of the material from this

country, and a mine-loading plant, with a capacity of more than a thousand mines a day, was erected, and has been in operation for many months.

Rear Admiral Joseph Strauss, former Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance, is in command of the mine force abroad; Captain R. R. Belknap directs the mine planters; Captain O. G. Murfin is in charge of the forces and bases ashore, where several thousand men are engaged, and Commander S. P. Fullinwider is in charge of the Mine Section of the Bureau of Ordnance, which keeps the forces overseas supplied.

From the time this country entered the war officers of the Bureau of Ordnance contended that a most effective way of

combating the submarine would be to blockade the enemy's coast by means of mines or anti-submarine devices, and urged the placing of an anti-submarine barrier around the North Sea to prevent submarines from getting into the Atlantic. They made a thorough study of the various types of barrage, including nets, nets in combination with mines and bombs, and mines alone. They concluded that mines offered the only practicable solution of the problem; but no mine then existing appeared to be satisfactory for the purpose, so efforts were concentrated on the evolution of a new type with which such a barrier could be established. The immense number required for the project and the operation of mining in such great depths of water presented new and difficult problems.

The mining section of the bureau, under the direction of Commander Fullinwider, produced a new type of mine, the success of which has surpassed all expectations. The first step was to devise a new firing device, and the officers saw possibilities in an electrical anti-submarine device which Ralph Browne, an American inventor, had submitted to the department in May, 1917, which, while not of practical value in the form submitted, embodied an element which could be utilized to advantage in a naval mine. The inventor, in collaboration with officers of the bureau, constructed a model apparatus which on test, July 9, 1917, gave gratifying results, and the bureau immediately proceeded with the design of a mine in which the apparatus could be used. The firing apparatus having been completed, other parts were designed as rapidly as possible, each part being put into manufacture as it was designed and tested. To insure the practicability of planting mines by either British or American planters, outside dimensions of the American mine and planter were made to conform to the standard British gear. Lieut. Commander H. Isherwood, R. N. V. R., worked with the bureau to accomplish this end, and assisted in designing the complicated mine anchor.

Tentative plans for a North Sea barrage were submitted to Admiral Benson, Chief of Naval Operations, on June 12, 1917; the development of a mine pecu-

liarily adapted for use against submarines was announced July 18, and plans for a British-American joint offensive operation were submitted on July 30, 1917. After being approved by Secretary Daniels, they were submitted to the British Admiralty by Admiral Henry T. Mayo, on his visit to Europe during August and September, 1917; were accepted, in modified form, by the British authorities, and the details of the joint operation worked out. Upon Admiral Mayo's return, the Bureau of Ordnance was directed by Secretary Daniels to proceed with the procurement of the necessary mines.

At first some officials looked upon the plan as impracticable, mainly on account of the immense amount of material required and the inadequate number of mine layers available. But these difficulties were overcome and the British and American authorities agreed upon the plan which has been put into effect.

Many thousands of mines had to be produced, and as rapidly as the several parts were designed, contracts were placed for their manufacture. Coincident with this work numerous experiments and tests were made of each part. The routine method would have required the design and test of the mine and all its attachments as a whole before undertaking manufacture, but a year's time would have been lost if this routine had been followed. To obtain the new mine in large quantities, and to preserve due secrecy regarding its characteristics, a radical departure from usual manufacturing methods was adopted. The expedient was adopted of subdividing the mine into its many elements and having these elements manufactured in different commercial plants, all the parts to be finally brought together and assembled into finished mines at a mine depot. The work was divided among about 140 principal contractors and more than 400 subcontractors. The major portion of the work was done in automobile plants, which possessed the organization and equipment for quantity production.

Having the various parts made at so many points was a somewhat hazardous course to adopt, as the manufacturers would have to tool up and get into quan-

tity production before a single mine could be assembled and tested, and such a policy could be justified only as an urgent war measure, where time was a vital consideration. For this reason Rear Admiral Earle, Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance, accepted the risk and pushed the work to the utmost. The results fully justified the means adopted, as a full year's time was saved, and the mines when finally assembled and tested under service conditions functioned as designed. The cost of the new mine is much less than that of similar products before the war, notwithstanding the higher cost of labor and material, and this is due to the quantity production methods followed out and the keen competition between contractors.

While the mine itself was being placed in production, a number of ships were converted into mine planters, a mine-charging plant with a capacity of a thousand mines a day was erected to load the mines, an important railroad shipping pier was taken over for the handling of mine material, and other necessary arrangements made. Abroad mine depots were fitted out for the assembly of mines and their issuance to the mine planters.

A fleet of more than twenty merchant vessels was taken over by the navy and fitted out for the sole purpose of transporting mine material overseas. Captain R. R. Belknap accomplished the work of procuring, fitting out, and organizing the vessels for mine planting. The task of fitting of mine bases on shore abroad was intrusted to Captain O. G. Murfin, who proceeded overseas in November, 1917. The arrangements for the receipt of the various parts, transportation, and final assembly were made rapid and automatic, and on a scale never before attained in such work. From American ports material started across early in February. Since that time there has been a constant succession of such shipments, and only one vessel carrying mine material has been sunk by submarine.

Rear Admiral Strauss was selected as commander of the mine force, and sailed in April, 1918, followed by the mine planters under Captain Belknap in May, vessels of the force reaching the bases on May 26 last. Since that time many miles of mines have been planted and the American mine layers, working in conjunction and close co-operation with the British, have made a vast area impracticable for enemy submarines.

The Nationality of the Finns and Esthonians

THE independence of Finland adds yet another to a group of European nations which are of non-Aryan race, and some of which, like the Magyars and the Turks, and, to some extent, the Bulgars, represent recent incursions of Asiatic nomads, who have fastened themselves on European soil. The Finns and Esthonians, who are connected with all these peoples, since all are members of the Mongolian Ural-Altai group, represent, however, a far earlier incursion, if they are not even older than the Aryan races (Slavic and Scandinavian) who now almost surround them. The Finns were known under that name (Phinnoi) to Ptolemy, while it seems certain that the Esthonians are the Aestii of Tacitus. The Finns, however, call themselves Suomi, "men of the marshes," from Suo,

a marsh. With the Esthonians, they are closely akin to a group of non-Slavonic, Mongoloid peoples, like the Mordvins, the Cheremiss, the Ostiaks, the Voguls, who spread over Northern and Northeastern Russia, forming a strong element of yellow race, which has largely blended with the Russians.

In 1911, the population of Finland numbered 3,250,000, of whom 2,570,000 were Finns, 340,000 Swedes, 7,000 Russians, and less than 2,000 Germans. The Finns are, almost without exception, Lutherans, as are the Swedish upper classes in Finland. But there is practically no race difference between the Finns, on the north of the Gulf of Finland, and the Esthonians, Curlanders and Livonians, on the south of the same gulf.

The Czechoslovak Republic

Text of the Declaration of Independence Adopted by the Provisional Government

THE first of the new States to be organized from the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was the Czechoslovak Republic, consisting of the Czechs of Bohemia and the Slovaks of Moravia and Silesia, a total of 12,000,000 people of Slavic race, whose aspirations for liberty since the beginning of the war had found their chief spokesman in Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, President of the Czechoslovak National Council. This body, recognized by all the leading Entente Governments as the new nation's Provisional Government, had its headquarters in Paris, though Professor Masaryk remained in Washington, where he was in close touch with President Wilson, especially after our Government's recognition of the Czechoslovak Nation and Army, on Sept. 2, 1918. Formal action severing Bohemia from Austria-Hungary was taken by the Provisional Government in Paris on Oct. 18, when it adopted the following Declaration of Independence:

At this grave moment, when the Hohenzollerns are offering peace in order to stop the victorious advance of the allied armies and to prevent the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and Turkey, and when the Hapsburgs are promising the federalization of the empire and autonomy to the dissatisfied nationalities committed to their rule, we, the Czechoslovak National Council, recognized by the allied and American Governments as the Provisional Government of the Czechoslovak State and Nation, in complete accord with the declaration of the Czech Deputies made in Prague on Jan. 6, 1918, and realizing that federalization and, still more, autonomy, means nothing under a Hapsburg dynasty, do hereby make and declare this our Declaration of Independence.

We do this because of our belief that no people should be forced to live under a sovereignty they do not recognize, and because of our knowledge and firm conviction that our nation cannot freely develop in a Hapsburg mock federation, which is only a new form of the denationalizing oppression under which we have suffered for the last 300 years. We con-

sider freedom to be the first prerequisite for federalization, and believe that the free nations of Central and Eastern Europe may easily federate should they find it necessary.

We make this declaration on the basis of our historic and natural right. We have been an independent State since the seventh century, and in 1526, as an independent State, consisting of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, we joined with Austria and Hungary in a defensive union against the Turkish danger. We have never voluntarily surrendered our rights as an independent State in this confederation. The Hapsburgs broke their compact with our nation by illegally transgressing our rights and violating the Constitution of our State, which they had pledged themselves to uphold, and we therefore refuse longer to remain a part of Austria-Hungary in any form.

We claim the right of Bohemia to be reunited with her Slovak brethren of Slovakia, once a part of our national State, later torn from our national body, and fifty years ago incorporated in the Hungarian State of the Magyars, who, by their unspeakable violence and ruthless oppression of their subject races have lost all moral and human right to rule anybody but themselves.

The world knows the history of our struggle against the Hapsburg oppression, intensified and systematized by the Austro-Hungarian dualistic compromise of 1867. This dualism is only a shameless organization of brute force and exploitation of the majority by the minority; it is a political conspiracy of the Germans and Magyars against our own as well as the other Slav and the Latin nations of the monarchy. The world knows the justice of our claims, which the Hapsburgs themselves dared not deny. Francis Joseph in the most solemn manner repeatedly recognized the sovereign rights of our nation. The Germans and Magyars opposed this recognition, and Austria-Hungary, bowing before the Pan Germans, became a colony of Germany, and, as her vanguard to the East, provoked the last Balkan conflict, as well as the present world war, which was begun by the Hapsburgs alone without the consent of the representatives of the people.

We can not and will not continue to live under the direct or indirect rule of the violators of Belgium, France, and Serbia, the would-be murderers of Russia and Rumania, the murderers of tens of thou-



MID-EUROPEAN GROUP OF NEWLY LIBERATED PEOPLES

sands of civilians and soldiers of our blood, and the accomplices in numberless unspeakable crimes committed in this war against humanity by the two degenerate and irresponsible dynasties. We will not remain a part of a State which has no justification for existence and which, refusing to accept the fundamental principles of modern world organization, remains only an artificial and immoral political structure, hindering every movement toward democratic and social progress. The Hapsburg dynasty, weighed down by a huge inheritance of error and crime, is a perpetual menace to the peace of the world, and we deem it our duty toward humanity and civilization to aid in bringing about its downfall and destruction.

We reject the sacrilegious assertion that the power of the Hapsburg and Hohenzollern dynasties is of divine origin; we refuse to recognize the divine right of Kings. Our nation elected the Hapsburgs

to the throne of Bohemia of its own free will, and by the same right deposes them. We hereby declare the Hapsburg dynasty unworthy of leading our nation, and deny all of their claims to rule in the Czechoslovak Land, which we here and now declare shall henceforth be a free and independent people and nation.

We accept and shall adhere to the ideals of modern democracy, as they have been the ideals of our nation for centuries. We accept the American principles as laid down by President Wilson; the principles of liberated mankind—of the actual equality of nations—and of Governments deriving all their just power from the consent of the governed. We, the nation of Comenius, cannot but accept these principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, the principles of Lincoln, and of the declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen. For these principles our nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite wars 500 years

ago; for these same principles, beside her allies, our nation is shedding its blood today in Russia, Italy, and France.

We shall outline only the main principles of the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Nation; the final decision as to the Constitution itself falls to the legally chosen representatives of the liberated and united people.

The Czechoslovak State shall be a republic. In constant endeavor for progress it will guarantee complete freedom of conscience, religion and science, literature and art, speech, the press, and the right of assembly and petition. The Church shall be separated from the State. Our democracy shall rest on universal suffrage; women shall be placed on an equal footing with men, politically, socially, and culturally. The rights of the minority shall be safeguarded by proportional representation; national minorities shall enjoy equal rights. The Government shall be parliamentary in form and shall recognize the principles of initiative and referendum. The standing army will be replaced by militia.

The Czechoslovak Nation will carry out far-reaching social and economic reforms; the large estates will be redeemed for home colonization; patents of nobility will be abolished. Our nation will assume its part of the Austro-Hungarian pre-war public debt; the debts for this war we leave to those who incurred them.

In its foreign policy the Czechoslovak Nation will accept its full share of responsibility in the reorganization of Eastern Europe. It accepts fully the democratic and social principle of nationality and subscribes to the doctrine that all covenants and treaties shall be entered into openly and frankly without secret diplomacy.

Our Constitution shall provide an efficient, rational, and just Government, which will exclude all special privileges and prohibit class legislation.

Democracy has defeated theocratic autocracy. Militarism is overcome, democracy is victorious; on the basis of democracy mankind will be recognized. The forces of darkness have served the victory of light, the longed-for age of humanity is dawning.

We believe in democracy, we believe in liberty, and liberty evermore.

Given in Paris on the eighteenth of October, 1918.

Professor THOMAS G. MASARYK,
Prime Minister and Minister of Finance.
General Dr. MILAN R. STEFANIK,
Minister of National Defense.
Dr. EDWARD BENES,
Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Interior.

On the same day the Czechs seized control of Prague, the capital of Bohemia,

and the Czech flag was raised over Hradschin Castle. A general strike was proclaimed throughout the country. The Austrian authorities made little attempt at resistance, and after a few days of confusion, with street fighting in Prague and Brunn, the Czechoslovak National Council gained full control. When the Czech soldiers under General Gouraud in France were told on Oct. 21 of their nation's declaration of independence a wild burst of enthusiasm ensued, and after only fifteen minutes of artillery preparation the men rushed into an attack on the German lines, and after an hour's desperate fighting captured the village of Terron, one of the most difficult positions on the Aisne.

The Czech National Committee took over the functions of the Local Government in Prague on Oct. 28. The Austrian Governor fled to Vienna, and the imperial military representatives in the Bohemian capital handed over their authority to Dr. Kramarz as local head of the National Council. The Austrian imperial symbols were removed from public buildings, imperial proclamations were torn down, and the city officials took the oath of allegiance to the Czechoslovak Republic. The next day, the 29th, the republic was formally proclaimed, and the authority of Emperor Charles became only a name in Prague.

Prague was beflagged for the occasion, and her enthusiasm was boundless. Great demonstrations expressed the joy of the people, who acclaimed the Entente and America. In other parts of the country the same high enthusiasm was shown. Everywhere there were monster meetings and patriotic speeches proclaiming the linking up of the new State with the cause championed by the Entente and America.

The news of Austria's peace offer came, indeed, as a sign that the last moments of Austrian supremacy in Bohemia had been reached. When Prague heard the news the people assembled in great throngs in the streets, embraced one another in their joy, and sang the Czech national songs. The soldiers tore the Austrian cockades from their caps and threw them away. In some cases the officers had to be forced to do so, but

the vast majority of them shared the joy of the soldiers and the people, and decked their swords with ribbons of the Czechoslovak colors. The army was no longer a force to be used at the bidding of Austria-Hungary. A large number of officials took the oath of office before the Council.

A tremendous crowd gathered around the Huss Monument, and Premier Lammasch's name was loudly acclaimed. From there the crowd surged onward to the General Post Office, where a young man, amid tremendous cheering, climbed up to where the Austrian eagle was fixed and threw it down. The crowd quickly trampled it to pieces.

The National Council appointed new railway, telegraph, and postal officials and took possession of the railways as far as Bodenbach, near the frontier of Saxony. The cars were marked with the inscription, "Free Czechish-Socialist Republic." German soldiers stationed within the boundaries of the new State were disarmed without any special acts of violence. All trains carrying food to Austria or Germany were stopped and the exportation of coal was forbidden.

MASARYK MADE PRESIDENT

Two delegations of Czech leaders—one from Prague and one from the Provisional Government in Paris—met in Geneva, Switzerland, at the end of October to formulate a Constitution for the new republic. The conference ended Nov. 2, when it had completed the draft of a Constitution patterned after that of the United States. At this conference Professor Thomas G. Masaryk was elected first President of the Czechoslovak Republic by delegates representing eight political parties. A telegram urged him to leave Washington at once for Prague. It was announced that a National Parliament would be assembled in Prague at an early date. The National Council lost no time in organizing an army, regrouping the existing forces, ordering a general revision of the lists of soldiers, and calling up new classes. All men liable to military service up to the age of 26 throughout Czechoslovakia were called to the colors in the first week of November.

From the beginning of the war the Czechs and Slovaks showed insubordination toward their German officers, who forced them to fight against their Russian kinsmen. As the conflict proceeded, more than 100,000 of them surrendered to Russia, and a large proportion of these fought on the Russian side against their former oppressors.

Probably the most dramatic episode in this connection was that which occurred when the 28th Czech Regiment of Prague surrendered to the Russians, on April 3, 1915, with all its equipment, and to the strains of Czech national music. Of the 2,000 men who surrendered, many requested permission to fight against the Austrians.

As a punishment against the regiment, a new unit of the same title was formed entirely of 20-year-old soldiers, and sent to the Isonzo front. There it was exposed to the withering fire of the Italian artillery near Gorizia. Only eighteen soldiers survive! The rest of the thousands lay dead on the battlefield. The Austrian Emperor proclaimed by an order of the day that the disgrace of the 28th Regiment of Prague had been wiped out by the sacrifices of that regiment on the Isonzo.

When Germany took over the direction of the military affairs of Austria-Hungary, the Czechoslovak regiments were dissolved, and the soldiers scattered among the Magyar and German regiments. If one hears of Bohemian regiments having fought with élan against the Italians, one must remember that they were either German or Magyar regiments, with a scattering of Bohemian soldiers. As a nation the Czechoslovaks had come over on the side of the Allies, heroically bearing the sanguinary consequences of their decision. Ninety-five per cent. of the Bohemians of military age resident in Britain volunteered in the British Army.

The Russian débâcle brought all the oppressed nations of Eastern Europe together against Austria-Hungary, and the Czechs and Slovaks led the way in active fighting. On Dec. 10, 1917, Premier Clemenceau of France authorized the organization of a Czechoslovak army, and

recognized it as a belligerent unit. The epoch-making event in the general movement, however, was the Congress of Oppressed Nations at Rome, April 10, 1918, where all the conflicting claims of peoples from Poland to Yugoslavia were harmonized with those of Italy, resulting in the Pact of Rome. Premier Orlando made this statement in the Chamber of Deputies on Oct. 3:

As early as April 21, 1918, the Italian Government concluded an agreement with the Czechoslovak National Council for the creation of a legion to fight on our front, a step which implied the recognition of a de facto Government. Since then our relations with this heroic people have been uniformly friendly, and the fraternal bonds between us have been

strengthened and hallowed by the blood which its generous sons have shed in the Alps for the defense of Italy as well as of their own land. I believe I am a faithful interpreter of the soul of the whole Italian Nation when I say that the union between these two peoples will continue sincere and indissoluble and will be prolonged through fruitful economic and intellectual relations after the war.

Great Britain's formal recognition of the Czechoslovak Nation was published on Aug. 13, that of the United States on Sept. 2, and that of Japan on Sept. 9. An expeditionary force to support the Czechoslovaks in Russia was sent to Vladivostok, and the new nation became a definite military element in the war before it had become a political entity.

Story of the Czechoslovaks

Thirteen Hundred Years of Struggle Against German Oppression

By DR. EDWARD BENES

[FORMER PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE; MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN THE NEW CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC]

[Written in the Summer of 1918]

FROM the sixth century we Czechs in Bohemia were a free people; we were a nation; we were complete and independent. In the beginning of the seventh century began our oppression. The German barbarian set himself to destroy us. From that day, for 1,300 years, my people fought the German. They have never lost heart. They have never accepted the tyrant. Always they have opposed to the German their passion for liberty and their national consciousness. In the sixteenth century this bitter struggle came to a climax. We were defeated, wiped out, annihilated. Nothing was left of us but a few peasants. Our aristocracy was executed; our middle classes driven into exile; our working classes slaughtered. Nothing was left but those few peasants—nothing. It was the destruction of a nation. And on the north of those peasants there were Germans; on the south, Germans; on the west, Germans; and on the east, enemies just as deadly to those peasants, the brutal Magyars.

But our peasants had something in

their hearts no German could destroy. There was no aristocracy to inspire them, no middle class to lead them; they were like sheep without a shepherd. Ah, but listen! In the hearts of those peasants was the undying flame of freedom. Yes; and in their souls the undying fire of national consciousness. They tilled the earth, they patiently earned their hard living, and in their homes the mother told her babe of the days that were past and of the days that would surely come again; and these people, these poor peasants, with all the might of the German crushing them to the earth, never bowed to the tyrant, never accepted the Catholic Church, never despaired. The mother sang to her baby the song of yesterday and tomorrow.

It is true to say this: At the end of the eighteenth century the Czechs of Bohemia had ceased to exist as a nation; and yet, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, that nation began to rise from the dead.

From 1840 began the passionate modern life of this arisen nation. The

Revolution in France burst the door of its sepulchre. Not a peasant in Bohemia who did not say to himself, Now I live. Those people saw what they must do. They were suffocating in tyranny. They must be free or perish. And on all sides of them was the Austrian, crushing them with the five weapons of despotism—the dynasty, the aristocracy, the bureaucracy, the church, the army. What could those peasants do? I will tell you. They said to themselves, We have no physical force wherewith to achieve freedom; very well, then, we will fashion an intellectual force—with our minds we will destroy Austria, with our brains we will achieve the ideals of the revolution. It was like the sun rising over the hills. They set up national schools; they cultivated the national literature; they taught their children that to have brains was a part of patriotism. They were only peasants, but they created a nation. Out of those little schools, out of those humble homes, came a new Czech aristocracy—doctors, professors, engineers, merchants, bankers—all of them the sons of peasants. I myself am the son of a peasant. I have four brothers—all of them are intellectuals.

We said to ourselves, We will make ourselves a nation; we will be free, we will be independent, we will be powerful. And from that moment began a boycott of the German which has lasted for nearly a hundred years. We buy no German goods. We have no dealing with the German. We have our own national banks. The German banker says to our people, Bring me your savings and I will give you 5 per cent. The Czech says, I lend my money to my national

bank for 3 per cent. For years we have been economically and industrially free. We are a self-supporting nation, advanced in our industry, advancing in our culture, nowhere in all Bohemia an illiterate. And when war came, our soldiers, forced to fight on the side of Austria, deserted in hundreds of thousands. They went over not to their enemies, but to their friends—the friends of freedom. And now, in Siberia, in France, in Italy, they are fighting for democracy.

This fight has been ten million against eighty million. Tomorrow the odds will be even! We Czechs are allying ourselves with the Poles—with the Jugoslavs. There are millions of us. Our Provisional Government, sitting in Paris, receives every day letters from Czechs all over the world—in Australia, China, South Africa, North America, South America, everywhere. And all these letters say one thing—"Here is money; tell me what I can do to help." We have asked not one penny from the Allies—not a penny; and we have three armies fighting in different parts of the world for our freedom. The Slavs in Russia are listening to us. In Siberia our soldiers are the vanguard of a free and glorious Russia. One day you will see Austria crash to the ground, and on that day the heirs of the Czech peasants will receive their reward. Why? Because they have been faithful; because they have loved liberty; because their conception of life is right; because their mentality is a better mentality than the German's.

Always we have had one enemy—the German! And he has hated us because we have loved freedom.

Poland's Move for Independence

America's Official Recognition

IN the middle of July, 1918, Senator Hitchcock, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, drafted a resolution recognizing Poland as an independent nation. The measure was not, however, laid before Congress. Early in

September the movement took on new impetus, as a result of the efforts of Roman Dmowsky, President of the Polish National Committee in Paris, who had come to this country to present the claims of his people to the Washington

authorities. On Nov. 4 Secretary Lansing addressed the following letter to Mr. Dmowsky:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of Oct. 18 and Oct. 25 requesting the Government of the United States to associate itself with the Governments of France and Great Britain by recognizing the Polish Army, under the supreme political authority of the Polish National Committee, as autonomous, allied, and co-belligerent.

In reply I beg to inform you that the Government of the United States has not been unmindful of the zeal and tenacity with which the Polish National Committee has prosecuted the task of marshaling its fellow-countrymen in a supreme military effort to free Poland from its present oppressors.

This Government's position with respect to the Polish cause and the Polish people could hardly be more clearly defined than was outlined by the President in his address before the Congress on Jan. 8, 1918.

Therefore, feeling as it does, a deep sympathy for the Polish people, and viewing with gratification the progress of the Polish cause, this Government experiences a feeling of genuine satisfaction in being able to comply with your request by recognizing the Polish Army, under the supreme political authority of the Polish National Committee, as autonomous and co-belligerent.

In taking this step the United States was following the example of France, Great Britain, and Italy. The British Government recognized the Polish National Army as "autonomous, allied, and co-belligerent." In announcing this fact to Count Sobansky, delegate of the Polish National Committee in England, Mr. Balfour stated that the British Government had "repeatedly announced their 'desire to see the creation of a united and independent Polish State,' and that Great Britain 'looks forward to a time 'when the present provisional arrangements will come to an end, and Poland, 'free and united, will shape its own Constitution according to the wishes of the 'people.'"

The Polish National Army, thus accorded allied recognition, consists of detachments fighting hand in hand with the powers associated against Germany on the soil of France, Italy, and Russia. A Polish force in France, consisting of volunteers recruited in various lands, and particularly in the United States, was

created by the decree of June 4, 1917. A year later it was made an independent military organization fighting under its own flag and commanded by Polish officers exclusively. The solemn ceremony of presenting flags to the first division of the Polish Army in France, which took place on June 22, 1918, was attended by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs and by the President of the Republic of France, who addressed the assembled soldiers of Poland. The Polish Army, thus newly constituted, fought gallantly in July on the battlefields of Champagne. A Polish detachment was also present on the Italian front. Early in September a movement was reported to be on foot for the formation of a Polish Army in Siberia for the purpose of fighting westward toward its own country. A small force of Poles is co-operating with the allied expedition in the north of European Russia.

The supreme commander of all the Polish forces is General Josef Haller, formerly a Colonel in the Austrian Army. After the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk treaty General Haller, together with his Polish regiment known as the Iron Brigade, escaped from Bukovina, joined the 2d Polish Army Corps in Russia, commanded by General Michaelis, and fought the Germans for days. Overpowered by the enemy, he retreated across the Dnieper and effected a junction with the Czechoslovaks in Southern Russia. Later he made his way to Paris by way of the Murman coast.

A number of the revolted men, namely, eighty-eight officers and twenty-six privates, who had made their way into Russia under General Haller's leadership, were captured by the Austrians and court-martialed. Facing the probability of a death sentence, the prisoners addressed an appeal to the Polish Parliamentary Club in Vienna, in which they explained that the Brest-Litovsk treaty had caused them to withdraw their allegiance from Austria, because it "aimed 'to separate from our motherland territory won through ages of martyrdom 'and held by ties of blood." The reference was to the Kholm district in Poland, ceded by Austria to the Ukraine. The document continues:

Our decision was the result of deep premeditation. No one depended upon a pardon, nor did any one intend to plead for forbearance or forgiveness in the event of defeat. As Polish nationalists, our move was a deliberate demonstration in protest against an outrage. We elected to become formal partners in the general Polish manifestation. As men experienced in warfare and its usages, we selected a portion of the national battle line which belonged to us.

And now we receive, indirectly, the news that awakens fear in us that concern over our fate is present to weaken the resistance and the decided stand taken by the official Polish representation, in the face of the Governments that dismembered our country. It is said that we are threatened with the danger that the Polish Parliamentary Club, in consideration of a modification of our sentence, might be compelled to lessen the strength of the opposition and to agree to make concessions in the sphere of the general Polish political policies.

We value greatly our compatriots' love, and we were touched deeply by the generosity with which the country thought of us, but we desire to protest most energetically against relief and concessions secured for us, to the detriment of the country, by making concessions as to the ancient rights of our nation. It was our ambition to make of ourselves a power in the hands of the highest Polish authority and, in the full consciousness and realization of the rôle we assumed, we cast unflinching into the lot our greatest asset, the fame of a Polish soldier, established upon his blood and that most beautiful legend of a Polish army reborn.

You are not to injure us with gifts requiring too great concessions. Do not permit our personal lot to weaken the united Polish front, for the verdict and death penalty can affect us only physically. The sufferings undergone by our grandfathers and fathers we will continue as a national obligation, without complaint and resentment, and with this sincere conviction that we are serving a free, united, and independent Poland.

The verdict to be given by our motherland will mete out justice to us, and we await the verdict with confidence.

It was reported on Oct. 20 that the Polish rebels under court-martial unanimously declined the amnesty offered to them by Emperor Karl. The prisoners argued that they were soldiers of the Polish Nation and that the Austrian Government had no right to grant them pardon, just as it had no right to inflict punishment upon them.

Late in September a Polish peasant

paper described the conditions prevailing in Poland in these words:

Here the German military power rules, and our Governments are powerless against it. Everywhere Germans are in command. Returning German colonists get all they need for rebuilding their homes, but the Polish peasants get no timber to rebuild with. They do not allow our peasants to touch the woods. And what is our Government doing? Now, when the foreign yoke is so heavy, our governing class does not offer its hand to the people, and understanding is impossible.

Press dispatches from neutral countries conveyed the impression generally that the Poles were subjected to as many forms of persecution as under the old Russian régime, and that some inhabitants were fleeing from their country to avoid German rule. Late in the Summer of 1918 serious disagreements arose between Germany and Austria regarding the solution of the Polish question.

At a conference at the German headquarters in August the Poles submitted a number of demands. These included, among others, maintenance of the present frontiers, access to the Baltic, recognition of Danzig as a free port, the annexation of certain Lithuanian territory, and the abolition of the divided Austro-German administration of Poland. Very little attention was given to these demands and no agreement was reached. This attempt was followed by an appeal of the Polish regency demanding the establishment of an independent Poland embracing all the territories inhabited by Poles. On Oct. 13 the Prussian Poles issued a manifesto declaring: "Nothing but the union into one State of all peoples living in Polish lands, a State which shall possess full rights, can guarantee a lasting league of Nations."

Late in October the German authorities were reported to have planned stringent measures for the suppression of Polish separation in Prussia.

On Oct. 24 the Polish National Committee addressed a message to the Italian people, which declared that legitimate representatives of all classes of the Polish population had met at Warsaw and proclaimed the union of all the Polish territories subject to Austria, Germany,

and Russia. According to a later dispatch a new national Polish Government was to be formed, consisting mostly of workers' representatives. Early in November hostilities broke out between Polish and Ukrainian troops. The latter captured Lemberg and Przemysl, while the Poles seized Cracow and assumed control of affairs in Galicia.

A message from Cracow on Nov. 9 announced the formation of a Polish Republic under the Presidency of Deputy Daszynski. At the same time Professor Lammasch, the Austrian Premier, received formal notification that Poland had assumed sovereignty over Galicia. In many places there were conflicts with German troops.

The Mid-European Union

Declaration Signed in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Aims at Union of Liberated Nations

EIGHTEEN representatives of nations of Central Europe formerly subject to alien domination met in Philadelphia and signed a document on Oct. 26, 1918, creating an informal union of these newly liberated nations, whose territory stretches from the Baltic to the Adriatic. The alliance was christened the Mid-European Union, and was stated to be a tentative understanding in which the new States undertook to present a united front against future aggression by Germany or any other reactionary power. The declaration of independence was signed in the same hall and at the same table as the American Declaration of Independence. Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, now President of the new Czechoslovak Republic, presided. The conference was in session two days, and at the end a new bell, modeled on the historic Liberty Bell, pealed forth as the signatures of the delegates were attached to the document. Among the signers were these:

Czechoslavs, Professor Thomas G. Masaryk; Poles, T. M. Helinski; Jugoslavs, Dr. Hinko Hinkovitch; Uhro-Ruthenes, Gregory Zatkovitch; Ukrainians, Miroslav Sichinsky; Rumanians, Captain Vasile Stoica; Italia Irredenta, Giovanni Amaglia; Greeks, Christo Vasilkaki; Lithuanians, Thomas Narusoutchius; Albania, Christo Dako, and Zionists, Ittamar Ben Avi.

Following is the text of the declaration:

In convention assembled at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Penn., United States of

America, on Oct. 26, 1918, we, representing together more than 50,000,000 people constituting a chain of nations 'ying between the Baltic, the Adriatic, and the Black Seas, comprising Czechoslovaks, Poles, Jugoslaves, Ukrainians, Uhro-Russians, Lithuanians, Rumanians, Italian Irredentists, Unredeemed Greeks, Albanians, and Zionists, wholly or partly subject to alien dominion, deeply appreciating the aid and assistance given our peoples by the Government and people of America and of the Entente Allies, on behalf of ourselves and our brethren at home, do hereby solemnly declares that we place our all—peoples and resources—at the disposal of our allies for use against our common enemy; and in order that the whole world may know what we deem are the essential and fundamental doctrines which shall be embodied in the Constitutions hereafter adopted by the peoples of our respective independent nations, as well as the purposes which shall govern our common and united action, we accept and subscribe to the following as basic principles for all free peoples:

1. That all Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed.
2. That it is the inalienable right of every people to organize their own Government on such principles and in such form as they believe will best promote their welfare, safety, and happiness.
3. That the free and natural development of the ideals of any State shall be allowed to pursue their normal and unhindered course, unless such course harms or threatens the common interest of all.
4. That there should be no secret diplomacy, and all proposed treaties and agreements between nations should be made public prior to their adoption and ratification.
5. That we believe our peoples, having kindred ideals and purposes, should co-

ordinate their efforts to insure the liberty of their individual nations for the furtherance of their common welfare, provided such a union contributes to the peace and welfare of the world.

6. That there should be formed a league of the nations of the world in a common and binding agreement for genuine and practical co-operation to secure justice, and therefore peace, among nations.

In the course of our history we have been subject to and victims of aggressive and selfish nations and autocratic dynasties and held in subjection by force of arms.

We have suffered destruction of our cities, violation of our homes and lands, and we have maintained our ideals only by stealth, in spite of the tyranny of our oppressors.

We have been deprived of proper representation and fair trial. We have been denied the right of free speech and the right freely to assemble and petition for the redress of our grievances. We have

been denied free and friendly intercourse with our sister States, and our men have been impressed in war against their brothers and friends of kindred races.

The signers of this declaration and representatives of other independent peoples who may subscribe their names hereto do hereby pledge, on behalf of their respective nations, that they will unitedly strive to the end that these wrongs shall be righted, that the sufferings of the world war shall not have been in vain, and that the principles here set forth shall be incorporated in the organic laws of whatever Governments our respective peoples may hereafter establish.

A few days afterward the representatives of the Poles, through Ignace Paderewski, announced their withdrawal from the league because the Ukrainian Government had failed to relinquish portions of Galicia and was maintaining troops in regions rightly belonging to Poland.

What Canada Has Done in the War

Canadians celebrated on Oct. 15, 1918, the fourth anniversary of the arrival in England of the first contingent of troops from the Dominion. The record of the Canadian Expeditionary Force in those four years was summarized by The London Times as follows:

Regular Canadian troops at outbreak of war	3,000
Number of first contingent.....	33,000
Canadian soldiers sent overseas up to Sept. 1, 1918.....	400,000
Troops in training.....	60,000
Canadian soldiers killed in action...	50,000
Casualties, over	175,000
Wounded returned to the front.....	40,000
Returned to Canada.....	50,000
Number who have received decorations	10,000
Awarded the Victoria Cross.....	40

The 1st Division went into training on Salisbury Plain about the middle of October, 1914, and sailed for France on Feb. 9, 1915. The Canadians arrived in Flanders in time for the second battle of Ypres in April, 1915, which culminated in a German defeat and the winning of much glory for Canada. Since then

Canadians have fought at Festubert, (May, 1915;) Givenchy, (June, 1915;) Loos, (September, 1915;) St. Eloi, (April, 1916;) Sanctuary Wood and Hooge, (June, 1916;) the Somme-Courcelette, (September, 1916,) and Regina Trench, (October-November, 1916;) Vimy Ridge, (April, 1917;) Hill 70 and Lens, (July-August, 1917;) Passchendaele, (October-November, 1917;) Villers-Bretonneux, (March, 1918;) Amiens, Monchy, Cambrai, (1918.)

Apart from her fighting men, Canada has furnished various special corps which have proved of inestimable value to the British armies—the Canadian Forestry Corps, the Canadian Corps Salvage companies, and the Canadian Railway troops. The splendid health in which the Canadian corps has been maintained is due to the unceasing vigilance and tireless efforts of the Canadian Army Medical Corps. It is estimated that 75 per cent. of the medical profession in Canada is engaged in some professional capacity in connection with the armed forces of Canada, either at home or overseas.

Terrorism Versus Order in Russia

Heavy Fighting Encountered by Allied Expeditions The All-Russian and Siberian Governments Unite

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1918]

AMERICAN-JAPANESE troops continued their advance along the Trans-Siberian Railroad in September and October, while other allied detachments were operating elsewhere from Vladivostok. The Japanese reached Irkutsk on Oct. 12, 1918. The Soviet forces which remained in the region of Blagoviestschensk were dispersed late in October. On one occasion the Bolshevik troops also suffered a defeat in the Ural region at the hands of Czechoslovak and Siberian forces, but events on the Eastern Czechoslovak front took a turn favorable, upon the whole, to the Soviet Army. The Czechs were forced to evacuate Samara and to retreat along the Samara-Cheliabinsk railway. According to a statement issued on Oct. 14 by the Department of Foreign Affairs in Samara, fierce battles were being fought in the Volga region.

The Soviet troops [said the document] consist mostly of German war prisoners, and especially Hungarian and Chinese regiments and Letts, who are attacking furiously. The Czechoslovak regiments are greatly exhausted by the uninterrupted fighting. Without the immediate help of the Allies it will be impossible to hold this front.

The allied expedition in Siberia responded to this and similar appeals by rushing small reinforcements westward in an effort to maintain the Volga front. On Oct. 15 the first transport with supplies from America arrived in Vladivostok. A dispatch of Oct. 18 reported that the United States had advanced \$5,000,000 to the Czechoslovak National Council and shipped \$3,000,000 worth of supplies for the Czechoslovak armies.

In Northern Russia the allied troops were mainly engaged in repulsing heavy attacks by the Soviet forces on both banks of the Dvina. In the middle of October the Allies were forced to abandon some positions on the Dvina front.

Later they made a slight advance. According to an official statement of Oct. 18 the allied forces operating on the Murmansk front from Kem had cleared Central and Southern Karelia, driving the enemy across the Finnish border. On the Archangel front the troops occupied Kadish, on the Emtsa River, and advanced six miles south along the Archangel-Vologda railway. Assisted by local Zyrian tribes, the Allies drove out the Bolsheviks from the Ugor district, in the Province of Vologda. A report from Archangel was to the effect that the peasants of the Dvina region were looking forward with terror to the return of the Bolsheviks. The population was facing starvation, and the American Red Cross had sent into the interior of the country (on Oct. 22) a shipload of food and other supplies.

THE ALL-RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT

The outstanding event in the internal life of Russia in these weeks was the fusion between the All-Russian Government of Ufa and the Siberian Government, which was effected early in November. This new All-Russian Government is provisional in character and is responsible to the Constituent Assembly elected in the Fall of 1917. The plan announced is to convene the Constituent Assembly in January, 1919, so that it may either confirm the present Government in its authority or create a new governing body. The All-Russian Provisional Government is headed by Peter V. Vologodsky, Prime Minister, and Nikolai Avksentyev, President. Its seat is Omsk, Siberia, and its authority extends over practically the whole of Siberia and parts of the provinces of Samara, Orenburg, Ufa, Ural, and Archangel.

The Omsk Government was reported to be making an effort to raise a large



MAP OF RUSSIA AND SIBERIA SHOWING CHIEF POINTS OF ACTIVITY

army. General Ivanov-Rizov declared on Oct. 17: "A strong army under the "All-Russian Government is completing "its training at Omsk, but there is urgent need of arms, equipment, and "money from the Allies." According to the General, the program of his Government included the following points: Iron discipline and no politics in the army; the suppression of Bolshevism; responsibility of the command to the Central Government. The number of recruits who responded to the appeal of the Omsk Government was estimated at 380,000. The mobilization of the classes of 1918 and 1919 was completed and General Boldyrev was appointed Commander in Chief of all the Russian forces. Mobilization of the last two years was also declared in the Region of the North, formerly under Tchaikovsky's autonomous Government, and non-commissioned officers of the reserves of the years 1888 to 1897 were called to the colors. The Government also established a Treasury at Omsk and proceeded to levy taxes. It was announced officially on Nov. 1 that the Omsk Government would soon resume the sale of vodka as a Government monopoly.

The All-Russian Provisional Government is seeking allied recognition. Early in November it addressed the following appeal to President Wilson:

It is evident that the exit of Russia from the number of belligerents and the process of dismemberment which it is suffering has a deep influence on the fate of all the other countries. Furthermore, the problems of the future of Russia should be considered by Governments and nations of the universe as a problem of their own future. Russia will not perish. She is greatly suffering, but not dead. Her national forces are regaining with remarkable quickness, and her effort to recover her unity and greatness will not cease until she attains this sublime aim.

Moreover, the reconstruction of a powerful and prosperous Russia presents itself as a condition necessary to the maintenance of order and international equilibrium. It is therefore that the new Provisional Government, into whose hands has been intrusted the supreme power by the people of Russia, the regional Governments, the convention, and committee of the members of the Constituent Assembly, the Zemstvos, and Municipalities, addresses itself to the Allied Powers. It expects to receive their aid, and considers itself in the right to demand such help insistently.

It is to the head of the great American Democracy, recognized apostle of peace and fraternity of the nations, that it makes its appeal. All aid already extended to Russia by the Allies would be in vain if the new help should arrive too late, or in insufficient quantity. Every hour of delay threatens with innumerable calamities Russia, the Allies, and other nations.

A press dispatch of Nov. 1 describes Siberia as a place of refuge for hosts of Russians, who were fleeing from the Soviet territories in quest of food and peace. These refugees were suffering dire want. They drifted into crowded cities, where they found no employment, and were taken advantage of by profiteers. The pathetic story, published late in October, of a party of Serbian civilians who arrived in Harbin in a state of destitution baffling description, after having traveled for eight months across the whole of Russia, illustrates the conditions prevailing among the wanderers moving in an endless stream from the Urals eastward. The entire country is suffering from a scarcity of manufactured goods, especially agricultural implements and industrial machinery.

PROTEST AGAINST TERRORISM

The neutral diplomats at Moscow made a futile protest on Sept. 3 to Commissary Zinoviev against outrages of the Bolshevik terror. Later the neutral States, through E. Odier, the Swiss Minister, addressed a written protest to the Commissary of Foreign Affairs, in which they said in part:

Imbued only with the desire to vent their hatred on a whole class of citizens, and without being provided with any authority, armed men break in day and night into private dwellings, steal and plunder and arrest and throw into jail hundreds of unfortunates who have nothing to do with the political struggle, and whose only guilt consists in belonging to the bourgeois class, the uprooting of which the communist leaders urge in their newspapers and speeches. The anxious relatives of these people are refused all information as to where they are, and are not permitted either to visit them or bring them necessary food.

Such deeds of terrorization and force on the part of men professing a desire to realize human happiness are incomprehensible. They call forth the indignation of the whole civilized world, which now has

knowledge of the events in Petrograd. The diplomatic corps has found it necessary to announce its shocked feelings to the people's Commissary, M. Zinoviev. It protests with the utmost energy against the arbitrary deeds that are occurring every day.

In reply the Soviet Government addressed a note "to the gentlemen representing the capitalist neutral nations," pointing out that, although it could ignore the protest as "an act of gross interference with the inner affairs of Russia," it was taking this opportunity to explain its tactics, for the reason that it considered itself "the spokesman not only of the Russian working class, but of exploited humanity all over the earth." The note further declared that the masses had been plunged into the world war by "a small clique of bankers, Generals, and bureaucrats," and that "in the entire capitalist world the white terror (of the bourgeoisie) rules over the working class." The document continues:

When the representatives of the neutral nations threaten us with the indignation of the entire civilized world, and protest against the Red Terror in the name of humanity, we respectfully call their attention to the fact that they were not sent to Russia to defend the principles of humanity, but to preserve the interests of the capitalist State. We would advise them further not to threaten us with the indignant horror of the civilized world, but to tremble before the fury of the masses who are arising against a civilization that has thrust humanity into the unspeakable misery of endless slaughter. * * * The Russian working class will crush without mercy the counter-revolutionary clique that is trying to lay the noose around the neck of the Russian working class with the help of foreign capital and the Russian bourgeoisie.

THE MURDER MANIA

According to British and French refugees, the Soviet authorities were systematically killing off factory owners and engineers. The Britishers who were released from Moscow, together with Consul Lockhart, were quoted in a Stockholm dispatch as saying:

The murder mania is so strong among the Bolshevik officials that they even shoot their own officials. Firing squads take delight in forcing condemned men to jump from automobiles and in shooting them before the eyes of other victims.

Many executions take place on the Khodynka parade grounds. These are in charge of Lettish troops. The victims are shot with revolvers, and the bodies fall into open trenches. Wet concrete immediately is thrown over them so that it is impossible for relatives to identify and claim the bodies.

The terror abated in Moscow and Petrograd only to flare up with double strength in the provinces. The commissions for combating counter-revolution, which are responsible for the terroristic measures, were reported to have become so powerful as to defy the central and local Soviets and execute victims without reference to other Government agencies.

During the time which elapsed from the death of Uritzki, who was assassinated late in August, up to Oct. 1, sixty-eight hostages, including five priests, were shot by the Soviet authorities. According to a Petrograd dispatch Vladimir N. Kokovtzev and Prince Sholkhovskoy, former Ministers of State, were sentenced to death by the People's Court and executed.

Norman Armour, Secretary of the United States Embassy in Russia, who returned to the United States on Nov. 5, was quoted as saying: "Words are inadequate to describe what I saw in Russia during the reign of terror, misery, want, and wholesale murder. The people are starving and can get no hearing, much less redress, from the blood-crazed Bolsheviki." On Oct. 31 Lord Robert Cecil discussed in the House of Commons the position of British subjects in Russia. He pointed out that in bloodshed the Soviets have outdone the old Russian régime. "There has been no pretense of justice," he said. "People of all nationalities have been arrested and imprisoned without any reason being given." He added that the British Government meant "to exact justice on the people guilty of these outrages when they are able to get them into their power."

The following is an extract from a telegram which, according to the Moscow *Izvestia*, was sent to all the Soviets by Petrovsky, Commissary for Home Affairs, in September:

All Right Social Revolutionists known to the local Soviets should be arrested

immediately, numerous hostages taken from the bourgeois officer classes, and at the slightest attempt to resist or the slightest movement among the White Guards the shooting of masses of the hostages should be begun without fail.

The initiative rests especially with the local Executive Committees. Through the militia and extraordinary commissions all branches of the Government must take measures to seek out and arrest persons hiding under false names and shoot without fail anybody connected with the White Guards.

All the above measures should be put immediately into execution. Indecisive action on the part of local Soviets must be immediately reported to the People's Commissar of Home Affairs. Not the slightest hesitation will be tolerated in the using of mass terror.

These measures, the instructions declared, were necessitated by anti-Bolshevist terroristic acts, conspirators, and the wholesale shooting of Soviet partisans in Finland, in the Ukraine and in the Don region.

The German and Austro-Hungarian Consuls, who protested against the Bolshevist methods of treating political adversaries, received, according to advices from Archangel, the following reply: "Germany, which violated the neutrality of Belgium and holds populations of invaded countries under a brutal yoke, is not qualified to intervene in this question."

GERMAN EVACUATION

In accordance with a Russo-German agreement, reached on Sept. 15, the Germans were to begin evacuating the country east of the Berezina, each of the five sections to be vacated as soon as an installment of the Russian indemnity was paid to Germany. The conditions in the territories evacuated, or to be evacuated, were depicted in the following official Russian dispatch, dated Oct. 30:

From all regions now in German occupation it is reported that the German military authorities are carrying off everything that it is possible to take to Germany. They are devastating the country. In White Russia there are no horses and no cattle because the Germans have taken them all. In the regions where evacuation is pending the fields remain unsown, because the Germans have left no seed. Children are dying of starvation. Milk cannot be obtained. Household furniture, telegraphic and telephonic

instruments and appliances from many towns have been sent to Germany. The railway lines have been stripped, only wrecked and useless cars being left behind.

The Lithuanian districts evacuated by the Germans were immediately occupied by Bolshevik troops and subjected to the Soviet rule. According to a dispatch of Oct. 24, two Lithuanian delegates arrived in Copenhagen to appeal to the Allies for help against the Bolsheviks.

It was stated on Nov. 4, on the authority of the Frankfort Gazette, that Russia had stopped payments to Berlin, after having paid two installments of the war indemnity. Two days later it became known that Germany demanded the withdrawal of all Russian diplomatic representatives in Germany. The discovery that the Russian Embassy in Berlin was a centre of revolutionary propaganda was believed to be the cause of the severance of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Commissary Tchitcherin addressed the following note to President Wilson on Oct. 24:

As a condition of the armistice during which peace negotiations shall be begun, you in your note to Germany demanded the evacuation of occupied territories. We are ready, Mr. President, to conclude an armistice on this condition and request you to inform us when you intend to withdraw your troops from Murmansk, Archangel, and Siberia.

Ten days later it was reported from Petrograd that the Soviet Government was transmitting, through neutral diplomats, a note asking the Allies to appoint the time and place for peace negotiations, so as to put an end to the hostilities between the Entente and the Bolshevik Government.

THE ESTHONIAN REPUBLIC

The following day Esthonia was proclaimed an independent republic. The Esthonian Republic has a territory of 47,500 square kilometers and a population of 1,500,000, of whom 96 per cent. are Esthonians; the proclamation of independence gives the following list of districts included in the territory of the new State:

Harjumaa, (Revel,) Laanemaa, (Hap-

sal,) Jurvamaa, (Weissenstein); Viruma, (Wesenberg,) with the town of Narva and its surroundings; Tartumaa, (Dorpat,) Vorumaa, (Verro,) Viljandimaa, (Fellin,) and Parnumaa, (Pernau,) comprising the islands of the Baltic Sea; Saaremaa, (the island of Oesel,) Hillu, (Nagoe,) Muhu, and others that the Esthonians have inhabited for centuries. The definite establishment of the frontiers of the Republic will be decided by a referendum * * * after the end of the war.

The Government is headed by Constantine Paets, Mayor of Revel, as Prime Minister, and a Cabinet of eight Ministers. The capital is Revel. The proclamation declared that the Esthonian Republic wished to preserve absolute neutrality, and that the Esthonian soldiers in the Russian Army would be recalled and demobilized.

In the middle of October the Lithuanians addressed to Prince Maximilian, German Chancellor, a note demanding the immediate evacuation of Lithuanian territory. The "Taryba" decided to set up a national Government and to create an army and a police force for the maintenance of order and the defense of the frontiers. Plans were also announced for the convocation of a constituent assembly.

AFFAIRS IN FINLAND

A Stockholm dispatch of Oct. 15 described the conditions under which Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse was elected King of Finland. Nearly all the Social Democratic deputies were locked up in jail or otherwise prevented from voting. "The whole game," says Hjalmar Branting in discussing the victory of the Finnish monarchists, "is a grotesque farce played by a troupe of country actors before backwoods people who have no notion of the great currents of opinion now stirring the world. * * * Finland's fate will be settled first when the Finnish people themselves can again speak among the free nations." On Oct. 21 the King-elect was reported to have refused the Finnish throne.

On Oct. 31 the Finnish Government annested about 10,000 political prisoners. At the same time the allied successes were seen to be causing a marked change of sentiment in favor of the Entente.

The Czech Exodus: A Siberian Epic

How 50,000 Determined Men Fought Their Way

From Moscow to Vladivostok

By CAPTAIN VLADIMIR S. HURBAN

[OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK ARMY]

When Captain Hurban came to Washington to report to Professor Mascryk, Commander in Chief of the Czechoslovak Army and President of the National Council, he gave the American people this lucid narrative of one of the most romantic episodes of the war:

THE history of the origin of our army, of its operations on the Russian front, and its march around the world to the French front reads like an almost incredible romance. Our army in Russia was organized from Czech and Slovak prisoners of war under well-nigh insurmountable difficulties. We were co-operating with the Russian Army, and since the Summer of 1917 had been practically the only army on the Russian front capable of military action in the proper sense of the word. In July, 1917, during the first revolutionary offensive under Kerensky, it was only our army that really attacked and advanced.

When the Bolshevik Soviet Government signed the peace treaty at the beginning of March, 1918, our army of about 50,000 men was in Ukraina, near Kiev. The former Ukrainian Government, to escape the Bolsheviks, threw themselves into the arms of the Germans and called for German help. When the German and Austrian armies began their advance into Ukraina, the position of our army was almost desperate. We were in a State which had concluded peace, into which, however, the Germans were advancing and occupying large territories without resistance. The Red Guards of the Soviets did not represent any real military power.

The Germans advanced against us in overwhelming numbers and there was danger that we would be surrounded. Our rear was not covered and the Germans were liable to attack us there. We had no lines of communication behind us, no stores of materials, and no reserves; everywhere there was disorganization and anarchy, and the Bolshevik

Red Guards seized the locomotives and were fleeing east in panic.

Under these circumstances Emperor Charles sent us a special envoy with the promise that if we would disarm we should be amnestied and our lands should receive autonomy. We answered that we would not negotiate with the Austrian Emperor.

RETREAT FROM KIEV

As we could not hold a front we began a retreat to the east. Already then in agreement with the Allies (our army had been proclaimed a part of the Czechoslovak Army on the western front, and thus allied with the French Army) it was decided to transport our army over Siberia and America to France. We began the difficult retreat from Kiev. The Germans in an overwhelming force were trying to prevent our escape. About 100 miles behind us they seized the important railroad junction at Bachmac, which we were obliged to pass in our trains on our retreat to the east.

When we arrived at Bachmac the Germans were already waiting for us. There began a battle lasting four days, in which they were badly defeated, and which enabled us to get our trains through. The commander of the German detachment offered us a forty-eight hours' truce, which we accepted, for our duty was to leave Ukraina; the truce was canceled by the German chief commander, Linsingen, but too late; our trains had already got away. We lost altogether about 600 men in dead, wounded, and missing, while we buried 2,000 Germans in one day.

In this manner we escaped from

Ukrainia. Our relations with the Bolsheviks were still good. We refrained from meddling with Russian internal affairs, and we tried to come to an agreement with the Bolshevik Government with respect to our departure, or passage through Russia. But already signs were visible that the Bolsheviks—either under German influence or because we then represented the only real power in Russia—would try to put obstacles in our way. It would have sufficed to order one of our regiments (our army was then, in March, near Moscow) to take Moscow, and in half a day there would have been no Bolshevik Government; for then we were well armed, having taken from the front everything we could carry to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Germans. Each of our regiments had 200 to 300 machine guns and nobody in Russia, to say nothing of Moscow, could have at all contemplated an attempt at opposition. Moscow, moreover, would have received us with open arms. But we were determined to leave as the army of a friendly, brother nation, an army which, in spite of all bad experiences, wished Russia the strengthening of real democracy. Although we could not sympathize with the Bolshevik Government, we as guests refrained from all action against it, and remained absolutely loyal to it.

GAVE UP THEIR ARMS

To prove indisputably our loyalty, we turned over to the Bolsheviks everything, all our arms, with the exception of a few rifles, which we kept for our, so to say, personal safety, (ten rifles to each 100 men.) The equipment we turned over to the Bolsheviks, including arms, horses, automobiles, airplanes, &c., was worth more than 1,000,000,000 rubles, and it was legally in our possession, for we took it away from the Germans, to whom it had been abandoned by the fleeing Bolsheviks. This transfer of the equipment was, of course, preceded by an agreement made between us and the Moscow Government, by which we were guaranteed unmolested passage through Siberia, to which the Government pledged to give its unconditional support.

Already there were signs that the Ger-

mans were beginning to be uneasy about our movement. Today we have documentary evidence that in March the Germans considered our progress as a naïve adventure, which would soon end in failure. When they saw, however, that the "impossibility," as they called it, was becoming a reality, they began to do their best to frustrate our efforts, and organized an army against us. As I have said, the Bolsheviks, though not exceptionally friendly to us, refrained so far from all direct action against us. Their only desire in that respect, to which they devoted much money, was to persuade our volunteers to join their Red Guard. We did practically nothing to oppose it, but we knew our men. Our people are too well educated politically and in every other way to be carried away by the methods of Lenine and Trotzky.

More dangerous was the work of German agents who, under the mask of internationalism, found their way into the Soviets. In every Soviet there was a German who exercised a great influence over all its members.

Soon there came the news that the German and Magyar prisoners of war were organizing in Siberia and were being armed by the Bolsheviks under the pretext that they were going to fight against "world imperialism." We have proved now that the Germans were planning to provoke our conflict with the Bolsheviks and to destroy us piecemeal with the aid of the armed prisoners of war.

EIGHTY TRAINLOADS

Under such circumstances we began our pilgrimage east. I was in the first train (there were then eighty trains of us) which was to prepare the way. We were determined to leave Russia without a conflict. Notwithstanding the fact that we kept our word, that we surrendered all arms with the exception of the few necessary, our progress was hindered, and unending negotiations had to be repeated in every seat of a local Soviet. We were threatened by machine guns, by cannon, but we patiently stood it all, although the Bolshevik Red Guard could have been disbanded by a few of our volunteers. After fifty-

seven days of such tiresome travel our first train arrived at Vladivostok, where we were enthusiastically received by the allied units stationed there.

When the Germans saw that we, notwithstanding all their intrigue, were nearing Vladivostok, they exercised a direct pressure on Lenine and Trotzky; for the things that were later committed by the Soviets cannot any further be explained away on the ground of ignorance. The trains were stopped at different stations, so that they were finally separated by a distance of over fifty miles from one another. Provoking incidents of all kinds were the order of the day. The arming of the German and Magyar prisoners was begun on a large scale. One of the orders of Tchtcherin, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, reads: "Dispatch all German and Magyar prisoners out of Siberia; stop the Czechoslovaks." Three members of our National Council, who were sent to Moscow for an explanation of the stopping of our trains, were arrested. At the same time our trains were attacked in different stations by the Soviet troops, formed mostly of German and Magyar prisoners.

IRKUTSK OUTRAGE REVENGED

I will recall the Irkutsk incident. Our train—about 400 men, armed with ten rifles and twenty hand grenades—was surrounded by a few thousand Red Guards armed with machine guns and cannon. Their commander gave our men ten minutes to surrender their arms, or be shot. According to their habit, ours began negotiations. Suddenly there was heard the German command, "Schies-sen!" and the Red Guards began firing at the train. Our men jumped off the train, and in five minutes all the machine guns were in their possession, the Russian Bolsheviks disarmed, and all the Germans and Magyars done away with.

The Siberian Government, which resides in Irkutsk and which, as it appeared later, ordered this attack, can thank only the intervention of the American and French Consuls that it was not destroyed by our rightly embittered volunteers.

To what extremes our loyalty was carried is shown by the fact that although perfidiously attacked, and although we disarmed the Red Guards in Irkutsk, we still began new negotiations, with the result that we surrendered all our arms, on the condition that all German and Magyar prisoners would be disarmed and disbanded, and that we would be allowed to proceed unmolested. The Siberian Government guaranteed us unmolested passage, and, taught by bitter experiences that it was dangerous to attack even unarmed Czechoslovaks, let us proceed to Vladivostok. True, this concerned only the trains in the vicinity of Irkutsk; the trains west of Irkutsk were—under the orders of Moscow—attacked in the same manner, but always with the same result; everywhere the Bolsheviks were disarmed.

The arrest of the members of our National Council took place immediately before these treacherous attacks. Then thousands of armed Germans and Magyars in the vicinity of Omsk, Krasnoyarsk, and Chita forced our men between Volga and Irkutsk to take the Siberian administration into their hands, (toward the end of June.) But even at this stage we were trying to enter into negotiations with Moscow. But Moscow, i. e., Lenine and Trotzky, proclaimed us murderers and began mobilization against us. Under these circumstances our troops were forced to take possession of the bridges over the Volga.

WELCOMED BY POPULATION

I must mention the fact that our defense, which, as said, was necessitated by treacherous attacks and everywhere resulted in the disarmament of the Bolsheviks, was joyfully greeted by the majority of the Russian population. Anti-Bolsheviks took advantage of the situation and overthrew the Soviets. We did not interfere with their internal affairs even after the open conflict. We only disarmed those who attacked us, to make repetition of attacks impossible.

The Germans were trying to spread rumors that our volunteers committed brutalities during these battles. That is not true. The facts are these: Russian Bolsheviks taken by our troops were

disarmed and sent home, but the Magyars and German prisoners, taken with arms in hand, were killed. Our purpose was made known to them beforehand. The Austrians hanged all our wounded whom they captured on the Italian front, and they attacked one of our trains of wounded in Siberia. Four years of a struggle for life have taught us to be on guard. We did no harm to German or Magyar prisoners who did not oppose us, although they were our enemies; we could have killed thousands and thousands of them, but we allowed them to leave Siberia in peace, if they desired to go home. When, however, they treacherously attacked us, they were of necessity made harmless. We made an official announcement that every German and Magyar caught by us with arms in hand would be given no quarter. On the contrary, we could cite many instances of unprecedented brutalities committed on our wounded by the German, and especially Magyar, prisoners.

In Siberia there are today some hundred thousand German and Magyar prisoners, a great number of whom are armed. It is these men who offer considerable resistance to our army; the Russian Bolsheviki surrender after the first shot.

The Bolsheviki gave a sufficient proof of the fact that they are incapable to rule. The number of their fighting supporters is very indefinite. They consist chiefly of hungry masses, loath to work, who are getting 30 to 40 rubles a day in the Red Guard. They have no workers among them. A great number of the Bolshevik officials steal just like the officials of the Czar's régime. Industry, commerce, transportation—everything—is at a standstill, and there is nothing to eat. That spells failure of the Bolshevik Government; the Bolsheviki are now doing everything to maintain their power. They obey the Germans and Austrians to keep themselves in power. The Germans, however, do not want a consolidation of Russia.

Russia needs effective, firm, friendly help, for today she is herself completely helpless. Russia needs order, which today the Russians are incapable of up-

building. The Russians are exhausted, they now have lost faith in themselves, and they need rest to recover. The majority of them are excited people, who, therefore, cannot organize.

The Allies, knowing the psychology of Russia today, and knowing the real strength of Russia, will extend their help in the proper manner. I think that our army can be of great assistance in this task; all our boys have learned Russian in the four years of war, and know how to treat the people. They know the Russian people and Russian situation, and they desire only the good of Russia. It was the Czechoslovaks who were always accused of exaggerated Russophilism by the Germans and Magyars, and it is the irony of fate that we had to suffer so much in Russia. We hope and desire that our sacrifices be not offered in vain.

OTHER DRAMATIC DETAILS

Captain Hurban's narrative was confirmed and amplified on Sept. 12 by an Associated Press dispatch from Vladivostok containing these graphic passages:

General Gaida's Czechoslovaks, fighting their way through 2,000 miles of hostile territory, furnish a tale no less thrilling than that related of Cortez's drive from Vera Cruz to the ancient Aztec capital in the sixteenth century. * * * When the order came from Petrograd countermanding the permission given for the free movement of the Czechoslovaks toward Vladivostok, it found them strung out in a thin line from the Volga to Vladivostok. * * * Assisted by Cossacks and Czechs from Chilibinsk, Colonel Kadlets, then commander of the Czech forces west of Irkutsk, fought his way west to Omsk, taking towns en route. He improved the time during the armistice to clean up the line westward to the Urals.

Meantime, with resumption of hostilities to the eastward, the Czechoslovak forces between Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk found themselves hard pressed and near to the end of their resources. Kadlets doubled back eastward, and by a series of flanking movements, falling upon the Bolsheviki in the night, stampeded them

time after time. In this way he pushed through to the relief of his countrymen at Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk.

From Irkutsk to the southernmost point of Lake Baikal there are forty-one tunnels. It was the Czechs' aim to clear out the Bolsheviks without giving them time to blow up these tunnels, and to that end they started a small contingent overland to surprise the Bolsheviks beyond the series of tunnels. These men marched four days under greatest difficulties. They became so pressed for food supplies that they had to eat their horses. But they accomplished their object. They attacked the Bolsheviks in the middle of the night, captured their machine guns, and started them northward in disorder. The Bolsheviks succeeded in blowing up one tunnel, the last one in the series.

The Czechs and their Russian allies now had a clear track to the southern extremity of the lake, to a village named Slujianka, where the blocked tunnel presented a serious obstacle to further progress. They dragged a few light guns over the ridge and marched sev-

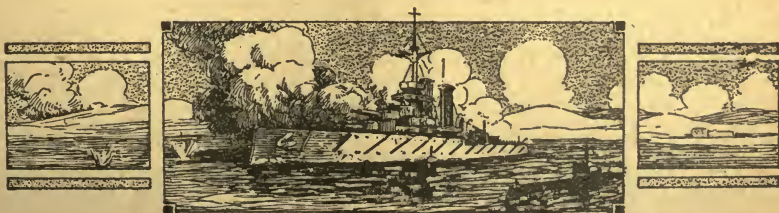
eral contingents of troops around the obstruction, only to find the Bolsheviks massed in force some twenty miles beyond. The Czechs and Russians suffered heavy losses in the fighting here and were forced back to within a few miles of the tunnel.

Meantime the Czechs had cleared the tunnel sufficiently to pass troops through on foot. General Gaida, who had succeeded Colonel Kadlets in command, caused decoy messages to fall into the enemy's hands, begging for help and declaring that the tunnel was hopelessly blocked and he in desperate straits, surrounded and at the end of his resources. The Bolsheviks thereupon moved southward in high spirits, throwing aside all caution. Bands played and their progress was in the nature of a triumphal march.

A few miles from the tunnel they ran into an ambush which completely demoralized them. Machine guns raked them from the hillsides and field guns shelled them front and rear. A tattered remnant of the Bolshevik army fled northward with the few trains they were able to save.

Titanic Labors of the British Navy

Figures made public Oct. 25, 1918, on the growth of the British Navy during the war show that the fleet, including auxiliaries, had increased from 2,500,000 tons displacement to 6,500,000 tons, and the personnel from 146,000 to 406,000. Since the outbreak of the war 21,500,000 soldiers had been transported by sea, of whom 4,391 had been lost. For the requirements of the British naval and military forces more than 85,000,000 tons of stores were transhipped, while more than 24,000,000 tons were taken overseas for Great Britain's allies. Transportation was also provided for 2,000,000 animals. The organization of convoys, due to German submarine warfare, had been an important part of the work of the British Navy since March, 1917, since which time there had been 75,929 sailings, with the losses numbering only a few hundred vessels.



Lenine and Trotzky German Agents

Secret Documents Unearthed in Petrograd Show Bolshevist Leaders as Tools of Berlin

[SECOND INSTALLMENT]

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE herewith presents the second and concluding installment of the secret documents through which the United States Government has revealed the relation of master and servant existing between the Imperial German Government and the so-called Bolshevist Government at Petrograd. The Committee on Public Information sent Edgar Sisson to Petrograd to investigate, and Mr. Sisson unearthed these documents and sent them to Washington in the form of the report here reproduced. The following introduction and the explanatory notes throughout are his:

Germany made its Russian peace with its own puppet Government, the misnamed Council of People's Commissars, the President of which is Vladimir Ulianov, (Lenine,) the Foreign Minister of which was Leon Trotzky, and the Ambassador of which to Germany is A. Joffe. Germany made this peace harder upon the Russian people as punishment to the ambition of its tools in seeking to become too powerful and in hoping for a little while not only that Russia would be delivered over to them, but that they could double-cross their masters by turning a simulated German revolution into a real one.

But their craftiness was a toy in the hands of rough German force. Germany was actually double-crossing them by negotiating with the Ukrainian Rada at the moment they dreamed they were tricking Germany.

Germany, however, did not discard the Bolshevist leaders, recognizing their further use in the German world campaign for internal disorganization in the nations with which it wars, but confined them to the limited inland province which Great Russia proper has now become.

Lenine, according to statements made public as soon as Trotzky's spectacular device of "No peace—no war" failed, always was for peace on any German terms. He dominated the situation thereafter and conceded everything that Germany asked. Nor did Trotzky cease to continue to obey the German orders delivered to him both by General Hoffman at Brest-Litovsk and at Petrograd directly by the Russian division

of the German General Staff, which was seated in Petrograd itself from November, and which was still there in full operation when I left, Monday, March 4, the day that Petrograd received notification that peace had been signed at Brest-Litovsk by the Russian and German delegations.

Trotzky, therefore, rests rightly under the accusation of having staged his theatrical scene as a climax to the Russian disorganization desired by Germany. The actual order he gave was for the immediate demobilization of the Russian Army, leaving the German Army unopposed.

The actual effect of the work of the Bolshevist leaders, moreover, was to enable Germany to combine its former army of the Russian front with its western army for the launching of its March offensive in France. Such has been the fruition of Russia's German-directed Bolshevism.

The following documents tell the story of the betrayal of Russia to a shameful and ruinous peace:

DOCUMENT No. 30

[Gr. (Great) General Staff, Central Abtheilung, section M/R, No. 408, Feb. 26, 1918]

SECRET

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

The Department of the Staff has the honor to request data of the attitude of the detachments being sent to Pskoff and to guard against all possible results if in these detachments any will carry on patriotic propaganda and agitations against the German Army.—*Head of the Russian Division German General Staff, O. Rausch; Adjutant, U. Wolff.*

NOTE.—The Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars is Lenine. At the top of his letter is written comment "Urgent. Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars asks Voladarsky to communicate this to the agitation department. (Signed) Secretary Skripnik." Skripnik is the First Secretary of the Government, personally reporting to Lenine. A second notation in margin is "Central Executive Committee No. 823 to report. (Signed) N. G." The initials correspond with those of N. Gorbunov, Chief Secretary of the Council of People's Commissars. The detachments being sent to Pskoff at this time were composed of Red Guards and of the recruits of the new Red

G. G.-S.

NACHRICHTEN-BUREAU.

Section R

№ 713

23 Февраля 1918 г.

Лично.

Господину Народному Комиссару по Иностран-
ным Дѣламъ.

Согласно личныхъ переговоровъ моихъ изъ
г. Предсѣдателямъ Совѣта Народныхъ Комиссаровъ,
было рѣшено задержать отъѣздъ Итальянскаго По-
сольства изъ Петербурга и, по возможности, пре-
извести обыскъ посольскаго багажа. Объ этомъ
рѣшеніи считаю долгомъ извѣстить Васъ.)

*Gorbunov's
initials*

Начальникъ Отдѣленія *Rausch*Адъютантъ *Tanquer*

DOCUMENT NO. 26: A LETTER REVEALING HOW A GERMAN OFFICER AND LENINE, IN CONFERENCE, ORDERED SEARCH OF THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR'S BAGGAGE. ITALY WAS STILL AN ALLY OF RUSSIA. THE TRANSLATION OF THIS LETTER APPEARED IN THE PRECEDING INSTALLMENT IN THIS MAGAZINE

Army. Pskoff was taken by the Germans without a fight.

Have original letter.

DOCUMENT No. 31

[G. G. S., Nachrichten Bureau, Section R,
Feb. 27, 1918]

VERY SECRET

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLES COMMISSARS:

Not having received an exact answer to my question of the 25th of February, I now have the honor to request you to inform me in the shortest possible time the numbers and kind of forces sent to Pskoff and Narva.

At the same time at the orders of the representative of our General Staff I once more remind you of the desirability of naming Gen. Parski to the post of commander in chief of the Russian armed forces, in place of Gen. Bonch-Bruevich, whose actions do not meet the approval of the German high command. Since the attacks on the lives and property of the German landowners in Estland and Lifland, which, according to our information, were carried out with the knowledge of Gen. Bonch-Bruevich, and his nationalistic

actions in Orla, his continuance in the position of General is particularly no longer desirable.—Head of the Department, Agasfer.

NOTE.—Across the letter is written "Send to Trotzky and Podvoisky. (Signed) N. G." (Gorbunov's initials.) Observe the mandatory nature of the whole letter and particularly of the first paragraph. Agasfer, as has been shown, is the cipher signature of Major Luberts, head of the Petrograd Intelligence Department of the German General Staff, the chief branch of the Russian division of the German General Staff, the head of which is Major Rausch, referred to in this letter as the representative of "our General Staff." Apparently both Luberts and Rausch wrote a warning against sending any patriots to the defending forces and seemingly the Bolshevik effort at obedience as indicated in document No. 3 was not fast enough to suit the German martinets. Podvoisky was Minister of War.

General Parski was appointed to the command of the Petrograd district, and as late as June 14 still held the post. He formerly was in command of the City of Riga, which was surrendered to the Germans without adequate defense in the early Autumn of 1917.

Have original letter.

Секретно.

GR. GENERALSTAB.

CENTREZ VESTELNOE.

Господину Председателю Совета Народных Комиссе

ровъ

Section M/R

26 Февраля 1918 г.

№ 403

Baker

Сектор
Информации С. И. К. при штабе
и в Главном штабе
и в Главном штабе
и в Главном штабе

Отделение Штаба имеет честь просить свидѣній о

настроении направляемыхъ къ Пскову отрядовъ и пре-
достерегаетъ отъ возможныхъ печальныхъ послѣдствій,
если въ этихъ отрядахъ будетъ вестись патристиче-
ская пропаганда и агитация противъ Германской Ар-
мии.

Начальникъ Русскаго Отдѣла

Германскаго Генеральнаго Штаба

Адъютантъ 10 Вонга

FACSIMILE OF DOCUMENT NO. 30, IN WHICH A GERMAN OFFICER DEMANDS—AND LENINE GRANTS—DATA REGARDING RUSSIAN FORCES AT PSKOFF. THAT PLACE WAS AFTERWARD TAKEN BY THE GERMANS WITHOUT A FIGHT

DOCUMENT NO. 32

[Gr. General Staff, Nachrichten Bureau,
Section R, No. 272-600, Feb. 6, 1918]

VERY SECRET

TO THE COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

I ask you to immediately give the Turk-
ish subject, Carp C. Missirof, a Russian
passport in place of the one taken from
him, which was given him in 1912 on the
basis of the inclosed national passport.

Agent C. Missirof is to be sent to the
staff of the Russian high command,
where, according to the previous discus-
sion between General Hoffman and Com-
missars Trotzky and Joffe, he will keep
watch on the activity of the head of the
staff, General Bonch Bruевич, in the ca-
pacity of assistant to the Commissars
Kalmanovich and Felerabend.—For the
head of the department, R. Bauer; adju-
tant, Bukholm.

NOTE.—Here we have the behind-the-scene
disclosure of the real relations between Trot-
zky and General Hoffman at Brest-Litovsk,
stripping the mask from the public pose.
Trotzky got his orders in this case and he

carried them out. Across the top of this let-
ter, too, he has written his own conviction,
"Ask Joffe. L. T.," while Joffe, whose rôle
seems to be that of the mouthpiece of Ger-
many, has written in the margin, "Accord-
ing to agreement this must be done. A.
Joffe." Thereby he becomes a witness for the
agreement itself—that pledge between him-
self, Trotzky, and the Military Chief of the
German Government at the Brest-Litovsk
conference to betray the commander of the
Russian Army when he should attempt to de-
fend Russia against Germany. A second
marginal note states that the passport was
given Feb. 7, under the Russian name, P. L.
Ilin.

Have original letter and the surrendered
passport. Kalmanovich and Felerabend were
commissars of counterespionage.

THE UKRAINIAN DOUBLE-CROSS

How the Bolsheviks themselves were double-
crossed in the Ukraine, how the Germans
toyed with their puppets to disorganize Rus-
sia, with disclosures of plans for assassina-
tion of loyal Russian leaders, are shown in
the following documents:

G. G.-S.

NACHRICHTEN-BUREAU.

Section 18

№ 55

21 Февраля 1918 г.

В. Секретно.

Г. Председателю Совета Народных Комиссаров.

Настоящим, не получивъ точнаго отвѣта на мой вопросъ отъ 25 февраля, имаю честь вторично просить въ срочномъ порядкѣ сообщить мнѣ количество и качество силъ направляемыхъ къ Пскову и Нарвѣ.

Одновременно по порученію Представителя нашего Генеральнаго Штаба, еще разъ напоминаю о желательности назначенія г-на Петрика на постъ Верховнаго Главнокомандующаго русскими вооруженными силами, вмѣсто ген. Бонч-Бруевича, дѣятельность котораго не встрѣчаетъ сочувствія Германскаго Верховнаго Командованія. Теперь-же, послѣ покушеній на жизнь и имущество нѣмецкихъ землевладѣльцевъ въ Эстляндіи и Лифляндіи, что, по нашимъ свѣдѣніямъ, произошло съ вѣдома ген. Бонч-Бруевича и националистической дѣятельности его въ Орлѣ, пребываніе генерала на его посту нежелательно.

Начальникъ Отдѣленія

Адъютантъ



FACSIMILE OF DOCUMENT NO. 31, IN WHICH A GERMAN OFFICER ORDERS THE BOLSHEVIST GOVERNMENT TO FURNISH MILITARY DATA AND PLACE A MAN OF BERLIN'S CHOICE AT THE HEAD OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY

DOCUMENT NO. 33

[Counterespionage at the Stavka, No. 63,
Jan. 10, 1918]

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING THE
COUNTER-REVOLUTION:

The commissar on combating the counter-revolution, in a cipher telegram, No. 235, demanded the sending of special agents to Kiev and Novochoerkask.

There have been sent Comrades Vlasenko, Gavrilchuk, and Korablev, who have more than once very successfully performed information service. The commissar in his cipher telegram indicates that the German and Austrian agents assigned from Petrograd, Lieutenants Otto

Kremer, Blum and Vasilko, are playing a double rôle, reporting on what is happening at Petrograd, and they carry on an intensive agitation in favor of a separate peace of the Ukraine with the Central Powers, and for the restoring of order. Their work is having success.

To Siberia have been ordered Comrades Trefiley and Shepshelevich, in connection with your report of the purchase and export of gold by Austrian prisoners in Siberia. — Director of Counterespionage Feierabend.

NOTE.—So stands disclosed the manner in which Germany set about to double-cross the Bolshevik servants who in success had become at times upish in bargaining with

Весьма секретно.

G. G.-S.

NACHRICHTEN-BUREAU.

Section

№

6 Февраля 1918 г.

Господину Нареевскому Комиссару по Иностранным Дѣ-

ламъ.

Согласно требованию
подписан, инстинкт
Родосе

Проту срочно выдать турецкому подданному Карпу Х.Миссирову русский паспортъ, вмѣсто отобраннаго у него, выданнаго ему въ 1912 г. на основаніи прилагаемаго къ сему національнаго паспорта.

Агентъ К.Миссировъ направится въ Штабъ Русскаго Верховнаго Командованія, гдѣ согласно происшедшимъ переговорамъ между ген.Гофманомъ и Комиссарами Троцкимъ и Гоффе, онъ будетъ нести наблюдение за дѣятельностью Начальника Штаба ген. Бончъ-Бруевича въ качествѣ помощника Комиссаровъ Кальмановича и Фейерабенда.

Паспортъ на имя П.?
Начальник штаба
А. Зининъ
7.2

Начальникъ Отдѣленія

Адъютантъ.



FACSIMILE OF DOCUMENT NO. 32, IN WHICH GERMAN OFFICERS DEMAND A PASSPORT FOR A TURKISH SUBJECT, WHO IS TO SPY ON THE RUSSIAN CHIEF OF STAFF IN HIS OWN HEADQUARTERS

their masters. It was not a part of the German program to create in Russia a power which it could not at any time control, or, if need be, overturn. Its plan here had the additional advantage of not only disciplining the Petrograd Bolsheviks, but also of disunifying Russia still further. It worked out to a separate peace with Ukraine and a separate peace with Northern Russia. Lieutenant Otto is the Kronshin afterward arrested for some unknown betrayal. See document No. 2.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 34

[Counter espionage at Stavka, No. 511, Jan. 30, 1918]

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION:

You are informed that the German and Austrian officers located at Kiev now have private meetings with members of the deposed Rada. They insistently inform us of the inevitable signing and ratification of peace treaties, both between the Ukraine and the Central Powers and between Rumania and Austria and Germany.—Chief of the Counter Espionage, Feierabend; Commissar Kalmánovich.

NOTE.—Corroborative of the preceding docu-

ment. The separate peace with Ukraine already had been signed.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 35

[G. G. S., Nachrichten Bureau, No. 191, December, 1917]

VERY URGENT.

TO THE COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

In accordance with your request, the intelligence section on Nov. 29 sent to Rostov Major von Boehlke, who arranged there a survey over the forces of the Don Troop Government. The Major also organized a detachment of prisoners of war, who took part in the battle. In this case the prisoners of war, in accordance with the directions given by the July conference at Kronstadt, participated in by Messrs. Lenine, Zinovieff, Kameneff, Raskolnikoff, Dybenko, Shisko, Antonoff, Krylenko, Volodarsky, and Podvoisky, were dressed in Russian Army and Navy uniforms. Major von Boehlke took part in commanding, but the conflicting orders of the official commander, Arnautoff, and the talentless activity of the scout Tulak paralyzed the plans of our officer.

The agents sent by order from Petrograd to kill Generals Kaledine, Bogaev-

sky, and Alexeieff were cowardly and nonenterprising people. Agents passed through to Karauloff. The communications of General Kaledine with the Americans and English are beyond doubt, but they limit themselves entirely to financial assistance. Major von Boehlke returned to Petrograd and will make a report to-day at the office of the Chairman of the Council at 10 P. M.—*For the head of department, R. Bauer.*

NOTE.—*This is a cold-blooded disclosure of a German-Bolshevist plan for the assassination of Kaledine and Alexeieff, as well as proof of a condition often denied by Smolny during the Winter—that German prisoners were being armed as Russian soldiers in the struggle against the Russian Nationalists on the Don. The letter also contains the most complete list of the participants in the July conspiracy conference at Kronstadt. The marginal comment opposite the assassination paragraph is, "Who sent them!" in an unidentified handwriting. Major von Boehlke is a German officer referred to in Document No. 5. His cipher signature is Schott.*

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 36

[G. G. S., Nachrichten Bureau, No. 136, Nov. 28, 1917]

VERY SECRET

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

In accordance with your request, the Intelligence Section of the General Staff informs the Council of People's Commissars that the Ukrainian Commission at the Austrian high command, in which participate the empowered representatives of the German Staff, has worked out a plan of the activities of the revolutionary zone to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies—Chudovsky, Boyardsky, Gubarsky, and Platokov—who are under the full direction of the Austro-Hungarian high command.

The Commander in Chief of the Russian Army has been made acquainted by Schott with plans of the Austro-German high command and will co-operate with him.—*Head of Department, Agasfer.*

NOTE.—*At this early time there was harmony all around on the Ukraine program, Germans, Austrians, and the Commissars in complete brotherhood. Schott is Major von Boehlke and Agasfer is Major Luberts.*

Have photograph of letter.

TROTZKY AND RUMANIA

The machinations of Trotzky, inspired by the German General Hoffman, for the disruption of Rumania are disclosed in the following:

DOCUMENT NO. 37

[Counterespionage at the Stavka]

TO THE COMMISSION ON COMBATING THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION:

Commander in Chief Krylenko has requested the counterespionage at the staff to inform you that it is necessary to order the following persons to the Rumanian front immediately: From Petrograd, Commissar Kuhl, Socialist Rakovsky, Sailor Guleshin, and from the front the chief of the Red Guard Durasov. These persons should be supplied with literature and with financial resources for agitation. To them is committed the task of taking all measures for the deposing of the Rumanian King and the removal of counter-revolutionary Rumanian officers.—*Director of Counterespionage, Feierabend; Secretary, N. Drachev.*

NOTE.—*This marks the beginning of large-scale work to disorganize the Rumanian Army. That in its early Winter phases it advances disappointingly to Germany is evidenced by vengeful steps taken later by General Hoffman and Trotzky from Brest-Litovsk, when in the middle of January Trotzky, at the request of General Hoffman, ordered the arrest in Petrograd of the Rumanian Minister Diamandi. The contents of this letter, written by Joffe, were telegraphed to Washington in February and photographic copy of letter forwarded.**

At about the same time the Rumanian public gold reserves in custody within the Kremlin walls at Moscow were seized by the Russian Government. Diamandi was released from arrest at the demand of the united diplomatic delegations at Petrograd, but his humiliations continued, and on Jan. 28 he was ordered from Petrograd, being given less than ten hours to prepare for the departure of a party that contained many women and children. Ambassador Francis sought in vain of Zalkind, who was acting as Foreign Minister in the absence of Trotzky, again at Brest, for an extension of the time of departures.

The Rumanian party was thrown pell-mell on a train at midnight. It was delayed in Finland on one excuse and another, not immediately apparent, but in three weeks the Minister, leaving behind a large part of his people, was allowed to proceed to Torneo. By good luck he reached there the day after the Red Guard lost Torneo to the White Guard. That day saved his life, for on the person of Svetlitzsky, a Russian Commissar who joined him in mid-Finland and accompanied him to Torneo, was found an order to Timofeyeff, the Commissar at Torneo, to shoot him. Svetlitzsky was shot instead.

When I passed through Torneo the control officer talked frankly about the details, expressing the opinion that the shooting might have been a mistake, as it was not shown that Svetlitzsky was aware of the contents of

*Letter from Joffe at Brest-Litovsk carrying General Hoffman's order through Trotzky to incite agitation against the Rumanian Army and to arrest Diamandi, the Rumanian Minister.

the letter. Svetlitzky, however, was an important person in Petrograd, close to Trotzky.

Our American party brought Guranesco, the First Secretary of the Rumanian delegation, out of Finland through the lines with us. He had been in Red Finland seven weeks. Behind us at Bjorneburg we left several families of Rumanians who had departed from Petrograd with the Minister. We would have liked to have brought them through the lines of the two armies, but our venture was too desperate to permit unauthorized additions to the party.

The marginal notation on this letter is "Execute," initialed "ch," the sign manual of Tchitcherin, the returned exile from England, at that time Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, now Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT 37A*

CONFIDENTIAL

[No. 771, Affair of Peace Deleg., To Report 4 I, Urgent (Initials)]

BREST-LITOVSK,

Dec. 31, 1917. No. 365-N. K.

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

Comrade L. Trotzky has charged me to bring to the knowledge of the Council of National Commissaries the motives for his telegraphic proposal to arrest the Rumanian diplomatic representatives in Petersburg.

General Hoffman, referring to the conference which had taken place in Brest-Litovsk between the members of the German and Austro-Hungarian delegations on Dec. 29, presented to the Russian delegation in the name of the German and Austrian chief command (a deciphered radiotelegram was exhibited in this connection) a confidential demand concerning the immediate incitement of the Rumanian Army to recognize the necessity of an armistice and adopting the terms of a democratic peace pointed out by the Russian delegates. The implacability of the staff and the whole commanding force of the Rumanian Army, with regard to which the chief command of the German Army has received the most exact agency information, spoils the excellent impression produced in Germany and on all the fronts by the Russian peace proposition, which has made it possible to again stimulate the popular feeling against England, France and America and can bring about an undesirable and dangerous aggravation of the peace question up to the German

Army going over to the attack on our front and an open annexation of the territories occupied in Russia.

The General expressed his opinion that against peace might be the Cossacks, some Ukrainian regiments, and the Caucasian Army, in which case they will also doubtless be joined by the Rumanian armies, which, according to the information in possession of the German staff, enter into the calculations of Kaledine and Alexieeff. It is greatly in the interests of the German and Austrian delegations that complete harmony should prevail on the entire Russian front as regards the conclusion of an armistice and adopting the terms of a separate peace between Russia and Germany, seeing that in this event the German and Austrian chief command will propose to Rumania their terms of peace, and will be in a position to take up their operative actions on the western front on a very large scale; at the same time Gen. Hoffman, in the course of a conversation with Comr. Trotzky, twice hinted at the necessity of immediately beginning these war operations.

When Comr. Trotzky declared that at the disposal of the Council's power there are no means of influencing the Rumanian staff, Gen. Hoffman pointed out the necessity of sending trustworthy agents to the Rumanian Army and the possibility of arresting the Rumanian mission in St. Petersburg and of repressive measures against the Rumanian King and the Rumanian commanding forces.

After this interview Comr. L. Trotzky by cable proposed to arrest the Rumanian mission in Petersburg with all its members. This report is being sent by special courier—Comrade I. G. Brossoff, who has to personally transmit to Commissary Podvoisky some information of a secret character regarding the sending to the Rumanian Army of those persons whose names Comr. Brossoff will give.

All these persons will be paid out of the cash of the "German Naphtha-Industrial Bank," which has bought near Boreslav the business of the joint-stock company of Fanto & Co. The chief direction of those agents has been intrusted, according to Gen. Hoffman's indication, to a certain Wolf Vonigel, who is keeping a watch over the military agents of the countries allied with us. As regards the English and American diplomatic representatives, General Hoffman has expressed the agreement of the German staff to the measures adopted by Comr. Trotzky and Comr. Lazimiroff with regard to watching over their activity.—Member of the delegation, A. Joffe.

MARGINAL NOTATIONS

Comr. Shitkevitch: Take copies and send to the Commiss. for Foreign Affairs,

*The contents of this letter, written by Joffe, were telegraphed to Washington in February, and photographic copy of letter forwarded by Ambassador Francis to State Department.

personally to Comr. Zalkind. [*Passages printed above in italics marked:*] To Sanders.

Reported Jan. 4, regarding the arrest of Diamandi and others.—M. SHIRKE-VITCH.

JANUARY 5, 1918.

TO THE CHANCERY:

Send an urgent telegram to Trotzky about the arrest of the Rumanian Minister.—Savelieff.

NOTE (as cabled Feb. 9.)—*The date is Jan. 12, western time, the eve of the Russian New Year. The Rumanian Minister was arrested that night in Petrograd, and only released on the united demand of all embassies and legations in Petrograd. Since then he has been sent out of Russia. The letter shows that Trotzky took General Hoffman's personal demand as an order for action. Most important of all, however, it strips the mask from the Lenine and Trotzky public protestations that they have sought to prevent the peace negotiations with Germany from turning to the military advantage of Germany against the United States, England, and France. The aim here disclosed is, instead, to aid Germany in stimulating feeling against England, France, and the United States, in enabling Germany to prepare for an offensive on the western front. A German bank is named as paymaster for Bolshevik agitators among the Rumanian soldiers. Is Wolf Vonigel, the Field Director, the Wolf von Igel of American notoriety? The similarity of name is striking. Finally, General Hoffman and the German staff are satisfied with Trotzky's watch over the American and English diplomats. Yoffe, who signs the letter, is a member of the Russian Peace Commission. Since this letter was written Zalkind has gone to Switzerland on a special mission.*

July 6, 1918.—E. S.

He did not reach there, being unable to pass through England, and in April was in Christiania.

ESPIONAGE AND ASSASSINATION

Former disclosures of espionage operations and of assassination orders for the ruthless extermination of Russian patriots follow:

DOCUMENT NO. 38

[Commission for combating the counter-revolution and pogroms, Dec. 14, 1917, Petrograd]

MAJ. VON BOEHLKE, ESTEEMED COMRADE:

I bring to your notice that our Finnish comrades, Hakhia, Pukko, and Enrot, have advised the commissar for combating the counter-revolution of the following facts:

1. Between the English officers and the Finnish bourgeois organizations there are connections which cause us serious apprehension.

2. In Finland have been installed two

wireless stations, which are used by unknown persons who communicate in cipher.

3. Between General Kaledin and the American mission there is an undoubted communication, of which we have received exact information from your source, and therefore a most careful supervision of the American Embassy is necessary.

These reports must be established exactly. Our agents are helpless. Please excuse that I write on the official letter-heads, but I hasten to do this, sitting here at the commission at an extraordinary meeting. Ready to service.—F. Zalkind.

NOTE.—*The written comment at the top of the letter is "Commissar for foreign affairs. I request exact instructions. Schott." It is von Boehlke's question, signed with his cipher name. (See Document 5.) The letter may imply that von Boehlke had, in the opinion of his good friend Zalkind, a means of internal observation at the American Embassy.*

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 39

[Counterespionage at the Stavka, No. 268, Jan. 25, 1918]

VERY SECRET

TO THE COMMISSION ON COMBATING THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION:

The 23d of January at the Stavka there took place a conference at which there participated Major von Boehlke, assigned from Petrograd. It was decided, upon the insistence of the German consultants, to send to the internal fronts the following persons, furnishing them all powers for dealing with individual counter-revolutionaries.

To the Don: Zhikhorev, Rudnev, Krogultz, and Ernest Delgau.

To the Caucasus Front: Vassili Dumbadze, Prince Machabelli, Sevastianov, and Ter-Baburin.

To the 1st Polish Corps of General Dobor-Menitsky are assigned Dembitsky, Stetkus, Zhimiltis, and Gisman.

Be so good as to take all measures for the quick assignment and the adequate furnishing of the assigned persons with money, reserve passports, and other documents—Senior Officer, Peter Mironov.

NOTE.—*This is an assassination order against individuals. It was not successful against the Polish General. Dembadze and Prince Machabelli were German spies implicated in the Sukhomlino affair and sentenced to prison, but afterward liberated by the Bolsheviks. Lieut. Col. Dembitsky was a Bolshevik Polish officer. Baburin was an assistant chief of staff under Krylenko. The letter is indorsed "Comrade Lunarcharsky, leave with report for Comrade Zenovieff," signature illegible.*

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 40

[Counterespionage at the Stavka, No. 51/572, Jan. 19, 1918]

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION:

There have been received two notes addressed to the Supreme Commander from the staffs of the Austrian and German High Commands. These notes inform the Stavka that the organizer of the volunteer army in the Don region, General Alexeieff, is in written communication with the officer personnel of the Polish legions at the front, with the view of getting the help of Polish officers in the counter-revolution. This information has been received by the Austrian agents from the Polish Bolshevik Comrade Zhuk, who played a large part at Rostov during the November and December battles. On the other side, the representative of the German Government, Count Lerchenfeldt, reports of the rapidly growing movement in Poland in favor of the bourgeois estate owners' imperialistic plan to defend with arms the greatest possible independence of Poland, with the broadening of its frontiers at the expense of Lithuania, White Russia, and Galicia.

This movement is actively supported by the popular democratic party in Warsaw, as well as Petrograd, by military organizations guided by the counter-revolutionary estate owners and the bourgeois Polish clergy.

The situation which has arisen was discussed on the 16th of January at the Stavka in the presence of Major von Boehlke, sent the Petrograd branch of the German Intelligence Bureau, and it was there decided:

1. To take the most decisive measures, up to shooting en masse, against the Polish troops which have submitted to the counter-revolutionary and imperialistic propaganda.

2. To arrest General Dovbor-Menitsky.

3. To arrange a surveillance of the commanding personnel.

4. Send agitators to the Polish legions to consult regarding the Polish revolutionary organizations known to the committee.

5. On learning of the counter-revolutionary activity of Polish officers to immediately arrest them and send them to the Stavka to the disposal of the Counter-espionage.

6. To arrest the emissaries of General Alexeieff, Staff Captain Shuravsky, and Captain Rushifsky.

7. To request the Commission for Combating the Counter-Revolution with agreement with the German Intelligence Bureau at Petrograd to arrange a surveillance and observation of the following institutions and persons:

- (a) The high Polish Committee.

- (b) The Society of Friends of the Polish Soldier.

- (c) Inter-Party Union.

- (d) The Union of Polish Invalids.

- (e) Members of the Polish Kolo of the former State Duma and Council.

- (f) The Chairman, Lednitsky, and the members of the former committee for the liquidation of affairs of the Polish kingdom.

- (g) Boleslav Jalovesky.

- (h) Vladislav Grabsky.

- (i) Stanislav Shuritsky.

- (j) Roman Catholic Polish clergy.

- (k) The Polish Treasury, through which, according to agency reports, the Governments of countries allied with Russia intend, with the assistance of the New York National City Bank, to supply with monetary resources the counter-revolutionary camp.

It is necessary to verify the private reports of several Lithuanian revolutionaries that among the church benevolent funds, which are at the disposal of the Polish clergy, are the funds of private persons who hid their money from requisition for the benefit of the State.

In case of establishment of any connection with the counter-revolution the guilty Polish institutions are to be liquidated, their leaders and also persons connected with the counter-revolutionary activity are to be arrested and sent to the disposal of the Stavka.—For Chief of the Counterespionage, Commissar Kalmanovitch.

NOTE.—Again Germany, through Count Perchenfeldt, was intriguing on both sides. Chiefly, however, the significance of the letter is in the thoroughness of the outlined German plan to crush the threat of armed opposition from the Polish legions of the Russian Army. The troops were fired upon, as indicated. The preceding document really follows this in natural sequence. The next two further elucidate the situation for the benefit of the Poles of the outside world.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 41

[Counterespionage at the Stavka, No. 461, Jan. 28, 1918]

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION:

The special commission on the conflict with the Polish counter-revolutionary troops has begun its activity. All the conduct of its affairs has been located at the counterespionage at the Stavka, where is being collected all information on the counter-revolution on the external and internal fronts. At the commission have arrived members of the Commission for Combating the Counter-Revolution, E. Mekonoshin, I. Zenzinov, Zhilinski, and from Sevastopol Comrade Tiurin. To a conference were called agents announcing

their wish to be sent for conflict with the bourgeois Polish officers—Dembitsky, Boleslav, Yakhimovich, Strievsky, Yasenovsky, and Adamovich. All those agents are under obligation to carry the affair to the point of open insubordination of the soldiers against the officers, and the arrest of the latter.

For emergency the commander in chief ordered to assign Nakhim Sher and Ilya Razymov for the destruction of the counter-revolutionary ringleaders among the Polish troops, and the commission recognized the possibility of declaring all Polish troops outside the law when that measure should present itself as imperative.

From Petrograd, observers announced that the Polish organizations are displaying great reserve and caution in mutual relations. There has been established, however, an unquestionable contact between the high military council located in Petrograd and the Polish officers and soldiers of the bourgeois estate-owning class with the counter-revolutionary Polish troops. On this matter, in the Commissariat on Military Affairs, there took place on Jan. 22 a conference of Comrades Podvoisky, Kovdrov, Boretzhov, Dybenko, and Kovalsky. The Commissar on Naval Affairs announced that the sailors Trushin, Markin, Peinkaitis, and Schulz demand the dismissal of the Polish troops, and threaten, in case it is refused, assaults on the Polish legionaries in Petrograd. The Commander in Chief suggests that it might be possible to direct the rage of the sailors mentioned, and of their group, to the front against the counter-revolutionary Polish troops.

At the present time our agitation among the Polish troops is being carried on in very active fashion and there is great hope for the disorganization of the Polish legionaries.—*Chief of Counter-espionage, Feierabend.*

NOTE.—Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 42

[Counterespionage at the Stavka, Jan. 28, 1918]

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION:

At the request of the Commander in Chief, in answer to your inquiry, I inform you, supplementary to the dispatch, that the funds sent with Major Bayermeister have been received here. Among the troops acting on the front against the counter-revolutionaries have been prepared several battalions for conflict with the Poles and Rumanians. We will pay 12 rubles a day, with an increased food ration. From the hired sections sent against the legionaries have been formed two companies, one from the best shots for the shooting of officers of regiments,

the other of Lithuanians and Letts for the theft of food reserves in Vitebsk, Minsk, and Mogilev Governments, in the places where the Polish troops are situated. Various local peasants have also agreed to attack the regiments and exterminate them.—*Commissar G. Mosholov.*

NOTE.—These two documents show that the policy against these patriotic soldiers was one of merciless extermination, financed by German money, handed out by a German officer. Bayermeister is named in Document No. 5.

Have photograph of letter.

The following documents show the complete surrender of the Bolshevik leaders to their German masters:

DOCUMENT NO. 43

[Gr. (Great) General Staff, Central Abtheilung, Section M-R, No.

411, Feb. 26, 1918]

VERY SECRET

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

According to instructions from the High Command of the German Army, I have the honor to remind you that the withdrawing and disarming of the Russian Red Guard from Finland must be commenced immediately. It is known to the staff that the chief opponent of this step is the head of the Finnish Red Guard, Yarro Haapalainen, who has a great influence on the Russian tovarische, (comrades.) I request you to send for this struggle with Haapalainen our agent, Walter Nevalainen, (Nevalaiselle,) bearer of Finnish passport 3681, and supply him with a passport and pass.—*Head of the department, O. Rausch; Adjutant, U. Wolff.*

NOTE.—Written at the top of the letter and signed N. G., the initials of *Lenine's secretary, N. Gornunov*, is the order "Send to the Commissar of Foreign Affairs and execute." In the margin is written "Passport 211—No. 392," but unfortunately the name under which the new passport was given is not mentioned. This order explains the withdrawal of the Russian Red Guard from Finland in early March and the abandonment of the Finnish Red Guard to its fate. The latter, however, took care of the disarming both of Russian soldiers and sailors as they left Finland, for the Finns needed guns and ammunition. The Russians sometimes fought, but were surrounded and disarmed. In Helsingfors while I was there in March the Red Guard and the sailors were fighting each other nightly with rifles and machine guns. One of two Finnish Red Guard leaders almost surely is Nevalainen, but under the circumstances I do not care to speculate.

The order to hold all foreign embassies in Red Finland was given coincidentally with the appearance of one of them upon the scene. The excuse offered was that foreigners were carrying information to the White Guard. Simultaneously influence was exerted in the

White Guard to increase difficulties in passage between the lines. It is reasonable to place the obstacles to passage created on both sides of the Finnish lines to German effort, for German aid was being given the White Guard openly at the moment it was intriguing in the inner councils of the Red Guard. The American party cornered in Finland escaped only by persistence and good fortune. The British Embassy party was passed through the day before the closing order came. The French and Italian Embassies were obliged, after a month of vain effort, to return to Russia. Have original letter and the surrendered passport.

DOCUMENT NO. 44

[G. G. S., Nachrichten Bureau, Section R, No. 283]

TO THE COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

We are told that secret service agents attached to Stavka are following Major Erich, who has been ordered to Kiev. I ask you to take urgent measures to remove the surveillance of the above-named officer.—*Head of the Department, Agasfer; Adj. Bulkholm.*

NOTE.—Tchitcherin, Assistant Foreign Minister, initials a marginal comment "Talk it over." This note marks the period of acute irritation over the Ukraine between Bolsheviks and Germans. Agasfer is Major Luberts.

Have original letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 45

[G. G. S., Nachrichten Bureau, Section R, No. 228, Feb. 4, 1918]

TO THE COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

By instructions of the representative of our staff I have the honor to ask you immediately to recall from the Ukrainia front the agitators Bryansky, Wulf, Drabkin, and Pittsker. Their activity has been recognized as dangerous by the German General Staff.—*Head of the Department, Agasfer; Adj. Henrich.*

NOTE.—An exchange of courtesies of the same period as Document No. 44 Tchitcherin has notated it "Discuss."

Have original letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 46

[G. G. S., Nachrichten Bureau, Section R, Feb. 3, 1918]

TO THE COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

According to instructions of the representative of our General Staff, I have the honor once more to insist that you recall from Estland, Litva, and Courland all agitators of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies.—*Head of the Department, Agasfer; Adjutant Bukholm.*

NOTE.—Another instance of the time when Germany was using an iron hand of dis-

cipline, clearing of agitators the provinces it already had announced its intention of seizing for its own. The letter was referred by Markin, one of Trotsky's Secretaries, to Volodarsky, who seems to have been in charge of the proletarian agitation in these provinces.

Have original letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 47

[G. G. S., Nachrichten Bureau, Section R, No. 17, Feb. 17, 1918]

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

The Intelligence Department has received detailed information that the agitators of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies have completely changed the character of the Estland Socialists' activity, which finally led to the local German landlords being declared outlawed. By order of the General Staff I ask you to take immediate steps for the restoring of the rights of the above-mentioned German landlords and the recalling of the agitators.—*For the Head of the Department; R. Bauer.*

NOTE.—This order for the release of the German landlords was at once obeyed, and the act of surrender, evidently at the direct order of Lenine, to whom this letter is addressed, marked the end of the incipient rebellion of the Bolshevik leaders against their German masters.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 48

VARIED ACTIVITIES

[Counterespionage at the Stavka, Jan. 22, 1918]

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS:

By our agents it has been established that connections between the Poles, the Don, and French officers, and also probably the diplomatic representatives of the allied powers, are maintained by means of Russian officers traveling under the guise of sack speculators. In view of this we request you to take measures for the strict surveillance of the latter.—*Commissar Kalmanovitch.*

NOTE.—The indorsement on this is by Trotsky, "Copy to inform Podvoisky and Dzerzhinsky." The former was Minister of War, the latter Chairman of the Commission for combating the counter-revolution. Sack speculators were food peddlers who went into the provinces and brought food to the cities for profitable sale. Soldiers practically had a monopoly of the trade.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 49

[Gr. General Staff, Section R, No. 151, Dec. 4, 1917]

TO THE COMMISSARIAT OF MILITARY AFFAIRS:

Herewith the Intelligence Bureau has

the honor to transmit a list of the persons of Russian origin who are in the service of the German Intelligence Department:

Sakharoff, officer First Infantry Reserve Regiment; Praporschik Ter-Artyuniantz, Praporschik Zanko, Yarchuk, Golovin, Zhuk, Ilinsky, Cherniavsky, Captain Postinkov, Scheueemann, Sailors Trushin and Gavrillov. All the persons mentioned are on the permanent staff of the Intelligence Department of the German General Staff.—*Head of Department, Agasfer.*

Note—Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 50

[Gr. General Staff, Central Division, Section M., Jan. 14, 1918]

VERY CONFIDENTIAL

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PEOPLE'S COUNCIL OF COMMISSARS:

The Russian section of the German General Staff has received an urgent report from our agents at Novochoerkask and Rostov that the friction which has arisen between General Alexieff and General Kaledine, after which the volunteer corps of General Alexieff began the movement to the north, is a tactical step to have a base in the rear. In this way the army of General Alexieff will have a reliable-rear base protected by Cossack troops for supplying the army and a base in case of an overwhelming movement on the part of the enemy. The communications of General Alexieff with the Polish troops have been proved by new reports of the Polish Bolshevik Commissars, Shuk and Dembitsky.—*Chief of the Division of General Staff, O. Rausch; senior aid, R. Krieger.*

NOTE.—Important as showing that the Germans had a real fear of the military possibilities in the Alexieff-Kaledine movement. The suicide of General Kaledine at a moment of depression, following betrayals that undoubtedly were carefully plotted, was tragically a part of the great national tragedy.

Have photographs of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 51

[Counterespionage at the Stavka, No. 263/79, Jan. 23, 1918]

TO THE COMMISSARIAT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

To your inquiry regarding those agents who might be able to give an exact report of the sentiment of the troops and population in the provinces, I transmit to you a short list of the Russo-Germans agents-informers. In Voronezh, S. Sirtzof; in Rostov, Globov and Melikov; in Tiflis, Enskidze and Gavrillov; in Kazan, Pfaltz; in Samara, Oalpov and Voenig; in Omsk, Blagoveschensky and Sipko; in Tomsk, Dattan, Tarasov, and Rodionov;

in Irkutsk, Zhinizherova and Geze; in Vladivostok, Buttenhof, Pannoff, and El-langer.—*Chief of Counterespionage, Feierabend; Commissar, Kanmanovich.*

NOTE.—Apart from the list of agents this letter has interest from the comment "To the company of Bonch-Bruevich." The signature is illegible.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 52

[Counterespionage at the Stavka, No. 395, Jan. 21, 1918]

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION:

The agents of the counterespionage at the Stavka have established that the anarchists Stepan Kriloff, Fedor Kutzi, and Albert Bremsen, at Helsingfors, and also Nahim, Arshavsky, Ruphim, Levin, and Mikhail Shatiloff had during the recent days a conference with the Chief of Staff of the Petrograd army district, Shpilko. After Comrade Shpilko transmitted to the anarchists the offer of Comrade Antonoff and Comrade Bersin to recruit agents for the destruction of several counter-revolutionists, the latter expressed their willingness and immediately began the recruiting. To Kiev are assigned the following, who have been hired at Helsingfors: S. Smirnoff and Rigamann. To Odessa, Brack and Schulkovich.—*For the Chief of the Counterespionage; Commissar, C. Moshlov.*

NOTE.—This is an assassination compact between Bolsheviks and anarchists. Antonoff, one of the chief Bolshevik military leaders, is credited with the taking of Petrograd, and was in charge of the operations against Alexieff and Kaledine. The list of anarchists includes several notorious characters.

Have photograph of letter.

DOCUMENT NO. 53

[Counterespionage at the Stavka, No. 471, Jan. 27, 1918]

TO THE COMMISSION FOR COMBATING THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION:

By us here there has been received a report from Finland, from Grishin and Bakhi, of the counter-revolutionary activity of the lawyer, Jonas Kastren. This Kastren, in the years 1914-15, recruited on German funds Finnish volunteer regiments and sent them to Germany. For facilitating the work of recruiting he represented himself as a Socialist-Maximalist, and promised support to the Workers' Red Guard. In his office many of our comrades found a cordial reception and material support. Kastren furnished to Russia German money for the propaganda of Bolshevism in Russia. He had already established in 1916 a division of the German General Staff in Helsingfors. Now he, together with Svinhuvud, Ern-

roth, and Nandelschtedt, is on the side of the White Guards and is aiding them with money, supplies, and arms. We are informed that Kastren works both with German and English money. It is necessary immediately to cut short the work of Jonas Kastren and his group. The Commander in Chief advises to call to Petrograd the Finnish comrades, Rakhi and Pukko, or order Grishin to Helsingfors.—COMMISSAR A. SIVKO.

NOTE.—Kastren was still alive when I spent a week in Helsingfors in March, but he added to his chances of longevity by fleeing in early February to the White Guards headquarters at Vasa. The order for his removal came too late. Again we see Germany playing with both sides in Finland at the same time.

Have photograph of letter.

" COUNTERESPIONAGE " CIRCULARS APPENDIX I

This appendix is of circulars of which (except in two noted cases) I have neither originals nor authenticated copies. A number of sets of them were put out in Russian text in Petrograd and in other parts of Russia in the Winter (1918) by the opponents of the Bolsheviks.

The circulars were declared to be copies of documents taken from the Counterespionage Bureau of the Kerensky Government, supplemented by some earlier material from the same bureau when it was under the Imperial Government. The opportunity for securing them could easily have been afforded to the agents and employes of the bureau, for most of them walked out when the Bolsheviks grasped the Government and could have taken freely of the contents of their departments.

Some of the documents were included in the publication made in Paris, hitherto referred to.

The simple test that I have applied to the circulars is that of internal analysis. To that they respond without contradiction. I have not relied on them as proof, but they fit to other fabrics of proof, and in the light of it are more valuable for themselves than they were when they stood alone.

Finally, I am now able to prove that two of the documents among these circulars—the circular of industrial mobilization of June 9, 1914, and the agents' destruction circular of Nov. 28, 1914—are authentic. I have them in the original German printed version of their official distribution, and I have the doubly attested Russian and German record that they, in preceding time, reposed in the files of the Secret Service of the Russian Government, from which they were taken by German order and turned over to German representatives of the German Government in Petrograd with the intent of eliminating them as international evidence against Germany. (See Document 3 of my Report.)

This group of circulars came into my

hands the first week in February, 1918, and a few days after two duplicate sets reached me. I prepared a digest of the set and Ambassador Francis cabled the message in code to the State Department Feb. 9.

It was nearly four weeks later before I secured the originals and all the photographs listed in my Report. Two of these originals were of circulars I had seen in copy form four weeks earlier. That summarizes the case of the circulars of the appendix considered as evidence.

EDGAR SISSON.
Analysis of German conspiracy matter, with notes as prepared by me and cabled State Department in Ambassador Francis's code Feb. 9, 1918, and with some added notes, as indicated.

DOCUMENT NO. 54

Circular 18, February, 1914.—From the Ministry to all groups of German banks and by agreement with the Austro-Hungarian Government, the "Oesterreichische-Kreditanstalt."

The managements of all German banks which are transacting business abroad and, by agreement with the Austro-Hungarian Government, the "Oesterreichische-Kreditanstalt" Bank are hereby advised that the Imperial Government has deemed it to be of extreme necessity to ask the management of all institutions of credit to establish with all possible dispatch agencies in Lulea, Haparanda, and Vardo, on the frontier of Finland, and in Bergen and Amsterdam. The establishment of such agencies for a more effective observation of the financial interests of shareholders of Russian, French, and English concerns may become a necessity under certain circumstances, which would alter the situation of the industrial and financial market.

Moreover, the managements of banking institutions are urged emphatically to make provisions for very close and absolutely secret relations being established with Finnish and American banks. In this direction the Ministry begs to recommend the Swedish "Nia-Banken" in Stockholm, the banking office of Furstenberg, the commercial company "Walde-mar Hansen" in Copenhagen, as a concern which is maintaining (virulent) relations with Russia.

(Signature) "N 3737,
"Appertaining to Division,
for Foreign Operations."

NOTE.—This is the outline of the basic financial structure begun in February, 1914, five months before war was launched, and still in operation. Notice the reappearance in subsequent Lenin messages of towns Lulea and Vardo. Likewise the reference to American banks. Olaf Ashberg, one of the heads of the Nia-Banken, came to Petrograd a month ago (January, 1918) and on way boasted that Nia-Banken was the Bolshevik bank. He was overheard by one of our own group.

He secured from Smolny permit for export several hundred thousand gallons of oil, opened at Hotel d'Europe headquarters where both Mirbach and Kaiserling of German commissions have been entertained, negotiated with State Bank Feb. 1 contract for buying cash rubles and establishing foreign credit for Russian Government. Furstenberg is now at Smolny using the name Ganetzky, is one of the inner group, and is likely soon to be placed in charge of State Bank. Ashberg now in Stockholm, but returning.

The material in this and all notes is independent of documents and accurate.

DOCUMENT NO. 55

Circular June 9, 1914.—From the General Staff to all military attachés in the countries adjacent to Russia, France, Italy, and Norway. In all branches of German banks in Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, and the United States special war credits have been opened for subsidiary war requirements. The General Staff is authorizing you to avail yourself in unlimited amounts of these credits for the destruction of the enemy's factories, plants, and the most important military and civil structures. Simultaneously with the instigation of strikes it is necessary to make provisions for the damaging of motors, of mechanisms, with the destruction of vessels, setting incendiary fires to stocks of raw materials and finished products, deprivation of large towns of their electric energy, stocks of fuel and provisions. Special agents, detailed to be at your disposal, will deliver to you explosive and incendiary devices and a list of such persons in the country under your observation who will assume the duty of agents of destruction.

(Signed) DR. FISCHER,
General Army Councilor.

NOTE.—Dated six weeks before the rest of the world knew it was to be warred upon, and even then making exact plans for a campaign of incited strikes and incendiary fires in the industrial plants and the yet un-created munition plants in the United States.

DOCUMENT NO. 56

Circular June 9, 1914.—General Staff to all intendancies. Within twenty-four hours after receipt of this circular you are to inform all industrial concerns that the documents with industrial-mobilization plans and with registration forms be opened, such as are referred to in the circular of the Commission of Count Waldersee and Count Caprivi, of June 27, 1887.

N. 421, DE MOBILIZATION.

NOTE.—Issued on the same day as No. 55. German industry mobilized for war three weeks before the assassination of the Austro-Hungarian heir apparent, Ferdinand, and his wife.

NOTE.—This is the content of circular of

which I have original German printed circular in form it was sent to German officials. See my report, Document No. 3.—EDGAR SISON, July 6, 1913.

DOCUMENTS 57-68

[These documents, here omitted for lack of space, are of the same general nature as the three immediately preceding.]

APPENDIX II

Illustrating the "offense tactics" of the Bolshevik leaders against Great Britain and the United States. A conversation by telegraph between Tchitcherin at Petrograd (who is speaking) and Trotzky at Brest-Litovsk in first week in February, a few days before Trotzky made his "No-peace-no-war" gesture, with its practical aspect of demobilizing the army and opening Russia's unarmed breast to Germany.

With reference to the Allies the situation is evidently favorable. Separate peace will not cause a rupture. England has reconciled herself to this in advance: The recognition of us is a matter of the near future. England and America are playing up to us separately. A few days ago there appeared a so-called head of a commercial mission, Lockhart, with a letter from Litvinoff stating that the bearer is an honest man, who, indeed, fully sympathizes with us. Indeed, he is a subtle, alert Englishman; expresses very liberal views; runs down his Government. He is a type of the diplomat of the new school. At present he is not an official representative, but de facto he is an envoy, having been sent by the War Cabinet. After our recognition he will obtain an official position with us. He promises all kinds of favors from England.

He explained that, if we should not spill the situation, our recognition is a question of the near future, but something would have to be ceded on our part. He said that no Government could tolerate intervention in its internal affairs. If we are going to raise the British people, if our agents in England will attempt to cause strikes, England will not tolerate this. It proved later that this had reference to Petroff's mission. Concerning the latter specially Lockhart said that his appointment would be difficult for England to swallow, and should he be arrested in England or not be allowed to land, we would probably reply by reprisals, and thus the whole business would be spoiled. He begged that we postpone this matter for ten or twelve days.

Simultaneously Ransome tried to persuade Petroff not to go to England. His journey in case of a conflict would put the question of a revolution in England on edge, which would be exceedingly risky. We discussed this question and decided that our strength was in attack and that whatever would happen it would

be the worse for Lloyd George & Co., and the revolution would be the gainer. We sent Petroff's passport to be viséd. Lockhart came running to us. I arranged for an interview with Petroff. Lockhart stated that the question had been referred for decision to London. We said that Russia represented a part of the world's revolutionary movement and that in this was its strength. We and our comrades in England would proclaim that this is not a concrete organization of strikes. We explained the aim of Petroff's mission—i. e., the clearing up of misunderstandings between two nations. He will appeal to all organs of the British Nation. This has also been sent by radio.

Lockhart stated that he was very well impressed and promised to telegraph advising that the visé should be granted. We await further developments. He stated that according to English information the German troops on the eastern front were so badly infected by our propaganda that no second course of barrack régime could cure them. He said that our method of fighting militarism was the most effective. We listened to this and laughed up our sleeves.

NOTE.—There in the last sentence we have it. The Bolshevik plot in Russia could be placarded a cynical farce if it were not a world tragedy. [This appendix is from an intercepted dispatch which came into the possession of Mr. Sisson.]

Report of a Special Committee on the Genuineness of the Foregoing Documents

When the foregoing documents were published in the newspapers their authenticity was questioned by The New York Evening Post and several of its correspondents. George Creel, Chairman of the Committee on Public Information, therefore requested Professor Joseph Schaefer, Vice Chairman of the National Board for Historical Service at Washington, to appoint a competent committee of experts to determine the truth or falsity of these charges. The committee thus appointed consisted of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, editor of the American Historical Review and Director of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution at Washington, and Dr. Samuel N. Harper, Professor of Russian Language and Institutions in the University of Chicago. Under date of Oct. 26, 1918, the committee made its report to Mr. Creel, and the report was appended to the pamphlet edition of the documents issued by the Government under the title, "The German-Bolshevist Conspiracy." Its essential portions are as follows:

You have also laid before us the original documents in sixteen cases, and in the other cases the photographs, on which all the translations from No. 1 to No. 53 were based, and also the mimeographed texts in Russian from which were made the translations from No. 54 to No. 68. Mr. Sisson has detailed to us, with all apparent candor, the history of his reception of the documents, and has permitted us to question him at great length as to these transactions and as to various points

relative to the papers. Several officials of the Government in Washington have obliged us by contributing other pertinent and valuable information.

In presenting the results of our investigations, we find it desirable to distinguish the documents into three groups: first, and much the largest, (I.) those presented to us in Russian originals or photographs—four-fifths of the whole set; (II.) the two documents presented to us in circulars printed in German; (III.) those documents for which no originals or photographs are presented, but the translations of which rest solely on mimeographed texts in Russian, purporting to represent originals in or from Russian archives.

In other words, our first group (I.) consists of the documents bearing the numbers 1 to 53, inclusive. Our second group (II.) consists of the two documents which appear translated in the newspaper publication as annexes to Document No. 3. They also appear, with facsimiles, after No. 3 in the proposed pamphlet; and they are identical with Nos. 56 and 58 in the appendix. Our third group (III.) embraces all the documents of Appendix I. (Nos. 54 to 68, inclusive) except Nos. 56 and 58. We comment upon these groups separately.

I. The originals and photographs composing what we have called the first group are all in the Russian language. They are type-written (save one which is printed) on letterheads of the Petrograd bureau of the German General Staff, of the *Counterespionage* at the Stavka, (army headquarters,) or of other offices in Russia, German or Russian. They are dated according to the Russian calendar, ("Old Style,") up to February, 1918, when the Bolshevik Government made the change to "New Style." We have subjected them with great care to all the applicable tests to which historical students

are accustomed to subject documents of the kind, and to as many others as we could devise and use, consistently with the need of making a reasonably early report. Besides studying whatever internal evidences could be derived from the papers themselves, we have, so far as we could, compared their versions of what went on with the actual facts. Upon the basis of these investigations we have no hesitation in declaring that we see no reason to doubt the genuineness or authenticity of these forty-three documents.

II. The two documents of our second group seem to us to call for a special, a less confident, and a less simple verdict. Printed in German, they purport to be official German orders of the year 1914—the one addressed on June 9 of that year, seven weeks before the outbreak of the war, by the General Staff of the German Army to district commandants, enjoining them to cause German industrial establishments to open their instructions respecting industrial mobilization; the other, dated Nov. 28, 1914, addressed by the General Staff of the High Seas Fleet to maritime agencies and naval societies, and calling on them to mobilize destructive agents in foreign harbors, with a view to thwarting shipments of munitions to "England, France, Canada, the United States, and Russia." The problem of their genuineness must be considered in connection with Documents Nos. 56 and 58 in the appendix, which are nearly identical with them, differing in sense only as Russian translations might easily differ from German originals.

The errors of typography, of spelling and even of grammar in these German circulars make it impossible to accept them as original prints of the General Staffs named. Certain peculiarities of expression tend in the same direction. In the naval circular the explanation, in parentheses, of the German word "Vereinigungen" by the Russian Artelen (Russian word with German plural ending) make it impossible to think of the document as one printed by the German Naval Staff for use indifferently in all the various countries in which there were German maritime agencies and naval societies. Furthermore, the reference to the United States is puzzling. On the other hand, Document No. 3, a protocol which presents exceptional evidences of genuineness, records the transfer from Russian archives into the hands of German military officials in Petrograd of two documents which it not only designates by date and number, but describes; and date, number, and description correspond to those of the two papers in question. There is other evidence in Washington of the existence of two such circulars, said to be of the dates named, in Petrograd archives in 1915. Attention should also be called to the manuscript annotations on the circulars, plainly visible in the facsimiles. On both appears, in blue pencil, a note which, properly translated, reads: "One copy

given to the Nachrichten Bureau.—Archive." That is to say, one printed copy has been handed over, in accordance with the formal record made in Document No. 3, to the Military Intelligence Bureau of the German General Staff, (a bureau which then, or soon after, was housed under the same roof with the Bolshevik Government, in the Smolny Institute,) while this present printed copy is to be put in the Russian archives. The circular dated June 9 bears also the annotation in red ink, "To the protocol [of] Nov. 2, 1917," confirming the connection asserted.

We do not think these two printed circulars to be simply forgeries. We do not think them to be, in their present shape, documents on whose entire text historians or publicists can safely rely as genuine. If we were to hazard a conjecture, it would be that they are derived, perhaps at one or two removes, from actual documents, which may have been copied in manuscript and at a later time reproduced in print. In any case they have no relation to the Bolshevik officials, except indirectly through their connection with Document No. 3, which, with or without them, shows the Petrograd office of the German General Staff desirous of withdrawing certain papers from the Russian archives, and the Bolshevik Government complying with its desires.

III. For the documents of our third group, apart from Nos. 56 and 58, we have only the Russian mimeographed texts. The originals of nearly all of them would have been written in German. We have seen neither originals nor photographs, nor has Mr. Sisson, who rightly relegates these documents to an appendix, and expresses less confidence in their evidential value than in that of his main series, Nos. 1 to 53. With such insufficient means of testing their genuineness as can be afforded by Russian translations, we can make no confident declaration. Thrown back on internal evidence alone, we can only say that we see in these texts nothing that positively excludes the notion of their being genuine, little in any of them that makes it doubtful, though guarantees of their having been accurately copied, and accurately translated into Russian, are obviously lacking.

We should say the same (except that its original is not German) of the telegraphic conversation between Tchitcherin and Trotzky, which Mr. Sisson prints as Appendix II. The letter of Joffe, on the other hand, dated Dec. 31, 1917, which he prints just after his No. 37,* stands on as strong a basis as Documents Nos. 1 to 53, for Mr. Sisson had at one time a photograph of it, derived in the same manner as his other photographs.

As to the Reichsbank order of March 2,

*Printed as Document No. 37A. It should be noted also that the "telegraphic conversation" referred to is taken from an intercepted dispatch which came directly into Mr. Sisson's hands. This, perhaps, was not made clear to the committee.

1917, printed by him as an annex to Document No. 1, the text there presented does not purport to represent more than its general substance. The reader is not asked to rely on its accuracy and completeness, and we should not wish to do so.

It remains to consider the specific criticisms, as to genuineness of the documents, advanced by The New York Evening Post and its correspondents. Most of them fall away when it is known that the main series of documents, Nos. 1 to 53, are written in Russian and dated in accordance with the calendar currently used in Petrograd, and when it is considered that, as is well known, the Bolshevik coup d'état was expected in that city for some time before it took place.

Thus, The Evening Post (of Sept. 16, 17, 18, 21, 1918) repeatedly scouts Document No. 5, dated in the newspaper publication "October, 1917," and Document No. 21, dated Nov. 1, 1917—letters addressed by the Petrograd bureau of the German General Staff to the Bolshevik Government—on the ground that on those dates, in the Berlin calendar, there was no Bolshevik Government, the Bolshevik coup having been delivered on Nov. 7 of that calendar. But these documents are not of Berlin, though they are typewritten on letterheads bearing that name in print, in the one case crossed out with the pen, in the other case not. Document No. 5 seems to have been written in Finland. We have been able to make out, in the photograph, the day-date in its heading. It is 25 October, i. e., Nov. 7 of New Style; and the Bolshevik acknowledgment at the bottom bears the date, not given in the newspaper publication, "27.X.1917," i. e., Nov. 9 of New Style. In other words, more cannot be said than that the German General Staff, not unaware of preparations of which all the world was aware in Petrograd, was prompt in action. It is a slight but significant touch that Colonel Rausch, writing from Finland on the day when the expected outbreak occurred, styles the new organization "Government (Pravitelstvo) of People's Commissaries" instead of "Council (Soviet) of People's Commissaries," the designation actually adopted.

The Post's criticism (Sept. 16) of Document

No. 2 on the ground of its mention of the "Petersburg Secret Police," (Okhrana,) assumed by the writer to have been destroyed on March 10 or 11, seems to us to have no conclusive weight. The old Okhrana was abolished by the revolution, but the revolutionary Government itself had of course its secret service, to which a German might continue to apply the old name.

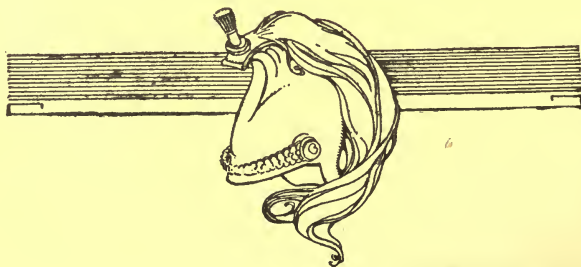
A correspondent of The Post, Mr. E. J. Omeltchenko, in its issue of Oct. 4, rightly finds it singular that Dr. von Schanz, in Documents Nos. 8 and 9, should be represented as signing himself on Jan. 8, "Representative of the Imperial Bank," and on Jan. 12, "President of the Imperial Bank." It should be explained that the Russian word used is the same in both cases, *Predstavitel* but that the translator of No. 9 wrongly translated it "President," while the translator of No. 8 translated it rightly, "Representative."

Mr. Omeltchenko also, with reference to Document No. 8, prints figures of the gold reserves of the Reichsbank and of the Bank of Sweden, November, 1917, to January, 1918, in the belief that, if the Reichsbank had at the beginning of January given the Bolshevik officials a credit in Sweden of 50,000,000 rubles gold, these figures would show the fact. We are informed on high financial authority that the Reichsbank would be able to effect such a transaction by means much less easily traced. Mr. Omeltchenko questions the need of the transaction, but the insecurity and unsettled conditions prevailing within the boundaries of the old Russian Empire might easily account for the desire of the Bolsheviks to establish a large gold credit abroad without the necessity of actually exporting gold.

Professor Edward S. Corwin, in the same issue of The Evening Post, rightly criticises the date June 9, 1914, for Document No. 55. Its proper date appears to be Nov. 2, 1914. The mimeographed Russian text bears that date. A translator, probably by confusion with No. 56, gave it the June date.

Respectfully submitted,

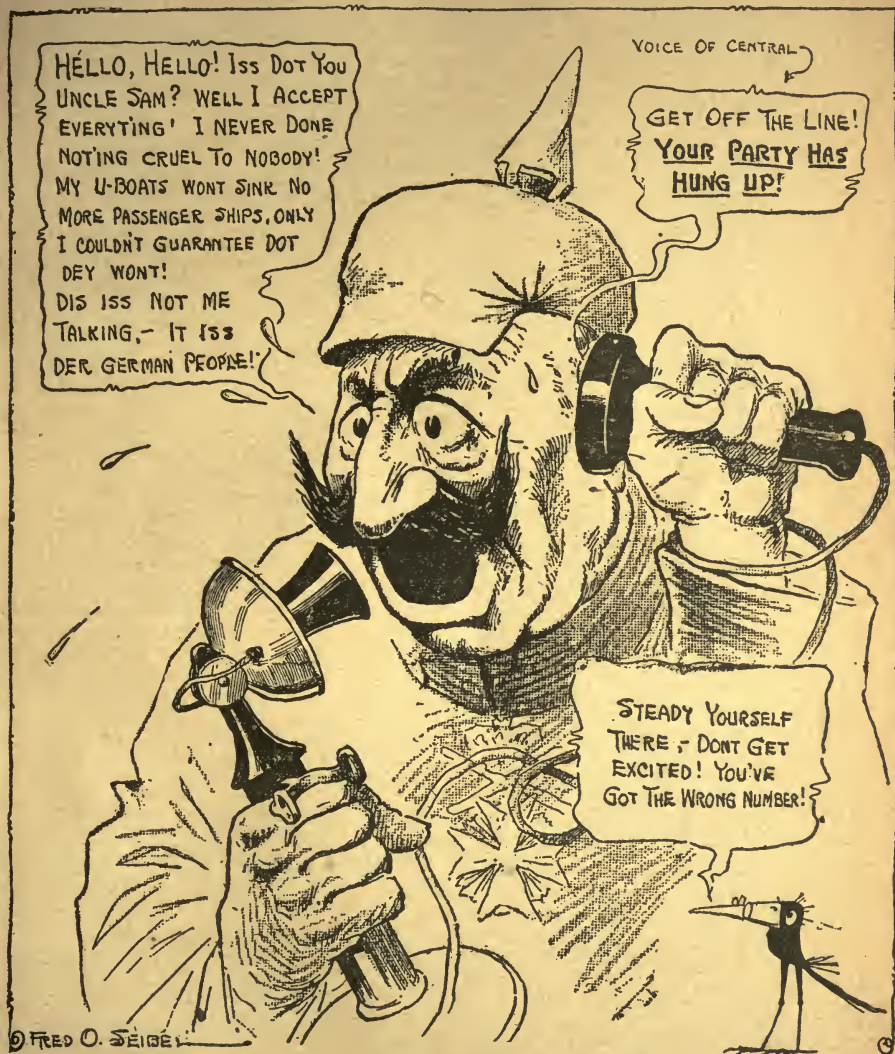
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.
SAMUEL N. HARPER.



INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR

[American Cartoon]

Nobody Home!



—From The Knickerbocker Press, Albany. (Sept., 1918.)

[American Cartoon]

A Bogus Note



—From The New York Times.

WILSON: "That signature is worthless—have the lady sign it."

[American Cartoon]

Preparing for the Chief Guest



—From The Cincinnati Commercial Tribune.

Some Essential Details Before the Table Is Really Set

[American Cartoon]

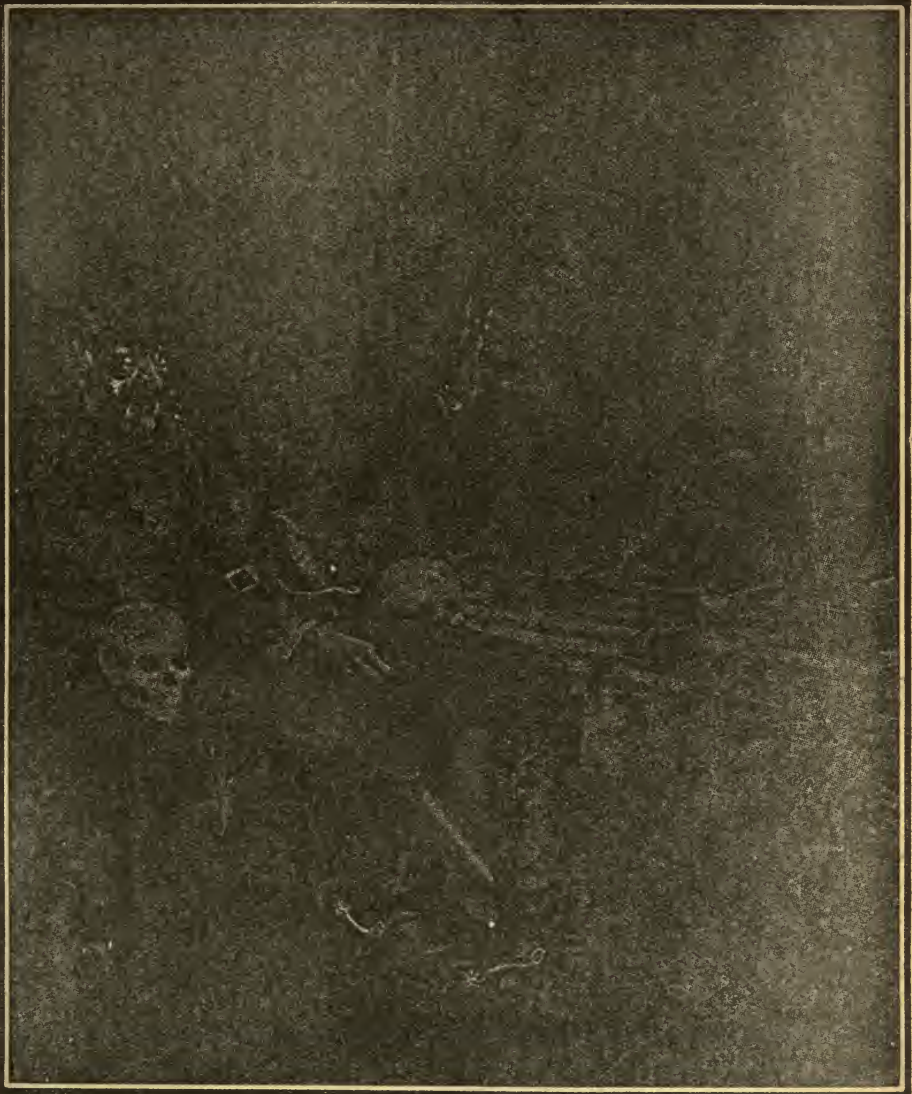
The Day of Judgment



—From The New York Herald.

[Hawaiian Cartoon]

The End of an Era



—From Paradise of the Pacific, Honolulu

[English Cartoon]

Are They As Sorry As They Look?



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

[French Cartoons]

A Capture---American Style



—From *La Baionnette*, Paris.

An Obstacle to Peace



—From *La Victoire*, Paris.

"Before I can raise my hands, alas! I must drop the swag."

[American Cartoon]

"Oh, Yes! The Kaiser Will
Sit at the Peace Table!"



—Atlanta Constitution.

[American Cartoon]

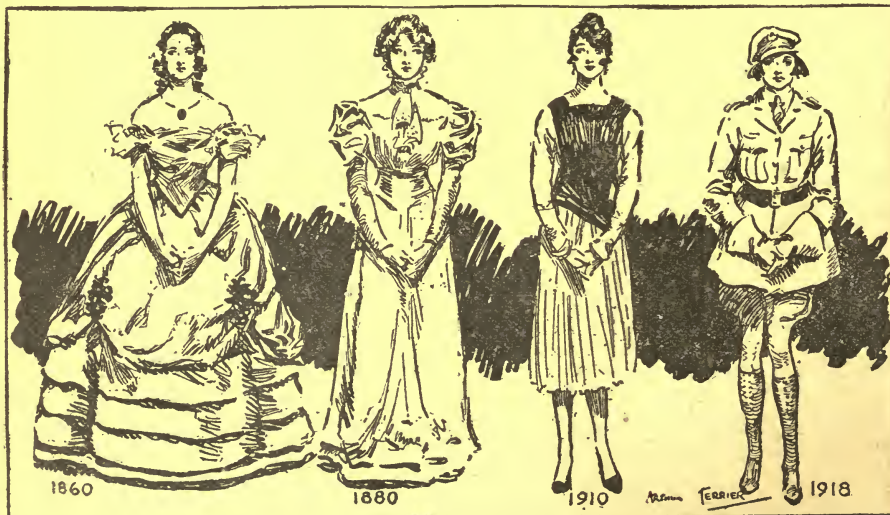
The Tune Is All Right, but
the Organist Will Not Do



—St. Joseph News-Press.

[English Cartoon]

Going—Going—Gone!



—From Cassell's Saturday Journal, London.

"No Indemnities"



Robbing the Cook



"Hoch der Kaiser !"

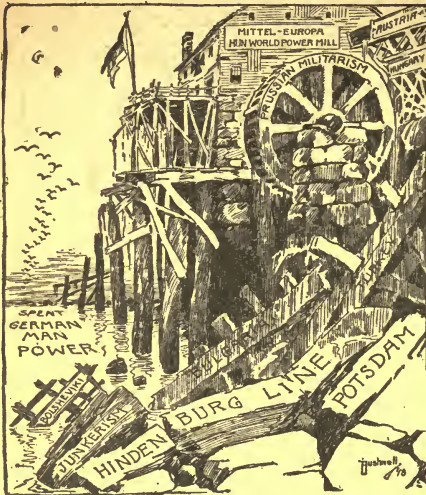


On the Tail of the Lonesome Whine



-From The San Francisco Chronicle.

After the Allied Tidal Wave



"The mill will never grind with the water that has passed."

Where the River Jordan Flows



It's the Only Way Out, Wilhelm !



Peaceful (?) Evacuation of Belgium



—Central Press Association

Too Late to Mend



The Beast That Talks Like a Man



Pleased to Meet Us!

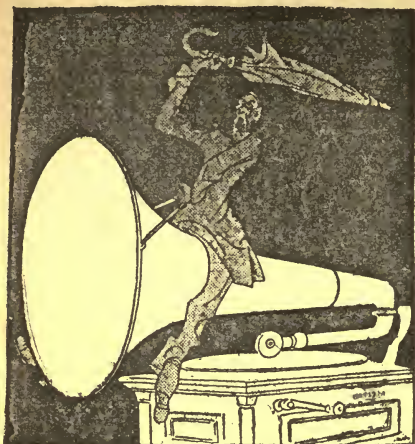


On His Last Legs



—From the Brooklyn Eagle

[German Cartoons]



—Simplicissimus, Munich (Sept., 1918)

[This German lampoon, entitled "Wilson Goes to War," represents the President as saying: "We will fight to the last man,"]



—Simplicissimus, Munich (Oct., 1918)

FRANCE AND ENGLAND: "Lord, may we make peace?"

WILSON: "Pay first!"



—Lustige Blätter, Berlin (Sept., 1918)

"In the West day and night the path to Germany's future is being made by Ludendorff's hammer."



—Der Ulk, Berlin (Sept., 1918)

John Bull is represented as saying: "I hereby grant you the rights of free and independent nations."

[English Cartoon]

The End of the Joy Ride



—Passing Show, London.

[Italian Cartoon]

The German Sword



—L'Asino, Rome.

[French Cartoon]

Victory Singing

[English Cartoon]

S. O. S.



—London Opinion.



—La Baionnette, Paris.

[American Cartoon]

"Gott,
How
I Love
Peace!"

—From
The Dayton News.



[Australian Cartoon]
Reckoning-Time



—From *The Sydney Bulletin*.

[Spanish Cartoon]

Shall We Celebrate ?



—Esquella, Barcelona.

[Italian Cartoon]

Insuring Peace



—Il 420, Florence.

KAISER: "Why are you pulling all my teeth?"

FOCH: "So that you shan't get the idea of a dinner in Paris again."

[Italian Cartoon]

After the Defeat



—L'Asino, Rome.

AUSTRIA TO GERMANY: "Don't worry; they'll decorate you, too."

[English Cartoon]

American Preparedness



—Raemackers in London Telegraph.

WILSON: "You want to sheathe the sword. I have only just begun to draw it."

[Canadian Cartoon]

Camouflage



—Montreal Daily Star.

[American Cartoon]

"I Couldn't Put It Over, Gott"



—New York World.

[French Cartoon]

"The Somme, You See, Was Papa's Verdun"



—Pêle-Mêle, Paris.

[American Cartoon]

Well, Look Who's Here!



—Dallas News.

[American Cartoon]

Wilhelm: "See! Der Coat Makes Him a Man"



—Dayton News.

[American Cartoon]

A Dinner—Not in Paris



—New York Tribune.

FOCH: "Will you carve it yourself, or shall I serve it for you?"

[English Cartoon]

The Dawn of an Idea



—Passing Show, London.

"If I didn't know petter, Fritz, I wouldt say dot der All Highest vos a verdammt liar!"

[American Cartoon]

Peace Negotiations—German Style



—New York Times.

THIEF: "Hurry up! What do I get for it?"

Final War Activities in United States

Our Army Had Reached a Total of 3,764,677 Men,
of Whom 2,200,000 Were Transported Overseas

ACTIVITIES bearing on the war continued with undiminished vigor in the United States until the signing of the armistice on Nov. 11. Following that date there was a marked slowing up in operations. Officials were cautious, because it was realized that, while hostilities had ceased, the war had not formally come to an end. Moreover, the derangement of business conditions by too sudden a cancellation of contracts had to be avoided. All further developments of war activities were governed by these considerations.

ARMY OPERATIONS

A letter from Secretary of War Baker to President Wilson on Oct. 22 gave details regarding the number of troops transported to France. The Secretary wrote in part:

In my letter of July 1, 1918, I informed you that between May 8, 1917, and June 30, 1918, over a million men had either been landed in France or were en route thereto. Since July 1, 1918, embarkations by months have been as follows:

July	306,185
August	290,818
September	261,415
October 1 to 21.....	131,398
Total	989,816
Embarked to July 1, 1918.....	1,019,115

Grand total.....2,008,931

In our overseas operations I feel that we have good reason to be proud and thankful of the results obtained. Our losses have been exceedingly small, considering the size of the force transported, and this is due to the efficient protection given American convoys by the naval forces. We also have been greatly assisted in the dispatch of troops abroad by the allocation of certain vessels from our allies, principally those of Great Britain.

The War Department announced on Nov. 11 that the American Army had reached a total strength of 3,764,677 men; of that number 2,200,000 had been sent to France, Italy, or Russia. The

remainder were under arms in camps in this country.

COST OF EACH SOLDIER

The cost of maintaining each individual of this vast force at home and abroad is thus given in a statement issued by the War Department:

Under direction of Brig. Gen. R. E. Wood, Acting Quartermaster General of the Army, statistics have been gathered from the clothing and equipage, subsistence, conservation, reclamation, and hardware and metals divisions of the Quartermaster Corps to indicate just what it costs a year to maintain a soldier overseas and in the United States. These statistics show that the cost is \$423.47 a year to equip and maintain a soldier overseas and \$327.78 to equip and maintain one in the United States.

Subsistence, figured at 69 cents per day, amounts to \$251.85 per man overseas; figured at 52 cents per day in the United States, it amounts to \$189.80 per man.

The cost of the initial equipment for the soldier the first year in the United States is \$115.30. The cost of the initial equipment of the soldier overseas for the first year is \$42.41. This cost of \$42.41 is for articles which are issued for overseas use only, and which are in addition to the regular equipment.

An idea of the immensity of supplies required by one branch of our forces overseas, for which continued financing was necessary, was shown by the following table of materials shipped from this country up to Aug. 31, 1918, by the Corps of Engineers:

Rails and accessories, standard-gauge track, tons.....	213,000
Rails and accessories, narrow-gauge track, tons.....	64,000
Structural steel, tons.....	45,000
Corrugated iron, tons.....	7,000
Barbed wire, tons.....	16,000
Lumber, including ties, stringers, and piles, (balance purchased in Europe,) tons.....	16,000
Building materials:	
Wall board, tons.....	2,000
Expanded metal, tons.....	5,000
Nails, tons.....	10,000
Camouflage materials:	
Wire netting, square yards....	2,000,000

Saint, tons.....	1,200
Burlap, square yards.....	3,000,000
Fish netting, square yards....	1,300,000
Steel warehouse sheds (covering 2,000,000 square feet).....	100

Pontoon equipment.—Pontoon equipment for three divisions has been shipped overseas and the equipment for thirty-six additional divisions is now being freighted.

It was officially announced on Oct. 18 that the Balloon Corps of the army was to be increased by 25,000 men and 1,200 officers. Before that date it numbered approximately 11,000 men.

The largest order ever given by the Government for army vehicles was announced on Oct. 22. Contracts were placed for motor trucks, ambulances, tractors, trailers, motor cycles and bicycles, calling for an expenditure of approximately \$130,000,000.

A tabulation of American Army casualties at the time the armistice was signed showed a total of slightly over 70,000, but the figures for the heaviest losses of the war were still to come. The War Department's report on Nov. 24 showed a total of 236,117 army and marine casualties; the total deaths, as announced on the same date, were 53,169.

STEPS TOWARD MOBILIZATION

Almost simultaneously with the signing of the armistice Secretary Baker sent out a cancellation of all army draft calls, under which more than 300,000 men had been ordered to entrain for camps before Nov. 30. Delinquents under the draft still remained liable to punishment. It was stated also that classification was to continue, except for registrants between the ages of 36 and 45.

The War Department announced on Nov. 15 that the development battalions would be the first to be demobilized. These embraced about 50,000 men, who for physical or other reasons were found unsuited for active military service when they were called up in the draft.

On Nov. 16, General March, Chief of Staff, announced that 200,000 soldiers in camp in the United States were to be mustered out within the next two weeks. The arrangement provided that the rate of discharge was to be 30,000 a day thereafter.

CANCELLATION OF CONTRACTS

In a letter from Secretary Baker to Senator Martin on Nov. 21 the Secretary said:

The armistice was signed on the 11th of November. Up to and including today the War Department has canceled contracts in process of execution effecting a total saving of \$438,900,818.

On contracts which have been let, but upon which no work had as yet been done, cancellations aggregate a saving of \$700,000,000.

An order was made on the 11th of November cutting out all overtime and Sunday work. The amount saved by this order aggregates about \$2,900,000 a day.

The foregoing amounts are exclusive of cancellations in aircraft production or in engineers.

In the Bureau of Aircraft Production orders have been telegraphed out stopping all production on a large number of items, including planes of various types, engines, parts, and special instruments, which aggregate, in the estimated saving, \$225,000,000.

In addition to the foregoing, plans have been made to begin the demobilization of the forces under arms in this country and to begin returning at once to the United States such portions of the armed forces abroad as are not needed for the purpose of occupying enemy territory.

THE WIRELESS TELEPHONE

John D. Ryan, Director of Aircraft Production, on Nov. 15 made public what had hitherto been an army secret—the perfection of a system of wireless telephony by which messages could be received by aviators while in flight and miles away from the sender. It had been in use in France among American fliers since February, 1918, and had proved of incalculable value in air fighting.

The transmitting set consisted of a power plant, a set box, a transmitter or microphone, and an antenna system. The power plant consisted of a generator driven on the windmill principle by the passage of the airplane through the air. It was placed somewhere in the open, usually on the running gear or on one of the wings, and its tiny propeller blade whirled vigorously as the airplane traveled along.

The so-called set box received the power from the generator, converted it and placed it on the aerals in the form

of sustained or undamped waves. The voice entering the transmitter varied the electric current on the wires, which were connected as in the ordinary telephone.

The receiving set consisted of a receiving set box, a head receiver, a source of power and an antenna system. The latter was the same as the antenna system in the transmitting set. The source of power was a small storage battery. The head receiver was built into the aviator's helmet in such a manner as to exclude sounds from the motor reaching the pilot's ear and interfering with his hearing. With this apparatus it is possible for any number of aviators to hear plainly the voice of a commander giving orders five or six miles away on the ground below.

REMOVAL OF "STATIC"

A great step forward in wireless telegraphy was announced Nov. 19 by the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company of America. Roy A. Weagant, chief engineer of the company, it was stated, had perfected an invention which removes the "static," which had hitherto been the chief obstacle to the transmission of radio messages. An official statement by the Marconi Company read:

Ever since the genius of Marconi made wireless telegraphy a fact, the only limitation of this method of communication was the deadly phenomena of "static conditions." It was "static"—the presence of a large amount of uncontrolled electricity in the air—that at the beginning of the war often entirely prostrated the wireless service even between the most powerful stations erected in Europe and America. Static conditions were responsible for abnormal delays and for the mutilation of words in wireless messages.

It remained for an American radio expert, Roy A. Weagant, chief engineer of the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company of America, to discover the solution of the static problem. Weagant practically had devoted his life to a study of this perplexing phenomenon, and the result of fifteen years of experimental work was about to be published to the world when the United States entered the war. Although patent applications had been made and the claims allowed by the United States Patent Office, the Weagant system was immediately placed at the disposal of the American Government, and every precaution was taken to keep the invention

secret until the discovery could be safely announced. With the spirit of research that has made the navy such a magnificent arm of our military service, officials of the Navy Department assigned naval experts to co-operate with the inventor in installing experimental stations in various parts of the country. These stations are now receiving messages from all the high power wireless stations of the world.

FOURTH LIBERTY LOAN

The Fourth Liberty Loan, the campaign for which began Sept. 28 and ended Oct. 19, was oversubscribed by nearly a billion dollars.

The approximate final figures for the loan were \$6,989,047,000, which was \$989,047,000, or 16.48 per cent., more than was called for. This oversubscription the Government accepted, making the total amount put into Government war loans by the people, including War Savings Stamps, \$17,852,000,000. Items included in this total were: First Loan, \$2,000,000,000; Second Loan, \$3,808,000,000; Third Loan, \$4,176,000,000, and War Savings, \$879,000,000.

In the Fourth Loan every district oversubscribed. The place of honor was held by Boston, which went beyond its quota 26.44 per cent. Richmond was a close second with 25.95 per cent.

The Fourth Loan was by far the largest floated by any country during the war, and therefore the greatest in history. The nearest to it was one by Great Britain, which was between four and five billions.

Following were the approximate final figures on subscriptions to the Fourth Liberty Loan issued by the Treasury Department:

District.	Quota.	Subscribed.	P. C.
Boston ...	\$500,000,000	\$632,221,850	126.44
Rich.	280,000,000	352,688,200	125.95
Phila.	500,000,000	598,763,650	119.75
Cleve.	600,000,000	702,059,800	117.00
Dallas ...	126,000,000	145,914,450	115.82
M'n'plis ..	210,000,000	241,628,300	115.06
San Fran.	402,000,000	459,000,000	114.17
St. Louis..	260,000,000	296,388,550	113.99
N. Y.	1,800,000,000	2,044,778,600	113.59
Atlanta ..	192,000,000	217,885,200	113.48
K. City ...	260,000,000	294,640,450	113.32
Chicago ..	870,000,000	969,209,000	111.40

Total ..	\$6,000,000,000	\$6,954,875,200	
U. S. Treas.		33,829,850	

Total ...		\$6,989,047,000	116.48
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ABOLITION OF CENSORSHIP

A tangible evidence of the ending of hostilities was the removal of censorship restrictions on all forms of communication except wireless, which still remained under the control of the navy authorities.

Censorship of telephone, telegraph, and cable lines and of the mails had been exercised during the war by a special board consisting of the Secretaries of War and the Navy, the chiefs of the Military Intelligence Bureau and the Bureau of Naval Intelligence, and George Creel, Chairman of the Committee on Public Information. To the navy was left supervision of cable terminals in this country, naval censors passing upon all outgoing messages. Matter coming in passed first over the desks of British or French censors. The abolition of the censorship restrictions occurred on Nov. 15.

COST OF THE WAR

Some illumination was thrown on the matter of war expenses by an official statement issued at Washington on Sept. 5, which showed that the Government's expenses in August were \$40,446 per minute, reaching the enormous total of \$1,805,513,000 for the month and exceeding by more than \$200,000,000 the highest previous monthly record of expense since the war began.

The total war cost to Sept. 5 was calculated at \$20,561,000,000, of which \$7,017,000,000 had been loaned to the Allies. Only a little more than one-fourth of the expense had been raised from taxation, and slightly less than three-fourths from Liberty Loans and War Stamps.

THE FOOD SITUATION

Herbert D. Hoover was appointed by President Wilson, Nov. 9, as special representative of the United States in Europe for the determination of measures of relief for European populations, in co-operation with the various Governments concerned. Mr. Hoover still retained the title of United States Food Administrator and the work in this country was to be conducted by an executive board, with which Mr. Hoover would keep in close touch.

Mr. Hoover outlined the world's need of food in an address delivered at a conference in Washington of State Food Administrators. He said in part:

We have now to consider a new world situation in food. We have to frankly survey Europe, a Europe of which a large part is either in ruins or in social conflagration; a Europe with degenerated soils and depleted herds; a Europe with the whole of its population on rations or varying degrees of starvation, and large numbers who have been under the German heel actually starving.

The group of gamblers in human life who have done this thing are now in cowardly flight, leaving anarchy and famine to millions of helpless people.

The war has been brought to an end in no small measure by starvation itself, and it cannot be our business to maintain starvation after peace.

We must consider carefully how this situation reacts upon our people. We must consider our national duty in the matter, and we must make such changes in our policies as are fitting to the new situation. The matter of prime importance to us is how much of each commodity the exporting countries can furnish between now and next harvest and how much is necessary to the importing countries in which we have a vital interest, in order to maintain health and public order in the world.

A computation on this basis showed this situation until the next harvest: A shortage of about 3,000,000,000 pounds in pork and dairy products and vegetable oils, and of dairy feeds of about 3,000,000 tons. Of beef, there were sufficient supplies to load all refrigerating ships' capacity, and there would be enough of other foodstuffs, provided the utmost economy were practiced by the American public. North America was expected to furnish 60 per cent. of the world's supply of foodstuffs, and the United States and the West Indies would export 20,000,000 tons, as against a pre-war normal of 6,000,000 tons.

SEIZURE OF OCEAN CABLES

On Nov. 19 the President issued a proclamation taking over the control of the ocean cable lines under the act of July 16, 1918. The proclamation ended with these paragraphs:

It is hereby directed that the supervision, possession, control, and operation

of such marine cable systems hereby by me undertaken shall be exercised by and through the Postmaster General, Albert S. Burleson. Said Postmaster General may perform the duties hereby and hereunder imposed upon him, so long and to such extent and in such manner as he shall determine, through the owners, managers, Boards of Directors, receivers, officers, and employees of said marine cable systems.

From and after 12 o'clock midnight on the 2d day of November, 1918, all marine cable systems included in this order and proclamation shall conclusively be deemed within the possession and control and under the supervision of said Postmaster General without further act or notice.

THE AIRCRAFT INQUIRY

On Oct. 3 ex-Justice Hughes rendered his report on the various activities connected with the manufacture of airplanes. He recommended the trial by court-martial of Colonel Edward A. Deeds and, in the criminal courts, of Lieut. Col. J. G. Vincent, Lieut. Col. W. G. Mixter, and Second Lieut. S. B. Vrooman, Jr.

It was set forth that the actual loss from condemned types of planes and engines would amount to perhaps \$20,500,000, while disbursements in the United States up to June 30 last amounted to \$106,741,490 and since June 30 to \$139,186,661.

Training planes to the number of 7,324 had been produced, 1,706 of them since June 30; 2,457 service planes, 1,928 since June 30; 14,735 engines for training planes, 4,494 since June 30; 9,937 engines for service planes, 7,545 since June 30. Still later figures for De Haviland 4's increased the number delivered to 2,556 and for Liberty motors to 10,568.

The Liberty motor was declared to be a "great success for observation and bombing planes, and for this purpose had found high favor among the Allies."

Of the production program as a whole, it was said that "we have not as yet sent from this country to the battlefield a single pursuit or combat plane, as distinguished from the heavy observation or bombing planes, and, after giving due weight to all explanations, the fact remains that such pursuit planes could

have been produced in large quantities many months ago had there been prompt decision and consistent purpose."

All civilian officials of the Aircraft Board and all naval officers attached to it were freed from blame for the situation. Major Gen. George O. Squier was called "incompetent," but no worse.

THE INFLUENZA EPIDEMIC

The scourge of Spanish influenza that had swept the country finally abated, though not until it had claimed a heavy toll of victims. Complete statistics were not at hand, but a Census Bulletin stated that in forty-six cities the total fatalities due to the disease were 82,306. This was considerably more than double the number of American soldiers who were killed in battle or died of wounds.

THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION

The rejoicing felt by the nation at the victorious termination of hostilities was mirrored in the Thanksgiving proclamation issued by the President Nov. 17. The proclamation, which set Nov. 28 as the date, in part follows:

It has long been our custom to turn in the Autumn of the year in praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God for His many blessings and mercies to us as a nation. This year we have special and moving cause to be grateful and to rejoice. God has in His good pleasure given us peace. It has not come as a mere cessation of arms, a relief from the strain and tragedy of war. It has come as a great triumph of Right. Complete victory has brought us, not peace alone, but the confident promise of a new day as well, in which justice shall replace force and jealous intrigue among the nations. Our gallant armies have participated in a triumph which is not marred or stained by any purpose of selfish aggression. In a righteous cause they have won immortal glory and have nobly served their nation in serving mankind. God has indeed been gracious. We have cause for such rejoicing as revives and strengthens in us all the best traditions of our national history. A new day shines about us, in which our hearts take new courage and look forward with new hope to new and greater duties.

While we render thanks for these things, let us not forget to seek the

Divine guidance in the performance of those duties, and Divine mercy and forgiveness for all errors of act or purpose, and pray that in all that we do we shall strengthen the ties of friendship and mutual respect upon which we must assist to build the new structure of peace and good-will among the nations.

OUR OPERATIONS IN FRANCE

On the morning of Nov. 11 the United States had in France 78,391 officers and 1,881,376 men, a total of almost 2,000,000, and there were 750,000 combat troops in the Argonne sector, not including units on other parts of the front.

Since war was declared, 967 standard gauge American locomotives and 13,174 standard gauge freight cars had been shipped over and operated, along with the operation of 350 locomotives and 973 cars of foreign origin. Engineers constructed 843 miles of standard gauge railroad, 500 miles being built between June 1 and Nov. 11, 1918.

Where railroads were unnecessary the engineers constructed miles of roadway for the operation of 53,000 motor vehicles of all descriptions.

In the construction and improvement of dockage and warehouses, the work was proportionate, the warehouses alone having an aggregate floor area of almost 23,000,000 square feet. Dredging operations were expanded and dock facilities greatly increased.

Figures gathered by The Associated Press showed also that the American Army was in no danger of food shortage, as it had on hand in France Nov. 11 390,000,000 rations of beans, 183,000,000 rations of flour and substitutes, 267,000,000 of milk, 161,000,000 of butter and substitutes, 143,000,000 of sugar, 89,000,000 of meat, 57,000,000 of coffee, and 113,000,000 of rice, hominy and other

foods, with flavorings, fruits, candy and potatoes in proportion. For smokers there were 761,000,000 rations of cigarettes and tobacco in other forms.

DEMobilIZING THE FORCES

The demobilization of the American forces in Europe began Nov. 21. A transport loaded with sick, wounded, and discharged troops left Liverpool Nov. 23. At the same time it was announced that eight divisions of National Guard and National Army troops, eight regiments of coast artillery and two brigades of field artillery would be returned immediately to the United States. The troops first to be returned were the following:

National Guard—Thirty-first, (Georgia, Alabama, and Florida;) 34th, (Nebraska, Iowa, South Dakota, and Minnesota;) 38th, (Indiana, Kentucky, and West Virginia,) and 39th, (Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana.)

National Army—Seventy-sixth, (New England;) 84th, (Kentucky, Indiana, and Southern Illinois;) 86th, Northern Illinois, including Chicago,) and 87th, (Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Southern Alabama.)

The coast artillery regiments to be returned as soon as possible were announced as the 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 73d, 74th, and 75th. The two field artillery brigades to be brought home are the 65th and 163d. Eighty-two aero squadrons, seventeen construction companies, and several special units will be brought home from England as soon as transportation facilities are available, General March said.

It was announced that an army of 1,200,000 would remain in Europe for some time.

It was also announced Nov. 23 that the total number of Germans taken prisoner by the Americans was 44,000; the number of American prisoners taken by the Germans was slightly in excess of 2,100.



The American, British, and German Losses in the War

GENERAL PERSHING informed the War Department on Nov. 23 that the total casualties in the American Expeditionary Forces had aggregated 236,117. This was three times the number estimated at the time the armistice was signed. It was explained that the discrepancy between the actual figures and the estimates based on reports up to Nov. 15, 1918, was due to the difficulty in sending by cable the full lists of casualties; moreover, it was explained that the losses by the Americans in the last four weeks of the war were much heavier than during any preceding period.

The total casualties as reported on Nov. 23 by General Pershing were as follows:

Killed or died of wounds.....	36,154
Died of disease	14,811
Deaths unclassified	2,204
Wounded	179,625
Prisoners	1,163
Missing	1,160

Total236,117

BRITISH AND GERMAN LOSSES

The detailed figures of the British War Office, issued late in November, 1918, giving the casualties in all the areas in which the British Armies fought, show that of the total casualties 21.6 per cent. were killed, 66.6 per cent. wounded, and 11.8 per cent. listed among the missing, including prisoners. The German proportions are practically identical for the missing and prisoners, being 11.9 per cent. The German percentage for killed, however, which is 24.9, is higher, and the percentage for wounded, which is 63.2, is lower than those reported by the British. These differences were explained by the fact that the figures for wounded as given by the Germans include only the number of men wounded, exclusive of second and third wounds suffered by the same men, whereas these additional wounds are included in the British fig-

ures as accepted casualties, thereby swelling the number of wounded.

The percentages of killed, wounded, and missing or prisoners, based on British and German official reports, are shown in the following tables:

BRITISH CASUALTIES

OFFICERS

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
France	32,769	83,142	10,846	126,757
Dardanelles	1,785	3,010	258	5,053
Mesopotamia	1,340	2,429	566	4,335
Egypt	1,098	2,311	183	3,592
Saloniki ...	285	818	114	1,217
East Africa	380	478	38	896
Italy	86	334	38	458
Other thea.	133	142	51	326
Total	37,876	92,664	12,094	142,634

MEN

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
France	526,843	1,750,203	315,849	2,592,895
Dardanelles	31,737	75,508	7,431	114,676
Mesopotamia	29,769	48,686	14,789	93,244
Egypt	14,794	35,762	3,705	54,261
Saloniki ...	7,330	16,058	2,713	26,101
East Africa	8,724	7,276	929	16,929
Italy	941	4,612	727	6,280
Other thea.	690	1,373	908	2,971

Total 620,828 1,939,478 347,051 2,907,357

TOTAL OFFICERS AND MEN

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
France	559,612	1,833,345	326,695	2,719,652
Dardanelles	33,522	78,518	7,689	119,729
Mesopotamia	31,109	51,115	15,355	97,579
Egypt	15,892	38,073	3,888	57,853
Saloniki ...	7,615	16,876	2,827	27,318
East Africa	9,104	7,754	967	17,825
Italy	1,027	4,946	765	6,738
Other thea.	823	1,515	959	3,297

Total 658,704 2,032,142 359,145 3,049,991

GERMAN CASUALTIES

[As reported by a German socialist newspaper, Vorwärts, on Nov. 15, 1918]

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
All fronts..	1,580,000	4,000,000	650,000	6,330,000

No official figures were available Nov. 22, 1918, upon which to compute the approximate losses of the other belligerent nations in the war.

Austria's Ultimatum to Serbia

Full Text of the Document That Started the World War, and Serbia's Reply to It

AT 6 o'clock in the evening of July 23, 1914, the Austro-Hungarian Minister at Belgrade presented to the Serbian Government a note containing the demands of the Dual Monarchy with regard to the suppression of the Pan-Serbian movement and the punishment of Serbians alleged to have been concerned in the murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, who had been shot on June 28 by an Austro-Hungarian subject. The document which sought to make Serbia a vassal of Austria-Hungary and which, with Germany's backing, started the greatest war in the history of the world, is here presented in full:

On March 31, 1909, the Royal Serbian Minister in Vienna, on the instructions of the Serbian Government, made the following statements to the Imperial and Royal Government:

"Serbia recognizes that the fait accompli regarding Bosnia has not affected her rights, and consequently she will conform to the decisions that the powers will take in conformity with Article XXV. of the Treaty of Berlin. At the same time that Serbia submits to the advice of the powers she undertakes to renounce the attitude of protest and opposition which she has adopted since October last. She undertakes, on the other hand, to modify the direction of her policy with regard to Austria-Hungary and to live in future on good neighborly terms with the latter."

The history of recent years, and in particular the painful events of June 28 last, have shown the existence in Serbia of a subversive movement with the object of detaching a part of Austria-Hungary from the monarchy. The movement, which had its birth under the eyes of the Serbian Government, has had consequences on both sides of the Serbian frontier in the shape of acts of terrorism and a series of outrages and murders.

Far from carrying out the formal undertakings contained in the declaration of March 31, 1909, the Royal Serbian Government has done nothing to repress these movements. It has permitted the criminal machinations of various societies and associations, and has tolerated unrestrained language on the part of the press, apologies for the perpetrators of outrages, and the participation of officers and functionaries in subversive agitation. It has permitted

an unwholesome propaganda in public instruction. In short, it has permitted all the manifestations which have incited the Serbian population to hatred of the monarchy and contempt of its institutions.

This culpable tolerance of the Royal Serbian Government had not ceased at the moment when the events of June 28 last proved its fatal consequences to the whole world.

It results from the depositions and confessions of the criminal perpetrators of the outrage of June 28 that the Serajevo assassinations were hatched in Belgrade, that the arms and explosives with which the murderers were provided had been given to them by Serbian officers and functionaries belonging to the Narodna Obrana, and, finally, that the passage into Bosnia of the criminals and their arms was organized and effected by the chiefs of the Serbian frontier service.

The above-mentioned results of the magisterial investigation do not permit the Austro-Hungarian Government to pursue any longer the attitude of expectant forbearance which it has maintained for years in face of the machinations hatched in Belgrade and thence propagated in the territories of the monarchy. These results, on the contrary, impose on it the duty of putting an end to intrigues which form a perpetual menace to the tranquillity of the monarchy.

To achieve this end, the Imperial and Royal Government sees itself compelled to demand from the Serbian Government a formal assurance that it condemns this dangerous propaganda against the monarchy and the territories belonging to it, and that the Royal Serbian Government shall no longer permit these machinations and this criminal and perverse propaganda.

In order to give a formal character to this undertaking the Royal Serbian Government shall publish on the front page of its official journal for July 26 the following declaration:

"The Royal Government of Serbia condemns the propaganda directed against Austria-Hungary, i. e., the ensemble of tendencies of which the final aim is to detach from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy territories belonging to it, and it sincerely deplores the fatal consequences of these criminal proceedings.

"The Royal Government regrets that Serbian officers and functionaries participated in the above-mentioned propaganda and thus compromised the good, neighborly relations to which the Royal Government

was solemnly pledged by its declaration of March 31, 1909. The Royal Government, which disapproves and repudiates all idea of interfering or attempt to interfere with the destinies of the inhabitants of any part whatsoever of Austria-Hungary, considers it its duty formally to warn officers and functionaries, and the whole population of the kingdom, that henceforth it will proceed with the utmost rigor against persons who may be guilty of such machinations, which it will use all its efforts to anticipate and suppress."

This declaration shall simultaneously be communicated to the royal army as an order of the day by his Majesty the King, and shall be published in the official bulletin of the army.

The Royal Serbian Government further undertakes:

1. To suppress any publications which incite to hatred and contempt of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the general tendency of which is directed against its territorial integrity.

2. To dissolve immediately the society styled Narodna Obrana, to confiscate all its means of propaganda, and to proceed in the same manner against other societies and their branches in Serbia which are addicted to propaganda against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The Royal Government shall take the necessary measures to prevent the societies dissolved from continuing their activity under another name and form.

3. To eliminate without delay from public instruction in Serbia, not only as regards the teaching body, but also as regards the methods of instruction, everything that serves or might serve to foment the propaganda against Austria-Hungary.

4. To remove from the military service and from the Administration in general all officers and functionaries guilty of propaganda against the Austro-Hungarian Mon-

archy, whose names and deeds the Austro-Hungarian Government reserves to itself the right of communicating to the Royal Government.

5. To accept the collaboration in Serbia of representatives of the Austro-Hungarian Government in the suppression of the subversive movement directed against the territorial integrity of the monarchy.

6. To take judicial proceedings against accessories to the plot of June 28 who are on Serbian territory. Delegates of the Austro-Hungarian Government will take part in the investigation relating thereto.

7. To proceed without delay to the arrest of Major Voija Tankositch and of the individual named Milan Ciganovitch, a Serbian State employe, who have been compromised by the results of the magisterial inquiry at Serajevo.

8. To prevent by effective measures the co-operation of the Serbian authorities in the illicit traffic in arms and explosives across the frontier, to dismiss and punish severely officials of the frontier service at Achabatz and Loznica guilty of having assisted the perpetrators of the Serajevo crime by facilitating the passage of the frontier for them.

9. To furnish the Austro-Hungarian Government with explanations regarding the unjustifiable utterances of high Serbian officials, both in Serbia and abroad, who, notwithstanding their official position, did not hesitate after the crime of June 28 to express themselves in interviews in terms of hostility to the Austro-Hungarian Government; and finally:

10. To notify the Austro-Hungarian Government without delay of the execution of the measures comprised under the preceding heads.

The Austro-Hungarian Government expects the reply of the Serbian Government at the latest by 6 o'clock on Saturday evening, the 25th of July.

Austria-Hungary's Circular Note

Following the dispatch of the foregoing ultimatum to Serbia the Austro-Hungarian Government on July 24, 1914, sent a circular note to its embassies in Germany, France, England, Italy, Russia, and Turkey, explaining its action in the following terms:

The Imperial and Royal Government has felt itself compelled to forward on Thursday, the 23d inst., to the Royal Serbian Government, through its Imperial and Royal Minister in Belgrade, the following note:

(Here follows the Austro-Hungarian note to Serbia.)

I have the honor to request your Excellency to bring the contents of this note

before the Government to which you are accredited, and to accompany this with the following explanations: On the 31st March, 1909, the Royal Serbian Government addressed a statement to Austria-Hungary, the text of which is repeated above. Almost on the following day Serbia's policy took a direction tending to rouse ideas subversive to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the minds of the Serbian subjects, and thereby to prepare for the detachment of those districts of Austria-Hungary which adjoin the Serbian frontier.

A large number of agents are employed in furthering by all possible means the agitation against Austria-Hungary to corrupt the youth of those territories of Austria-Hungary bordering on Serbia. The spirit of conspiracy which animates Serbian

political circles and which has left its bloody traces in the history of Serbia has grown since the last Balkan crisis. Members of bands who up to that time had found occupation in Macedonia have since placed themselves at the disposal of the terrorist propaganda against Austria-Hungary. The Serbian Government has never considered itself obliged to take steps of any kind against the intrigues to which Austria-Hungary has been exposed for years.

The patience which the Imperial and Royal Government has observed toward the provocative attitude of Serbia is to be attributed to the fact that she knew herself to be free from all territorial interests and to the hope which she did not abandon that the Serbian Government would eventually prize at its worth the friendship of Austria-Hungary. The Imperial and Royal Government thought that a benevolent attitude toward the political interests of Serbia would eventually call for a similar attitude from that kingdom.

Austria-Hungary expected an evolution of this nature in the political ideas of Serbia, more especially at the time following the events of the year 1912, when the Imperial and Royal Government, by its disinterested attitude, from any suggestion of ill-will, made possible the important extension of Serbia.

Serbia's Reply to the Ultimatum

Serbia's answer to the Austro-Hungarian note was sent on July 25, 1914. It conceded all the demands except two, which infringed upon its rights as a sovereign State, and these two it offered to submit to arbitration. The text of Serbia's reply follows:

The Royal Serbian Government has received the communication of the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government of the 10th of this month and it is persuaded that its reply will remove all misunderstanding tending to threaten or to prejudice the friendly and neighborly relations between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Kingdom of Serbia.

The Royal Government is aware that the protests made both at the tribune of the National Skupshtina and in the declarations and the acts of responsible representatives of the State—protests which were cut short by the declaration of the Serbian Government made on March 18—have not been renewed toward the great neighboring monarchy on any occasion, and that since this time, both on the part of the Royal Governments which have followed on one another, and on the part of their organs,

The sympathy which Austria-Hungary demonstrated in its neighbor nevertheless made no change in the conduct of that kingdom, which continued to permit on its territory a propaganda, the lamentable consequences of which were made evident to the whole world on June 28 this year, when the heir apparent of the Dual Monarchy and his illustrious consort fell the victims to a plot hatched in Belgrade.

In view of this state of affairs the Imperial and Royal Government found itself compelled to take a fresh and energetic step in Belgrade, of such a nature as to induce the Serbian Government to put an end to a movement which threatened the security and integrity of Austria-Hungary. The Imperial and Royal Government is convinced that in taking this step it is acting in complete harmony with the feelings of all civilized nations, which cannot agree that royal assassinations can be made a weapon to be used unpunished in political struggles, and that the peace of Europe may be incessantly disturbed by intrigues which emanate from Belgrade.

In support of these statements, the Imperial and Royal Government holds at the disposal of the Government to which you are accredited a dossier dealing with the Serbian propaganda, and showing the connection of this propaganda with the assassination of June 28.

no attempt has been made with the purpose of changing the political and judicial state of things in this respect.

The Imperial and Royal Government has made no representations save concerning a scholastic book regarding which the Imperial and Royal Government has received an entirely satisfactory explanation. Serbia has repeatedly given proofs of her pacific and moderate policy during the Balkan crises, and it is thanks to Serbia and the sacrifice she made exclusively in the interest of the peace of Europe that this peace has been preserved. The Royal Government cannot be held responsible for manifestations of a private nature, such as newspaper articles and the peaceful work of societies—manifestations which occur in almost all countries as a matter of course, and which, as a general rule, escape official control—all the less in that the Royal Government, when solving a whole series of questions which came up between Serbia and Austria-Hungary, has displayed a great readiness to treat, (prevenance,) and in this way succeeded in settling the greater number to the advantage of the progress of the two neighboring countries.

It is for this reason that the Royal Government has been painfully surprised by the

statements, according to which persons of the Kingdom of Serbia are said to have taken part in the preparation of the outrage committed at Serajevo. It expected that it would be invited to collaborate in the investigation of everything bearing on this crime, and it was ready to prove by its actions its entire correctness to take steps against all persons with regard to whom communications had been made to it, thus acquiescing in the desire of the Imperial and Royal Government.

The Royal Government is disposed to hand over to the courts any Serbian subject, without regard to his situation and rank, for whose complicity in the crime of Serajevo it shall have been furnished with proofs, and especially it engages itself to have published on the front page of the Official Journal of July 13-26 the following announcement:

"The Royal Serbian Government condemns all propaganda directed against Austria-Hungary, that is to say, all tendencies as a whole of which the ultimate object is to detach from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy territories which form part of it, and it sincerely deprecates the fatal consequence of these criminal actions. The Royal Government regrets that Serbian officers and officials should, according to the communication of the Imperial and Royal Government, have participated in the above-mentioned propaganda, thereby compromising the good neighborly relations to which the Royal Government solemnly pledged itself by its declaration of the 31st of March, 1909. The Government, which disapproves and repudiates any idea or attempt to interfere in the destinies of the inhabitants of any part of Austria-Hungary whatsoever, considers it its duty to utter a formal warning to the officers, the officials, and the whole population of the kingdom that henceforth it will proceed with the utmost rigor against persons who render themselves guilty of such actions, which it will use all its efforts to prevent and repress."

This announcement shall be brought to the cognizance of the royal army by an order of the day issued in the name of his Majesty the King by H. R. H. the Crown Prince Alexander, and shall be published in the next official bulletin of the army.

1. The Royal Government engages itself, furthermore, to lay before the next regular meeting of the Skupstina an amendment to the press law, punishing in the severest manner incitements to hate and contempt of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and also all publications of which the general tendency is directed against the territorial integrity of the monarchy. It undertakes at the forthcoming revision of the Constitution to introduce in Article XXII. of the Constitution an amendment whereby the above publications may be confiscated, which is at

present categorically forbidden by the terms of Article XXII. of the Constitution.

2. The Government does not possess any proof, nor does the note of the Imperial and Royal Government furnish such, that the society Narodna Obrana and other similar societies have up to the present committed any criminal acts of this kind through the instrumentality of one of their members. Nevertheless, the Royal Government will accept the demand of the Imperial and Royal Government and will dissolve the Narodna Obrana Society and any other society which shall agitate against Austria-Hungary.

3. The Royal Serbian Government engages itself to eliminate without delay for public instruction in Serbia everything which aids or might aid in fomenting the propaganda against Austro-Hungary when the Imperial and Royal Government furnishes facts and proofs of this propaganda.

4. The Royal Government also agrees to remove from the military service (all persons) whom the judicial inquiry proves to have been guilty of acts directed against the integrity of the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and it expects the Imperial and Royal Government to communicate at an ulterior date the names and the deeds of these officers and officials, for the purposes of the proceedings which will have to be taken.

5. The Royal Government must confess that it is not quite clear as to the sense and object of the demands of the Imperial and Royal Government that Serbia should undertake to accept on her territory the collaboration of delegates of the Imperial and Royal Government, but it declares that it will admit whatever collaboration which may be in accord with the principles of international law and criminal procedure, as well as with good neighborly relations.

6. The Royal Government, as goes without saying, considers it to be its duty to open an inquiry against all those who are, or shall eventually prove to have been, involved in the plot of June 28, and who are in Serbian territory. As to the participation at this investigation of agents of the Austro-Hungarian authorities delegated for this purpose by the Imperial and Royal Government, the Royal Government cannot accept this demand, for it would be a violation of the Constitution and of the law of criminal procedure. Nevertheless, in concrete cases it might be found possible to communicate the results of the investigation in question to the Austro-Hungarian representatives.

7. On the very evening that the note was handed in the Royal Government arrested Major Voija Tankositch. As for Milan Ciganovitch, who is a subject of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and who, until June 15 was employed as a beginner in the administration of the railways, it has not yet been possible to (arrest) him. In view of the ultimate inquiry the Imperial and Royal Government is requested to have the goodness to communicate in the usual form as

soon as possible the presumptions of guilt as well as the eventual proofs of guilt against these persons which have been collected up to the present in the investigations at Serajevo.

8. The Serbian Government will strengthen and extend the measures taken to prevent the illicit traffic of arms and explosives across the frontier. It goes without saying that it will immediately order an investigation, and will severely punish the frontier officials along the line Schabatz-Losnitz who have been lacking in their duties and who allowed the authors of the crime of Serajevo to pass.

9. The Royal Government will willingly give explanations regarding the remarks made in interviews by its officials, both in Serbia and abroad, after the attempt, and which, according to the statement of the Imperial and Royal Government, were hostile toward the monarchy, as soon as the Imperial and Royal Government has (forwarded) it the passages in question of these

remarks and as soon as it has shown that the remarks made were in reality made by the officials regarding whom the Royal Government itself will see about collecting proofs.

10. The Royal Government will inform the Imperial and Royal Government of the execution of the measures comprised in the preceding points, in as far as that has not already been done by the present note, as soon as each measure has been ordered and executed.

In the event of the Imperial and Royal Government not being satisfied with this reply, the Royal Serbian Government, considering that it is to the common interest not to precipitate the solution of this question, is ready, as always, to accept a pacific understanding, either by referring this question to the decision of The Hague International Tribunal or to the great powers which took part in the drawing up of the declaration made by the Serbian Government on March 18-31, 1909.

Denunciation and Declaration of War

The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office denounced Serbia's reply on July 27 in the following terms, and issued a formal declaration of war the next day:

The object of the Serbian note is to create the false impression that the Serbian Government is prepared in great measure to comply with our demands.

As a matter of fact, however, Serbia's note is filled with the spirit of dishonesty, which clearly lets it be seen that the Serbian Government is not seriously determined to put an end to the culpable tolerance it hitherto has extended to intrigues against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The Serbian note contains such far-reaching reservations and limitations not only regarding the general principles of our action, but also in regard to the individual claims we have put forward that the concessions actually made by Serbia become insignificant.

In particular our demand for the participation of the Austro-Hungarian authorities in investigations to detect accomplices in the conspiracy on Serbian territory has been rejected, while our request that measures be taken against that section of the Serbian press hostile to Austria-Hungary has been declined, and our wish that the Serbian Government take the necessary measures to prevent the dissolved Austrophobe associations continuing their activity under another name and under another form has not even been considered.

Since the claims in the Austro-Hungarian note of July 23, regard being had to the attitude hitherto adopted by Serbia, represent the minimum of what is necessary for the establishment of permanent peace with the

Southeastern monarchy, the Serbian answer must be regarded as unsatisfactory.

That the Serbian Government itself is conscious that its note is not acceptable to us is proved by the circumstance that it proposes at the end of the note to submit the dispute to arbitration—an invitation which is thrown into its proper light by the fact that, three hours before handing in the note, a few minutes before the expiration of the time limit, the mobilization of the Serbian Army took place.

The text of the Austro-Hungarian declaration of war against Serbia, issued July 28, runs as follows:

The Royal Government of Serbia not having replied in a satisfactory manner to the note remitted to it by the Austro-Hungarian Minister in Belgrade on July 23, 1914, the Imperial and Royal Government finds itself compelled to proceed to safeguard its rights and interests and to have recourse for this purpose to force of arms.

Austria-Hungary considers itself, therefore, from this moment in a state of war with Serbia.

COUNT BERCHTOLD,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary.

After vainly pleading with the Kaiser to intervene for peace, the Czar of Russia mobilized a portion of his army to go to the aid of Serbia; Germany invaded Belgium, Great Britain declared war on Germany, and the great conflict that was to shake the world for more than four years had begun.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From October 19 Up to and Including November 15, 1918

UNITED STATES

The Fourth Liberty Loan campaign closed Oct. 19. Subscriptions amounted to \$6,989,047,000.

As a result of the signing of the armistice with Germany, the War Industries Board issued orders on Nov. 12 removing many restrictions on public improvements and cutting by 50 per cent. the curtailment which had been placed on forty-two classes of industries.

Secretary Daniels lifted the ban on shipping news Nov. 12.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The American steamship Lucia, which had her lower holds fitted with rubber-bound barrels, and which was believed to be unsinkable, was torpedoed and sunk Oct. 19. All except four members of the crew were rescued.

On Oct. 20 Spain received an official communication from the German Government saying that the Admiralty had ordered submarines to return immediately to their bases. On the same day word was received that the steamer Maria, which had been requisitioned by the Spanish Government, had been sunk.

Losses of British shipping due to enemy action and marine risk amounted to 151,593 gross tons, the lowest monthly total in more than two years. Losses for the quarter ended in September were 510,551 gross tons.

Andrew Bonar Law announced in the House of Commons Oct. 29 that there had been a cessation of U-boat attacks on passenger steamships.

The British battleship Britannia was torpedoed off Gibraltar Nov. 9.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Oct. 19—Allied armies reach the Dutch frontier; British extend their gains east of Douai, capturing several villages, and approach Tournai; Americans and British advance southeast of Cambrai; Germans begin evacuation of Brussels; French reach the Hunding line in Champagne and capture St. Germainmont; Americans pierce the Kriemhilde line at several points between the Argonne and the Meuse and force Germans to retire to the Freya line.

Oct. 21.—Allies push forward on a ninety-mile front from the Dutch border to the Oise east of St. Quentin; Germans in Northern Belgium forced back upon Ghent and the Scheldt.

Oct. 23—Americans on the Verdun front occupy Brieuilles, the Bois de Forêt, and Banthéville; British gain three miles in advance on a seventeen-mile front from Le Cateau to the Scheldt River.

Oct. 24—British drive Germans back on the whole front between the Sambre Canal and the Scheldt and take several strongholds on both sides of Valenciennes; Americans advance on both sides of the Meuse.

Oct. 25—British reach the Le Quesnoy-Valenciennes railway on a front of six miles; French attack on the Serre and the Aisne on a front of forty miles, and advance their lines at all points; Americans clear Belleau Wood of Germans and hold Hill 360 in fierce fighting.

Oct. 27—French advance on a fifteen-mile front between the Oise and Serre, gaining five miles at some points.

Oct. 29—Americans shell Conflans region; French attack on a seven-and-one-half-mile line east of Laon.

Nov. 1—First American Army attacks on a front of over fifteen miles north of Verdun, advancing nearly four miles at some points and freeing a dozen towns, aided by the French.

Nov. 2—British capture Valenciennes; Americans break through Freya line on a wide front, taking Champigneulle, Buzancy, Fosse, Barricourt, Villers-devant-Dun, and Doolcon.

Nov. 3—Americans continue advance north of Verdun, taking several towns, and joining with the French near Noirval; Franco-Belgian troops reach a line within five miles of Ghent.

Nov. 5—Germans retreat on a 75-mile front from the Scheldt to the Aisne; Americans cross the Meuse at three points below Stenay.

Nov. 6—Germans order retreat across the Meuse on the front of the American Army; Mouzon in flames; Vervins, Rethel, and other towns won; Sedan fired.

Nov. 7—Americans take Sedan; French troops east of the Oise and north of the Aisne push forward ten miles; 100 villages redeemed.

Nov. 8—French reach the outskirts of Mézières, advance beyond the La Capelle-Avesnes road, and take Thon bridgeheads; Americans drive Germans out of last dominating position east of the Meuse.

Nov. 9—French cavalry crosses the Belgian border; Hirson captured; British take

Maubeuge and Tournai; Americans clinch control on both sides of the Meuse.

Nov. 10—Americans attack on seventy-one-mile front; Stenay stronghold taken.

Nov. 11—British take Mons; fighting ceases under armistice.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Oct. 24—Allied forces begin offensive between the Brenta and Piave Rivers.

Oct. 25—Italians advance across the Ornic River in the Monte Grappa sector and capture Monte Solarole; British capture islands in the Piave; French take Monte Sisemol, on the Asiago Plateau.

Oct. 27—Italians and British force passage of the Piave and capture several towns in new drive toward the Isonzo.

Oct. 30—Italians reach Vittorio, and drive the Austrians back along the Piave from the mountains to the sea.

Oct. 31—Italians reach Ponte nelle Alpi, thus dividing the Austrian armies, and cut off fifteen Austrian divisions between the Brenta and the Piave by the capture of the mountain pass of Vadal; Austria asks for armistice.

Nov. 1—Armistice terms handed to Austria; Italians cross the Livenza River.

Nov. 2—Italians advance northward in the Trentino as far as the Sugana Valley.

Nov. 3—Italians take Trent and Trieste; their cavalry enters Udine; fighting ceases under armistice.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Oct. 19—Last remaining territory in Macedonia invaded by the Bulgarians is reoccupied by Greeks.

Oct. 21—French troops reach the Danube near Vidin, shell an enemy monitor, and drive it ashore.

Oct. 26—Serbs occupy Kralievo; Italian cavalry reaches the Bulgar frontier.

Oct. 28—Italians in Albania cross the Mati River and march on Alessio; Allies in Serbia occupy Kragujevatz and Jogodina.

Oct. 30—Austrians flee from Montenegro; Cetinje and other cities seized by insurgents; Scutari occupied by Albanian freebooters and Montenegrin volunteers.

Nov. 1—German troops withdraw to the north bank of the Danube at Belgrade.

Nov. 3—Serbian Army reoccupies Belgrade; Second Army reaches Bosnian frontier.

Nov. 4—Serbs enter Bosnia.

Nov. 10—Serbs advance north of the Danube and the Save Rivers and enter Serajevo.

CAMPAIGN IN AISA MINOR

Oct. 25—British forces on the Tigris reach Kerkuk and the mouth of the lesser Zab.

Oct. 26—Aleppo captured by the British; Constantinople-Bagdad railroad cut at that point.

Oct. 27—British cut the road from Sherghet to Mosul and occupy Kerkuk.

Oct. 28—British occupy Kaleb Sherghat.

AERIAL RECORD

Within six months, American aviators on

the western front brought down between 500 and 600 German planes. They brought down an average of eight German fliers to each American airman lost. British airmen bombed Karlsruhe, Bonn, Baden, Treves, and Heidelberg, Oct. 30. Germany sent a note to the United States, Nov. 4, protesting against allied raids on German towns, and announcing that she had been limiting her bombing operations since Oct. 1.

NAVAL OPERATIONS

The Cuban steamship Chaparra was sunk by a mine off Barnegat, Oct. 27.

The Austro-Hungarian superdreadnought Viribus Unitis, flagship of the fleet, was torpedoed and sunk by an Italian naval tank, Nov. 1.

The American steamer Saetia was sunk by a mine twenty-five miles off the Maryland coast, Nov. 9.

RUSSIA

Foreign Minister Tchitcherin sent a note to President Wilson, Oct. 24, announcing the readiness of the Bolsheviks to conclude an armistice upon the evacuation of occupied territory and asking when American troops would be withdrawn from Russia.

On Nov. 5 it was announced that the Bolshevik Government had handed neutral Ministers a note for transmission to the Entente nations asking for the opening of peace negotiations.

Germany demanded the withdrawal of all Russian representatives in Germany, Nov. 6.

ARMISTICE MOVES

Oct. 19—President Wilson replied to the Austro-Hungarian note of Oct. 7. He refused the proposals for peace negotiations and said that the Czechoslovaks, Jugoslavs, and other oppressed peoples must have independence.

Oct. 21—Germany replied to President Wilson's answer to her first peace note. She suggested arrangements for an armistice, announced that her submarines would be restricted, and told of Government reforms.

Oct. 23—President Wilson replied to the German note, expressing doubt as to the popularization of the German Government, and calling for surrender. He announced that the question of an armistice had been submitted to the allied Governments.

Oct. 26—Turkey made an offer of peace to the Allies that amounted virtually to surrender.

Oct. 27—Germany replied to President Wilson's note, declaring that the peace negotiations were being conducted by a People's Government, and that Germany was awaiting proposals for an armistice.

Oct. 28—Austria-Hungary sent another note to President Wilson asking that immedi-

ate negotiations be entered into without awaiting the results of exchanges with Germany. The Vienna Government conceded all rights asked for the Czechoslovaks and Yugoslavs, and requested that the President begin overtures with the allied Governments with a view to ending immediately the hostilities on all Austro-Hungarian fronts.

Oct. 29—Austria-Hungary sent a note to Secretary Lansing asking him to intervene with President Wilson for an immediate armistice.

Oct. 30—Germany sent another note to the United States telling of steps taken toward the democratization of Germany. The State Department declined to make the text public. General Diaz rebuffed the appeal of the Austrian commander for an armistice.

Oct. 31—Turkey surrendered to the Allies. An armistice was signed at Mudros, on the Island of Lemnos, to take effect at noon. An Austrian deputation was permitted to cross the fighting line in Italy for pourparlers concerning an armistice.

Nov. 1—Armistice terms given to Austrian Army.

Nov. 3—Austria-Hungary signs armistice.

Nov. 5—Secretary Lansing notifies the German Government that the Allies are willing to arrange an armistice on President Wilson's principles, and that the terms can be obtained of Marshal Foch.

Nov. 6—German armistice delegation reaches allied lines; Italian troops begin to occupy Austrian territory.

Nov. 7—Firing ceases on one section of the front to permit passage of German armistice delegation.

Nov. 8—German plenipotentiaries arrive at allied headquarters.

Nov. 11—Armistice between Germany and the allied Governments and the United States signed at 5 A. M., Paris time; hostilities cease at 11 A. M., Paris time; President Wilson addresses Congress, announcing the terms of the armistice; Dr. Solf, German Foreign Secretary, addresses message to Secretary Lansing requesting that the President intervene to mitigate conditions in Germany.

Nov. 12—Revised text of armistice announced; Germany appeals to the United States to arrange immediately for peace negotiations because of the pressing danger of famine; German troops begin evacuation of France and Belgium; allied troops move forward; Americans advance toward Metz and Strassburg.

Nov. 13—Germany again appeals to the United States for food; President Wilson says America is willing to help and promises to consult Allies; allied high command refuses to modify conditions of armistice.

Nov. 14—German women appeal to Mrs. Wilson and Jane Addams for milder armistice terms and for food.

BELGIUM

Baron von Falkenhause on Oct. 22 pardoned all Belgian and neutral residents condemned by military tribunals or military commanders under his jurisdiction, and ordered the release of all Belgian and neutral citizens interned in Belgium or Germany. He also appointed a committee to investigate charges of devastation and destruction during the German retreat in Belgium.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The Hungarian Cabinet, headed by Dr. Wekerle, and the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, Baron Burian, resigned Oct. 25. Count Albert Apponyi was appointed Hungarian Premier. Count Andrássy was appointed Austrian Foreign Minister. He resigned Nov. 2, and on that day a new Hungarian Ministry was formed, headed by Count Karolyi.

Military insurrections occurred in Vienna and Budapest Oct. 30. The people and troops proclaimed a republic and a Soldiers and Officers' Council was set up at Vienna. The National Assembly adopted a Constitution in which there was no place left for the crown. The Austro-Hungarian Navy was handed over to the South Slav National Council and the Danube flotilla to the Hungarian Government.

The Rumanian Deputies in the Austrian Parliament constituted a separate Rumanian National Assembly Oct. 19.

A resolution for the complete disunion of Hungary from Austria was introduced by Count Karolyi Oct. 20. A pacific revolution was accomplished at Budapest beginning Oct. 23. A Hungarian National Council and Hungarian Assembly were formed. Riots occurred later, and troops fired on the adherents of Karolyi, who asked Archduke Joseph to appoint him Premier. On Oct. 29 word was received of the formation of an independent and anti-dynastic State, under the leadership of Count Karolyi, in agreement with the Czechs and South Slavs. On Oct. 30 the Hungarian Diet adopted a motion declaring that the constitutional relations between Hungary and Dalmatia, Slovenia, and Fiume had ceased to exist and that the relations between Croatia and Austria had been severed. On Nov. 3 Count Karolyi proclaimed a republic in Hungary.

The Central Executive Committee elected by the National Council of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbians assumed political control of these nationalities Oct. 22. Croatian soldiers at Fiume revolted Oct. 24 and seized the city, but the mutiny was suppressed by Austro-Hungarian regiments. On Oct. 27 and 28 riots occurred in Croatia. On Oct. 30 the Croatian Parliament at Agram voted for the total separation of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia from Hungary. The formation of

- the Yugoslav Republic was announced Nov. 3.
- The Czech National Council took over control of Prague Oct. 28. Count Andrássy, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, entered into diplomatic relations with members of the Czechoslovak Government in Paris. The republic of the Czechoslovaks was proclaimed Oct. 29.
- German Austrian Deputies in the Austrian Parliament issued a declaration announcing the creation of the German Austrian State Oct. 22. On Oct. 30 the German Austrian National Council sent a note to President Wilson notifying him of the formation of the State. On Nov. 12 it was proclaimed a part of the new German Republic.
- The Kingdom of Greater Serbia was proclaimed at Serajevo Oct. 31, and the assassins of Archduke Franz Ferdinand were released by soldiers. Bosnia and Herzegovina incorporated themselves with the Kingdom of Serbia.
- The German-Bohemian Deputies proclaimed the independence of the State of German Bohemia Oct. 31, and entered into negotiations with the Berlin Government with a view to joining German Austria to Germany.
- Emperor Charles abdicated Nov. 13.

GERMANY

- Dr. Karl Liebknecht was released from prison Oct. 24.
- Oct. 25—Prussian upper house passes en bloc the three electoral bills.
- Oct. 27—General Ludendorff, First Quartermaster General of the German Army, resigns after Reichstag adopts bill placing the military command under control of the civil Government. General Groener succeeds Ludendorff; meeting of Crown Council and dignitaries of the entire empire.
- Oct. 29.—Federal Council approves bill amending the Constitution in the form as adopted by the Reichstag; Bavarian Premier notifies Berlin that the Bavarian royal family claims the imperial throne in the event of Emperor William's abdication.
- Nov. 3—Kaiser decrees his full support of reforms.
- Nov. 7—German fleet revolts; Kiel seized by Soldiers' Council; Schleswig seized by revolutionists; Prince Henry of Prussia in flight.
- Nov. 8—Prince Maximilian of Baden resigns as Chancellor; resignation not accepted. Bavarian Diet passes decree deposing the Wittelsbach dynasty; Bavarian Republic established. Revolutionists are in control of Hamburg, Bremen, Bremerhaven, Cuxhaven, Schwerin, and other cities, and take navy out of Kiel.
- Nov. 9—Kaiser and Crown Prince abdicate; Prince Maximilian named Regent of the empire; Friedrich Ebert, Social Demo-

crat, appointed Chancellor; Cologne, Hanover, Oldenburg, and other cities join revolt; Duke of Brunswick and his successor abdicate.

- Nov. 10—King of Württemberg abdicates; former German Emperor and Crown Prince flee to Holland; crews of four dreadnoughts in Kiel Harbor and guardships in the Baltic join the Reds; Berlin and many other cities seized by revolutionists; republic promised in Schleswig-Holstein.
- Nov. 11—German fleet leaders reject armistice terms; Field Marshal von Hindenburg places himself and the German Army at the disposition of the new People's Government; frontier garrisons revolt; majority Socialists reject Bolshevik program; King Friedrich August of Saxony and the Grand Duke of Oldenburg dethroned; Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin abdicates.
- Nov. 12—Reds seize Heligoland and northern fleet; Soldiers' Council formed to present its demands to von Hindenburg.
- Nov. 13—Grand Duke William of Saxe-Weimar and Prince Leopold of Lippe-Detmold abdicate; republics proclaimed in Württemberg and Hesse; Grand Ducal lands seized in Hesse; eastern army with Reds; censorship lifted.
- Nov. 12—Reds tighten grip on fleet and army; report that republic has been proclaimed; Soldiers' Council formed to present its demands to von Hindenburg.
- Nov. 13—Former German Crown Prince interned in Holland; all-Socialist Cabinet installed at head of new Government; property of Prussian Crown confiscated.

POLAND

- On Oct. 4 Ukrainians, aided by Teuton troops, attacked the Poles in Galicia and recaptured Lemberg and other cities. This action was taken because Poland had announced the annexation of Galicia. Cracow was seized by the Poles Nov. 5. Polish troops occupied Warsaw and helped to demobilize Germans.
- The United States Government recognized the Polish Army as autonomous and co-belligerent Nov. 4.

MISCELLANEOUS

- King Boris of Bulgaria abdicated Nov. 2. A peasant Government was established under the leadership of M. Stambuliwsky, who formed a republican army.
- Formal meetings of the Supreme War Council at Versailles began Oct. 31.
- The Finnish Government granted armistice to 10,000 revolutionaries Nov. 1.
- The new Rumanian Government declared war on Germany Nov. 12.
- A general insurrection broke out in Montenegro Nov. 8.
- Members of the Second Chamber of Alsace-Lorraine constituted themselves into a National Council Nov. 13.

TABLE OF CONTENTS AND INDEX

Volume IX.

[SECOND PART]

January—March, 1919

Pages 1-570

[Titles of articles appear in *italics*]

A

ABDICATION of Kaiser, issued Nov. 30, 1918, 57; of Crown Prince, 59; of Grand Duchess Marie Adelaide of Luxemburg, 426.

ABRAZ, French Under Secretary of State, announces total killed in the war, 244.

ACKERMAN, Carl W., "How the Czar Was Doomed to Death," 338.

ADOR (President) of Switzerland, advocates the League of Nations, 268.

AEGEAN Islands, taken from Turkey in the Tripolitan war, 413.

AERONAUTICS, results achieved by Germans in air raids on England, 274.

AGRAM, National Council at, chooses Prince Alexander of Serbia as ruler of Yugoslav State, 63.

AGRICULTURE, damage done to in France by the Germans, 517.

AGRICULTURE, women's work in making productive, 105.

Air Raids on England, 274.

AIRCRAFT production, volume of in U. S. described by Secretary Baker, 122.

AIRPLANE motors, contracts awarded for manufacture of, 69.

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE entered by Belgian occupying troops, 29.

AKABA, fall of, 352.

ALASKA, soldiers furnished by, 465.

ALBA JULIA scene of Transylvanian secession movement, 421.

ALEPPO, British advance toward, 543.

ALEXANDER (Prince) of Serbia chosen as Regent of Yugoslav State, 63, 306.

ALIEN property, synopsis of custodian's report, 70.

ALLENBY, (Sir) Edmund, thanked by King George for distinguished service, 123; co-operation with of Arab forces, 354.

Allied Armies in Germany, 15, 234.

ALLIED Maritime and Transport Council, 460.

ALLIED rifle strength in last year of the war, 456.

ALLIES, relation with American troops, 154.

ALVORD, James Church, "The Ishmaelite of Nations," 7.

Alsace and Lorraine Again French, 46.

Alsace-Lorraine's Return to France, 275.

ALSACE and Lorraine occupied and civilly administered by the French, 12; establishment of French civil administration, 275; plebiscite advocated in Berne Conference, 457.

America the Deciding Factor, 110.

America's Financial Aid to the Allies, 462.

America's Most Terrible Weapon, 125.

AMERICAN Army of Occupation entering Treves, Germany, 15.

AMERICAN delegation to Peace Conference, appointment and membership of, 1.

AMERICAN Federation of Labor not represented at Berne Conference, 456.

AMERICAN financial and food aid to Belgium, 285.

AMERICAN naval operations in foreign waters described by Rear Admiral Rodman, 254.

AMERICAN naval program up to 1920, 252.

AMERICAN regulars, deeds of in France, 473.

AMERICAN rifle strength in last year of the war, 456.

AMERICAN troops in Russia, health and morale of, 269.

AMERONGEN, Holland, description of Kaiser's flight to, 229.

AMMAN, raid on by British and Arabs, 169.

ANDRASSY (Count), 302.

ANHALT, Germany, election results in victory for Majority Socialists, 216.

ANTILLES, American troopship, torpedoed on return voyage, 114, 469.

ANTI-SUBMARINE methods adopted by allied fleets, 134.

ANTONOV (Gen.), 447.

ARCHANGEL, fighting in vicinity of between allied and Soviet forces, 76, 269.

ARCHBISHOP of Canterbury, letter concerning Bolshevik outrages, 451.

AREAS held by the allied armies of occupation, 9.

ARGENTINA, attitude toward Germany, 360; attempt to establish Soviets in, 370.

ARMENIANS massacred by Turks, 239.

ARMENTIERES, desolation of, 505.

Armistice Extension, 410.

ARMISTICE, troop movements, under, 8; extension of terms, 9.

ARMY of Occupation, conditions in, 468.

ASIAGO Plateau, scene of Italian-Austrian military operations, 294.

AUER, Herr, forced to resign from Bavarian Ministry, 55.

AUSTRALIA'S position regarding the German colonies, 392.

AUSTRIA-Hungary, political confusion following the armistice, 62; losses at the battle of the Piave, 166; number of men and casualties, 240.

AUSTRO-Hungarian navy handed over to the Yugoslav Council, 306.

AUTONOMY sought by Spanish Province of Catalonia, 75.

AVIATION records of Americans in war zone, 251.

AVIATION work in connection with naval operations, 112.

AYERS, (Col.) L. P., 3.

B

BADEN, German superdreadnought, interned at Scapa Flow, 237.

BALKAN problems discussed at the Peace Conference, 393.

BAMPON (Gen.), 410.

BANAT of Temesvar subject of dispute between Rumania and Serbia, 393.

BARNES, George Nicoll, British Minister of Labor, 397.

BARRY, Richard, "America's Most Terrible Weapon," 125.

- BARUCH, Bernard M., head of War Industries Board, 253.
- BARZILAI, Salvatore, former Cabinet Minister, statement regarding Italian casualties, 245.
- BATTHYANY, (Count) Theodor, 305.
- BAUER, Otto, Under Secretary of State in German Austria, 62; one of the triumvirate who came into power after fall of Hapsburg dynasty, 300.
- BAVARIAN protests to Berlin against Government weakness, 224; casualties of, 247.
- BERNE, Socialist Conference at, 456.
- BERNE, Y. M. C. A. Bureau at, 480.
- BEACH (Capt.), commanding American dreadnought New York, 30.
- BEATTY, (Admiral Sir) David, arranges for surrender of German fleet, 13.
- BEAUMONT, A., "Last Days of the Hapsburg Dynasty," 300.
- BEERENBROUCH, (Premier) Reys de, declaration regarding the ex-Kaiser's flight to and residence in Holland, 58.
- BEIRUT occupied by British, 547.
- BELGIANS occupying part of Rhinish Prussia, 8.
- BELGIUM, operations of American soldiers in described by Gen. Pershing, 153; receives gold that had been taken away from it by Germany, 237; mobilized strength and casualty losses, 240; devastation by Germans described, 284.
- BELLEAU Wood, captured and held by U. S. Marine Corps and soldiers, 118.
- BENES, M., 389.
- BENSON, (Admiral) William S., one of the armistice delegates at Treves, 236.
- BERCHTOLD (Count), 484.
- BERLIN, conditions in on first Christmas after defeat, 218; discontent at choice of Weimar for National Assembly, 430.
- Berlin's Greeting to Returning Soldiers*, 60.
- BESSARABIA, desired by Rumania, 413.
- BILLY, Eduard de, Deputy High Commissioner of French Republic, 286.
- BISMARCK, Otto, attempts to shape Germany after the Prussian pattern, 299.
- BISSOLATI, Leonida, resignation of, 258.
- BLAIR, Emily Newell, "Women in War Industries," 95.
- BLISS, (Gen.) Tasker H., appointed American delegate to Peace Congress, 1.
- BODY, (Dr.) Theodore, 303.
- BOHEMIAN problem in matter of frontiers, 297.
- BOLIVIA, breaking of diplomatic relations with Germany, 361.
- BOLSHEVIKI badly defeated by Perm, Dec. 24, 1918, 269.
- Bolshevism Against Civilization*, 334.
- BOLSHEVISM, appearance of in Germany after the revolution, 52; coup d'etat that put Lenine-Trotsky regime in power in Russia, 333.
- Bolshevist War in Russia*, 269.
- BORAH, (Sen.) William, demands that American troops be returned from Russia, 272.
- BORDEN, (Sir) Robert, addresses plenary session of Peace Congress, 388.
- BORNEO, Holland's share of to be offered for sale to England, 425.
- BOURGEOIS, Leon, expresses the attitude of France toward the League of Nations, 387.
- BOURGES, France, manufacturing centre for munitions, 504.
- BOY-ED (Capt.), gives particulars of German naval revolt, 227.
- BRANTING, Hjalmar, Swedish Socialist leader at Berne Conference, 457.
- BRATIANO, M., Rumanian delegate to the Peace Congress, 389.
- Brave Deeds of the Marine Corps*, 116.
- BRAZIL'S declaration of war against Germany, 359; claims her rightful position on committees of the Peace Congress, 388.
- BREMEN, revolutionary disorders in, 435.
- BRESHKOVSKAYA, Catherine, arrives in Vladivostak on way to U. S., 77; testimony before Senate Committee, 451.
- BREST-Litovsk treaty a violation of Polish sovereignty, 316.
- BRIEY, French withdrawal at, 502.
- BRIDGEHEAD at Coblenz occupied by Americans, 18.
- British Advance to Cologne*, by Philip Gibbs, 23.
- BRITISH Army, mobilized strength of, 240; total casualties, 240; rapidity of its creation, 501.
- BRITISH campaign against German forces in German East Africa, 130.
- BRITISH fix responsibility on Germany for introduction of poison gas, 128.
- BRITISH fleet enters the Dardanelles, 14.
- BRITISH naval losses in the war, 243.
- British Retreat in 1918*, 156.
- BROQUEVILLE, (Baron) de, 417.
- BROWNING guns supplied to American Army of Occupation, 468.
- Bruges Under the Yoke*, by Humphrey Page, 39.
- BRUNSWICK, Germany, scene of Spartan demonstrations, 222.
- BRUSSELS, Belgium, entered by King Albert and royal family, 9, 27.
- BUDAPEST garrison supporters of Karolyi, 203.
- BUKOWINA claimed by the Ukraine, 421.
- BULFIN, (Lieut. Gen. Sir) Edward, 542.
- BULGARIA, mobilization and casualties, 240.
- Bulgarian Crimes in Serbia*, by G. Ward Price, 86.
- BULLARD, (Major Gen.) Robert Lee, given permanent rank of Lieut. Gen., 251.
- BUREAU of Navigation of the Department of Commerce reports on shipbuilding in U. S., 133.
- BURLESON (Postmaster General), removes officials of the Commercial Cable Co., 68.

C

- CABINET, American, presided over by Vice President Marshall, 1.
- CALOGERAS, M., Brazilian delegate to Peace Congress, 388.
- CALTHORPE (Admiral), takes control of police and sanitary forces of Constantinople, 419.
- CAMOUFLAGE used on ships to thwart submarine attack, 135.
- CAMP Funston, address by Major Gen. Wood to soldiers, 143.
- Campaign in Palestine*, 167.
- Campaign of the Caliphs for Damascus*, 348.
- Campaign That Liberated Palestine*, 541.
- CANADA, men furnished for prosecution of the war, 242.
- CANCELLATION of contracts after the armistice was signed, 66.
- CANTIGNY, France, American fighting at, 474.
- CAPORETTO, disaster of, inspires Italy to new efforts, 245.
- CARLISLE, England, visited by President Wilson, 207.

CASEMENT, (Sir) Roger, endeavor of to help Germany, 509.
 CASTELNAU, (Gen.), Commander of the French Eastern Army Group, 12.
 CASUALTIES in U. S. Army, percentage of, 122.
 CATALONIA, movement for antonomy in, 75.
Causes of Russia's Ruin, 330.
 CAVALLINI trial in Rome, 500.
 CAVAN (Lord), describes British part in the Italian victory, 291.
 CENTRAL America, attitude toward Germany, 359.
 CENTRAL Powers, number of men mobilized by, 239.
 CESSATION of war restrictions in U. S. following armistice, 253.
 CHAMBERLAIN, Austen, 257.
 CHARLOTTE, Grand Duchess of Luxemburg, 267.
 CHARTRES Cathedral, rebuilding of, 516.
 CHATEAU-THIERRY, achievements of the U. S. Marine Corps in battle, 117.
 CHAUMONT, France, visited by President Wilson on Christmas Day, 199.
 CHAYTOR (Gen.), commanding part of Allenby's Army, 548.
 CHETWODE, (Lieut. Gen. Sir) Philip, in Palestinian campaign, 542.
 CHILE, attitude toward the war, 361.
 CHINA, views of the League of Nations expressed by her delegate, 387.
Chronology of American Operations, 139.
Chronology of the Armistice Period, 41, 272, 457.
 CHURCHILL, (Brig. Gen.) Marlborough, 3.
 CHURCHILL, Winston Spencer, Secretary of War and the Air Ministry, 257.
 CIANO, commander of vessel in attack on Austrian dreadnought, 493.
 CIVILIAN deaths due directly or indirectly to the war, 239.
 CLEMENCEAU, (Premier) Georges, chosen as Chairman of Peace Congress, 197; interviewed by The Associated Press, 395, 405.
 COAL industry conditions in Belgium, 284.
 COAL Mines of France ruined by Germans, 512.
 COBLENZ, occupied by American troops, 9, 17; scene of convention of Centre Party, 221; regulations tightened by American authorities, 468.
 COHN (Dr.), leader of Independent Party, 433.
 COLMAR, seat of French civil government for Upper Alsace, 275.
 COLOGNE, Germany, entered by advance guard of British Army of Occupation, 10; Burgomaster asks British to hasten occupation, 24.
 COLOMBIAN Congress protests against submarine campaign, 362.
 COLONIES, German, mandate plan adopted by Peace Congress, 392.
 COMMITTEE of Union and Progress ignores Turkish Sultan, 417.
 CONCEIRO, Piava, opposes republican regime in Portugal, 417.
Conditions in Liberated Regions, 282.
 CONDONRIOTIS (Admiral), Minister of Marine in Skouloudis Government, 422.
 CONGRESS addressed by President Wilson before his departure for France, 106.
Constantinople Occupied, by H. Collinson Owen, 90.
 CONTY, M., French Minister to Copenhagen, 410.

CONVOY management in efforts to balk the submarine, 134.
 CORFU, declaration of, 423.
 COST of war to the United States, 66.
Count von Hertling's Last Statement, 232.
 COVINGTON, sunk by submarine, 472.
Creating the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 306.
 CREEL, George, 2.
 CRISPI, Signor, Italian Minister of Supplies, 395.
 CROWDER, (Major Gen.) Enoch P., declares that no death sentence had been carried into effect in American Army, 65.
Crushing Bolshevism in Germany, 215.
 CUBA, war declaration against Germany, 358.
 CURZON (Earl), President of Council and Leader in British House of Lords, 257.
Czechoslovaks and Jugoslavs, 491.
 CZECHOSLOVAK forces leave Italian front for Bohemia, 14; refuse to send food to German Austria, 62; in Siberia, France, and Italy, 239.
 CZECHOSLOVAK Republic, formation of, 311; arrival of President Masaryk in Prague, 311.

D

DAMASCUS, question as to disposition of, 413; British capture of, 546.
 DANIELS, (Secretary) Joseph, "The Brave Deeds of the Marine Corps," 116; naval construction plans, 465.
 DANISH frontier bordering on Germany, 296.
 "DANUBIAN Federation," 490.
 DANZIG, knotty problem of Peace Congress, 297.
 DARDANELLES entered by the British fleet, 14.
 DAVIS, John W., 2.
 DAVIS, Norman H., American armistice delegate at Treves, Germany, 236.
Dawn of a New Era, 93.
 DAY, Clive, 3.
 DEBT, public of United States June 30, 1918, 67.
 DEBTS of all nations due to the war, 67.
Deeds of the American Battle Squadron, 255.
 DE GOUTTE (Gen.), tribute to the work of the U. S. 4th Brigade, 119.
 DELACROIX, M., 417.
 DELSOR, (Abbe), deputy from Marlenheim, 281.
 DEMOBILIZATION of German armies after armistice was signed, 8.
Demobilizing the War Machine, 64.
 DENAIN, France, spoliation of by Germans, 515.
 DENIKINE (Gen.), inflicts sharp defeat on Bolshevik troops, 270.
 DENMARK, how affected by Germany's defeat in the war, 72.
 DENNIS, Ralph M., 450.
 DEPORTATIONS of Greeks by Turks, 551.
 DEPORTATION of undesirable aliens, 455.
 DERBY (Lord), success in maintaining the volunteer system, 242.
 DERNBURG, Bernhard, delegate to German National Assembly, 429.
 DEUTSCHLAND, German submarine surrendered with others to British, 13.
Diary of the Chief Events of the War, 137.
 DIAZ, (Gen.) Armando, stipulations of regarding Austrian armistice, 13.
 DICKMAN, (Major Gen.) Joseph T., head of Third American Army, 10.

DIELSCH, Herr, 429.
 DISMUKES, (Capt.) D. E., commander of the torpedoed steamer Mount Vernon, 472.
 DMOWSKY, M., expresses adhesion to the League of Nations on behalf of Poland, 387.
 DOBRETCHITCH, (Dr.) Philippe, delegate at large for Montenegrin dynasty, 423.
 DORTMUND, Germany, centre of violent political disturbances, 222.
 DOUAL, France, German devastation, 514.
 DOVER gives warm reception to President Wilson, 201.
 DRAFT acts, value of started by Gen. March, 68.
 DREADNOUGHT squadron of American fleet returns home, 252.
 DRESDEN, Germany, riots in, 222.
 DUNDONALD (Admiral), warned British Government of the possibility of military use of poison gas, 128.
 DURANTY, Walter, describes reception given to the President in Paris, 4; "The French Advance to the Rhine," 20.
 DUREN, forest of, passed through by British troops, 24.
 DUSSELDORF scene of revolutionary agitation, 222.
 DUTCH Guiana sale proposed to the United States, 425.
 DUTCH shipping returned to Holland, 461.

E

EARL (Admiral), Chief of Bureau of Ordnance, 116.
East African Campaign, 130.
 EAST PRUSSIA, Russian retreat from in Dec., 1914, 246.
 EBERT, Friedrich, First Cabinet after the revolution, 50; speech to returning soldiers increases his popularity, 55; new head of the German Government, 260.
 ECKHARDT, Heinrich von, former German Minister to Mexico, 274.
 ECKARTZAU, castle to which the Austrian Imperial family fled, 301.
 ECUADOR, severance of diplomatic relations with Germany, 361.
 EHRENBREITSTEIN, fortress of at Coblenz, taken possession of by American troops, 9.
 EICHHORN, Berlin's revolutionary Chief of Police deposed, 221.
 EISNER, Kurt, attack on members of the Ebert cabinet, 53.
 EMBARGO lifted by Allies on imports to Holland and Scandinavia, 459.
 EMDEN, Germany, scene of naval mutiny, 440.
Emerging From War Conditions, 465.
 EMPLOYMENT of women in war industries, 95.
English King's Address of Thanks, 123.
 ENVER PACHA escapes from Turkey and goes to Berlin, 14.
 EPICEDIUM, poem, 521.
 EPIRUS, problem of, at Peace Conference, 413.
 ERZBERGER, Mathias, protests against terms for an extension of armistice, 411.
 ESTHONIA accepts invitation to Prinkipo Conference, 409.
European Neutrals and the Armistice, 70.
 EVACUATION of occupied territories by Germans, 10.
Events in the Czechoslovak Republic, 311.
Events in the Republic of Poland, 452.

EXAMPLES of Women's War Work, 105.
 EX-KAISER William II., graphic description of flight into Holland, 228.
Ex-Kaiser in Exile, 231.
 EXTENSION of armistice granted by Marshal Foch, 33.
 EYSDEN, Holland, first point reached by Kaiser in his flight, 230.

F

FACTORIES of France, wanton destruction of, 505.
 FALABA, British ship, sunk by submarines, 239.
 FALK, B., "Ruthenians Versus Poles in Galicia," 326.
 FAMINE prices in Belgium, 285.
 FAYOLLE (Gen.), address to the inhabitants of Mayence, 22.
 FEDERAL conference held in Germany on Nov. 25, 1918, 53; result of its deliberations, 53.
 FEDERAL Food Board gives estimate of supplies required from America, 69.
 FEDERAL Reserve Board issues statement regarding war debts of all nations, 67.
 FEHRENBACH, Konstantin, Issues call for meeting of the Reichstag, 56.
 FEISAL, Prince, services to cause of Allies, 348.
 FIGHTING equipment for U. S. Army described by Secretary Baker, 122.
 FINLAND in controversy with Sweden regarding the Aland Islands, 426.
 FISHER, H. A. L., British Minister of Education, 257.
Fixing Germany's New Frontiers, 295.
 FIUME, Austria, conflicts in between Italians and Jugoslavs, 14.
 FLEMISH separatist movement causes bitterness in Belgium, 417.
 FOOD Administration announces removal of restriction on manufacture of near-beer, 467.
 FOOD conditions in Europe described by Mr. Hoover, 282; Mr. Hoover appointed Director General of the International Relief Organization, 282; emergency measures taken, 283.
 FOOD shortage discussed by Herbert Hoover, Dec. 1, 69.
 FORD, George, head of construction work for the Red Cross in France, 289; "Summary of War Damage in France," 516.
 FOREST land ruined by Germans, 517.
Former German Emperor, 437.
 FORTRESS of Strasbourg and sector near by occupied by allied troops, 237.
 FOSDICK, Raymond B., 3.
 FORSTER, Henry W., 257.
 FOURTH Liberty Loan, women's work in furthering, 105.
 FOYERS des Soldat established in France, 480.
 FRANCE (Sen.), declares that the U. S. had right to send troops to Russia, 272.
 FRANCE, men mobilized by, 240; total casualties, 240; enormous damage done to its industries, 288; amount of funds invested in Russia, 406.
French Advance to the Rhine, 20.
 FRENCH buildings destroyed by the Germans, 517.
 FRENCH High Commission to the U. S. announces total of men furnished by France in the war, 244.
 FRENCH, (Field Marshal Lord) John, tribute to his services by King George, 124, 257.

French Monument to Americans, 477.
French Withdrawal at Briey, 502.
 FREDERICK (German Emperor), impressions of character of his son, Wilhelm, 232.
 FRISIA, boundaries of, 297.
 FULCHER (Lieut.), American officer captured by the Deutschland, 135.
 FURLONG, (Maj.) C. W., 3.
 FURLOUGHES granted to soldiers instead of being demobilized by France and Great Britain, 9.

G

GAIDA (Gen.), captures City of Perm from Bolshevik forces, 269.
 GAIGALITIS (Dr.), leader of Prussian Lithuanians, 273.
 GALICIA, friction in, between Poles and Ukrainians, 63.
 GALLIPOLI peninsula occupied by British after the armistice, 90.
 GARAMI, Ernst, 305.
 GEDDES, (Sir) Auckland, statement in British House of Commons regarding man power of the Empire, 243.
General Pershing's Official Story, 144.
General Wood to His Men at Camp Funston, 143.
 GENEVA Red Cross issues appeal for discontinuance of use of poison gas, 129.
 GEORGIA, Government declines invitation to Prinkipo Conference, 409.
 GENOA, Italy, vast crowds turn out to greet President Wilson, 214.
 GEORGE WASHINGTON, steamer that conveyed the President to France, 2.
 GERMAN airplanes given up in accordance with terms of armistice, 237.
German Armistice Delegates, 35.
German Armistice Terms Changed, 236.
 GERMAN attitude toward American Army of Occupation, 15.
 GERMAN acquiescence in Turkish atrocities, 550.
 GERMAN Austria, different political parties striving for supremacy, 62.
 GERMAN Austria's National Assembly, 454.
 GERMAN behavior in occupied zone, 468.
German Brutality to Prisoners, 80.
 GERMAN declaration regarding Alsace-Lorraine, 280.
 GERMAN fleet surrender in Firth of Forth to British, 13.
 GERMAN guilt in permitting massacres of Greeks by Turks, 549.
German Maltreatment of Women, 290.
 GERMAN mercantile fleet placed at disposal of allied Governments, 236.
 GERMAN naval bases inspected by allied commissions, 236.
 GERMAN naval mutiny at Kiel, 59.
 GERMAN prisoners detained in France and England under terms of armistice, 8; 800,000 still in hands of Allies, 432.
German Revolution, 50.
 GERMAN rifle strength in last year of the war, 456.
 GERMAN Silesia claimed by Czechoslovakia, 415.
 GERMAN subjects in Lorraine, proclamation defining their status, 279.
 GERMAN treatment of people of Ostend, 37.
 GERMAN troops greeted as conquerors on their return to Berlin, 60.
 GERMANY, strength of armies when armistice was declared, 8; evacuation of

France and Belgium by, 8; mobilization, and total casualties, 240; new frontiers discussed by Peace Conference, 295; unification of prevented by Bismarck, 298.
Germany's National Assembly, 429.
 GERMANY'S new frontiers discussed by the Peace Congress, 295.
Germany's Use of Poison Gas, 128.
Getting Back to a Peace Basis, 249.
 GHENT, (Commander) Daniel T., report on Antilles sinking, 469.
 GIBBS, Philip, "The British Advance to Cologne," 23.
 GIBALTAR, continued possession of by Great Britain deprecated by Spain, 263.
 GLEAVES, (Rear Admiral) Albert, ability and resourcefulness in the war, 114.
 GOLD reserve of German Reichsbank removed from Berlin, 236.
 GORIZIA, clashes in, between Italians and Jugoslavs, 14.
 GOVERNMENT control of railroads, 466.
 GOVERNMENT ship purchase foreshadowed by U. S. Shipping Board, 136.
 BRABOWSKI, Peter, Polish writer of the sixteenth century, 319.
 GRAYSON, (Rear Admiral) Cary T., 2.
 GREAT BRITAIN'S share in the defeat of the Austrians, 291; see also BRITISH.
 GREECE, total mobilization and casualties, 240.
Greek Protests Against Bulgar Brutality, 88.
 GREEKS massacred by Bulgarians, 239; by Turks, 552.
 GREY, (Sir) Edward, speech in House of Commons, 501.
 GRIFFIN (Rear Admiral), gives figures regarding U. S. naval construction, 67.
 GROENER (Gen.), conducts retreat of German armies under terms of armistice, 8; retained in office by Berlin Government, 220.
 GUILDHALL address of President Wilson, 205.
 GUNPOWDER Creek site of great poison gas plant, 126.

H

HUBNER, Leon, "Quentin Roosevelt," poem, 155.
 HUMES, (Major) Lowry, Judge Advocate before Senate Committee, 449.
 HAAS, Ludwig, 429.
 HAGUE, a centre of intrigue, 424.
 HAGUE Convention forbade use of asphyxiating gas in warfare, 128.
 HAIG, (Field Marshal Sir) Douglas, thanked by King George, 123; part in making the British Army, 502.
Haig's Victory Dispatch, 522.
 HALDANE (Viscount), "Mobilizing the British Army in 1914," 501.
 HALLER, (Gen.) Joseph, commander of "Iron Brigade" of the Polish legions, 315.
 HARBORD (Major Gen.), report on destruction of enemy planes by U. S. aviators, 251.
 HARRIES (Brig. Gen.), reports on torpedoing of the Mt. Vernon, 472.
 HARRIS, George H., 3.
 HARRISON, Frederic, "The Dawn of a New Era," 93.
 HARRISON, Leland, 2.
 HARTS, (Brig.Gen.) William H., 3.
 HASBROUCK, (Capt.) R. D., commander of the Covington sunk by submarine, 473.
 HASKINS, Charles H., 3.

HAMBURG, revolutionary conditions in, 435.
 HANSON, Ole, Mayor of Seattle, Wash., 454.
 HARMIGNIES, M., 417.
 HAUSSMAN, Conrad, radical member of German Cabinet, 401.
 HAWAII, soldiers furnished by, 465.
 HEDIN, Sven, 436.
 HENDERSON, Arthur, delegate from Great Britain to Berne Conference, 457.
Heroism on Torpedoed Transports, 469.
 HERRON, George D., delegate to Prinkipo Conference, 410.
 HERTLING, (Count) von, gives reasons for his hatred of Prussia, 232; dies Jan. 5, 1919, 232.
 HERSHEY, (Prof.) Amos S., 3.
 HEWLETT, Maurice, poem "To the Dead; a Dedication," 45.
 HINDENBURG, (Field Marshal) von, proclamation lauding German Army, 218.
Hindenburg's Admission That He Faced Surrender, 552.
 HINES, (Major Gen.) John L., 473.
 HINES, Walker D., appointed Director General of Railroads, 254.
 HINTZE, (Admiral) von, urges haste in the Kaiser's flight to Holland, 229.
 HIRSCHAUER (Gen.), at head of Second French Army of Occupation, 12; arrival at Mulhouse, 276.
 HITCHCOCK, (Sen.) Gilbert, defends Administration for keeping troops in Russia, 272.
Holland and the Refugee ex-Kaiser, 57.
 HOLLAND, effect of Germany's collapse upon, 70; Socialist agitation in, 71; return to of requisitioned ships, 461.
 HONDURAS, declaration of war against Germany, 359.
 HOOVER, Herbert, rebukes those concerned in execution of Edith Cavell, 238.
 HOROKIN (Gen.), 447.
 HORVATH (Gen.), 409.
 HOUSE, Edward M., appointed American delegate to Peace Conference, 1.
How the Czar Was Doomed to Death, 338.
 HUNGARIAN coal fields occupied by Czechs and Jugoslavs, 62.
Hungarian People's Republic, 487.
 HUNGARY, von Mackensen's army interned in, 15.
Hungary's Freedom Won in a Night, 302.
 HUNTINGTON, (Dr.) W. C., testifies before Senate Committee regarding Bolshevik conditions in Russia, 448.
 HUNYADI (Count), interview with Austrian Emperor, 486.
 HURLEY, Edward N., American delegate to armistice commission at Treves, 236.
 HUYSMANS, Camille, Belgian delegate to the Berne Conference, 457.
 HYMANS, M., Belgian delegate to Peace Congress, 388.

I

Idyl of a French Officer's Home-Coming, 172.
 INDIA, contribution to the war in man power, 243.
 INFLUENZA, deaths caused by in American forces, 65, 465.
 INTERNATIONAL Railway Commission of the Rhine Provinces, 235.
 INTERNATIONAL Labor Legislation, Committee on, 391.
 INTERNATIONAL Mercantile Marine, sale of halted by U. S. Government, 136.
 INTERNATIONAL Trade Union Conference, 457.

INTERSTATE Commerce Commission issues statement of railroad earnings, 466.
 IRISH Parliament constituted by Sinn Fein leaders, 458.
 "ISHMAELITE of Nations," poem, James Church Alvord, 7.
 ITALIA Irredenta evacuated by Austrians in accordance with terms of armistice, 13.
 ITALIANS, conflicts with Jugoslavs in Austrian cities, 14.
 ITALY, retention of German prisoners, 8; had 5,500,000 men under arms, 166; expenditures during war, 167; casualties of, 240; Ministerial crisis, 257.
 ITALY visited by President Wilson, Jan. 1, 1919, 209.
Italy's Efforts in the World War, 166.

J

JAMES, Edwin L., describes entrance of American Army of Occupation into Treves, 15.
 JANIN, (Gen.) Jules, appointed to chief command of Allies in Russia, 271.
 JAPAN, total mobilized strength and casualties, 240; withdraws 24,000 men from Siberia, 270.
 JASPART, M., 417.
 JASZI, Oscar, Minister in Hungarian Cabinet, 305.
 JERICHO captured by British forces under Gen. Allenby, 168.
 JERUSALEM, methods employed for its protection by British, 168.
 JEWS massacred by Turks, 239.
 JOFFRE, (Marshal) Joseph, expresses appreciation of America's aid in war, 110; action in regard to Briey, 502.
 JONESCU, Take, former Rumanian Premier, 500.
 JORDAN, (Col.) Richard H., 3.
 JORDAN Valley scene of important military operations, 169; campaign described in detail, 540.
 JUGOSLAVIC State created, 306.
 JUGOSLAVS contest control of Austrian cities with Italians, 14.
 JUSSERAND, (Ambassador) Jules J., 2.

K

KADISH, fighting about between American and Bolshevik forces, 269.
 KARDJI, (Count) Michael, head of new Hungarian Government, 302.
Kaiser's Abdication and Flight, 228.
 KARVAN mining region seized by Czechoslovaks, 452.
 KEIMAL Bey, Governor of Diarbekr, placed on trial, 419.
 KERASSUNDA, scene of Turkish atrocities against Greeks, 551.
 KERENSKY, Alexander, implores America to see that Russia is not exploited, 78; statement regarding Russian casualties, 246; endeavors to rally Russian armies, 330.
 KESSLER, (Count) German Minister to Poland, ordered to leave the country, 79.
 KHOLM, in dispute between Poles and Ukrainians, 415.
 KING GEORGE of England visits American flagship, 30; issues address of thanks to British people, 123; gives dinner to President and Mrs. Wilson at Buckingham Palace, 203.
 KING of the Hedjaz furnishes 250,000 Arabs to the allied cause, 239; services to Gen. Allenby, 348.
 KNAPP, (Rear Admiral) H. K., 2.

KNIGHTS of Columbus, activities in behalf of American soldiers at Coblenz, 234.
 KNIGHTS of St. John, order of the Dutch nobility, 231.
 KNUDSON Cabinet in Norway resigns, 426.
 KOLCHAK (Admiral), establishment of his dictatorship at Omsk, 76.
 KORINLOFF (Gen.), attempt to save Russian Army from crumbling, 332.
 KOSCIUSKO, Polish national hero, 325.
 KRASNOV (Gen.), commander of Cossack forces on Don, 270.
 KULAKOWSKI, Bronislaw D., "Poland's Thousand Years of Evolution," 319.
 KUN, (Dr.) Bela, chief Bolshevik agitator in Hungary, 488.
 KUT-EL-AMARA, treatment of British prisoners who surrendered there, 89.

L

LAIBACH, scene of Jugoslavic Council, 306.
 LAMONT, Thomas W., "America's Financial Aid to the Allies," 462.
 LANCKEN, (Baron) von der, rebuked by Mr. Hoover because of action in connection with Edith Cavell case, 238.
 LANDON, Perceval, "Alsace and Lorraine again French," 46.
 LANSING, (Secretary) Robert E., advises American filing of claims, 133; recognizes Jugoslavic State, 492.
Last Battles in Italy, 291.
Last Cruise of the German Fleet, 442.
Last Days of the Hapsburg Dynasty, 300.
Latin America in the War, 358.
 LAW, Andrew Bonar, Lord Privy Seal and leader in the House of Commons, 257.
 LEAGUE of Nations made the first order of business of the Peace Congress, 383; supported by representatives of various nations, 383 et seq.; acute differences overcome, 395; constitution read to Peace Congress by President Wilson, 398; text of constitution, 401.
 LEJEUNE, (Major Gen.) John A., pays tribute to men of 2d Division, 120.
 LENINE, (Premier) Nicolai, address to Moscow Soviet, 334.
 LEONARD, Robert F., 450.
 LEPSIUS, Herr, special mission to Constantinople, 550.
Lesser Belligerents, 417.
 LETTISH Republic agrees to send delegates to Prinkipo Conference, 409.
 LETTOW-VORBECK, (Gen.) von, commander of German troops in German East Africa, 130.
 LEVANT, Turkish atrocities in, 549.
 LEVINSKI-CORWIN, (Ph. D.) E. H., "The Political Situation in Poland," 313.
 LEYGUES, Georges, French Minister of Marines, greets President Wilson at Brest, 3.
Liberators of the World, 357.
 LIBERTY bonds, effort of Treasury to sustain price of, 67.
 LEIBKNECHT, (Dr.) Karl, manifesto inciting the proletariat to arms, 51; pronouncement after close of Federal conference, 54; killed in Berlin after arrest, 226.
 LIGGETT, (Major Gen.) Hunter, receives permanent rank of Lieut. Gen., 251.
 LILLE, treatment of inhabitants of, by Germans, 38; systematic destruction of its industries, 509.
 LIMBURG, Holland, traversed by German troops who surrendered their arms to the Dutch, 9; proposed union with Belgium, 260.

LINDER, (Count) Bela, 305.
 LITHUANIA, through her delegation in Paris, provisionally accepts invitation to Prinkipo Conference, 409.
 LITTLEFIELD, Walter, "War Casualties of All the Nations," 239.
 LLOYD GEORGE, David, wins victory in English election, 257.
 LOANS to allied Governments by the U. S., 253, 462.
 LONDON, England, reception given to President Wilson, 201.
 LONG, Walter Hume, First Lord of the British Admiralty, 257.
 LOSSES from German submarines of allied and neutral shipping, 133.
 LON TSENG TSIANG, Chinese delegate to Peace Congress, 387.
 LOVE, Thomas B., Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, explains provision made for disabled soldiers, 250.
 LUDENDORFF said to have forced the making of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, 500.
 LUXEMBURG, Rosa, German Socialist agitator killed in riot, 227.
 LUXEMBURG crossed by American Army of Occupation, 10; revolutionary agitation in, 266; abdication of Grand Duchess, 426.

M

MACEDONIA devastated and plundered by the Bulgarians, 420.
 MACKENSEN, (Field Marshal) von, army interned in Hungary, 15.
 MACLAY, (Sir) J. P., British Minister of Shipping, 257.
 MACPHERSON, Mr., statement in the House of Commons on the total casualties of the British armies, 243, 257.
 MAESTRICHT Peninsula desired by Belgium, 416.
 MAETERLINCK, Maurice, "The Liberators of the World," 357.
Making the New Maps of Europe, 412.
 MALMEDY, Germany, passed through by the British Army, 23.
 MANCHESTER, England, speech of President Wilson in, 207.
 MANDATE plans adopted for the German colonies, 392.
 MANGIN (Gen.), occupies the bridgehead of Mayence, 13.
 MARNHEIM, Germany, occupied by French troops, 234.
 MARCH, (Gen.) Peyton C., issues statement regarding demobilization, 64.
 MARINE Corps, work in battle praised by Secretary Daniels, 116.
 MARNE, how it was held by American troops, 148; devastation in that section by Germans, 289.
Marshal Foch on the Armistice, 503.
Marshal Foch to the Victorious Armies, 299.
 MARSHALL, Ernest, describes reception of President Wilson in London, 201.
 MARSHALL (Vice President) Thomas R., presides at Cabinet meeting in President's absence, 1.
 MARSTON, (Maj.) Hunter S., 3.
 MARTIAL law declared in Cologne by the British, 26.
 MASARYK, (Prof.) Thomas G., arrival in Prague, Bohemia, 311.
Massacre of the Greeks in Turkey, 549.
 MAUDE, (Gen. Sir) Stanley, services recognized in speech of English King, 123.
 MAUD'HUY (Gen.), appointed Military Governor of Metz, 12.

MAXIMILIAN of Baden (Prince), explanation of armistice and peace proposals, 50.
 MAYENCE, bridgehead occupied by the French forces, 22.
 MCADOO, (Secretary) William G., issues statement on war finances, 66.
 MCCORMICK, Vance, 411.
 MERINDAL, (Count) Gaston de, "The Russian Peasant and the Czar," 343.
 MESSIMY, Adolph, French Minister of War, 502.
 METZ, Lorraine, entered by troops of Marshal Petain, 12; seat of French Government in Lorraine, 274.
 MEURER, (Admiral) Hugo, plenipotentiary of the German naval command, 13.
 MEUSE-ARGONNE offensive described by Gen. Pershing, 151.
 MEUSE regions, devastation in, 289.
 MILAN, Italy, most enthusiastic of all cities in welcome to President Wilson, 214.
 MILITARY Service Act, operation of in England, 242.
 MILLER, J. Corson, "Epicedium," 521.
 MILLS of France deliberately destroyed, 289.
 MILNER (Viscount), British Secretary for the Colonies, 257; replies in House of Commons to criticism of Russian operations, 271.
 MINE sweepers busy in clearing English Channel, 34.
 MIRMAN, Commissioner of Civil Affairs in Metz, 278.
Mobilizing the British Army in 1914, 501.
 MONUMENT at Nancy, France, to first American soldier killed in battle, 477.
 MONTDIDIER, work of U. S. troops in battle of, 148; wanton destruction in, 515.
 MONTENEGRO takes action toward union with Yugoslavac State, 63.
 MORALE of the American Army, 65.
 MORENIL, France, devastation in, 515.
 MOROCCO, disposition of, an issue in the Peace Congress, 268.
 MOUNT Vernon, torpedoing of, 472.
 MUHLON (Dr.), former director of the Krupp works, 405.
 MUHLHOUSE, entered by French Army of Occupation, 276.
 MULLER, (Dr.) August, Minister of Economic in new German Government, 433.
 MULLER, Richard, presides at Congress of Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils in Berlin, 215.
 MUNITION factories, large number of women employed in, 96.
 MUNRO, Robert, Secretary for Scotland in new British Cabinet, 257.
 MURAT mansion assigned to President Wilson as his residence in Paris, 6.
 MUSTARD oil, terrible results of contact with, 127.

N

NANCY, France, memorial service held in honor of first Americans killed in battle, 477.
 NARVA, battle of, 444.
 NATIONAL Assembly for Germany decided upon and date named, 217.
 NATIONAL Naval Volunteers, law for the creation of, 241.
 NATIONALIZATION of women decreed in parts of Russia, 78.
 NAVAL construction in the United States, 67.
Naval Mutiny at Kiel, 59.

NAVAL volunteers, increase in number of, 112.
 NAVY (U. S.), achievements of described by Secretary Daniels, 111.
 NEBRASKA satisfies the Prohibition amendment to Constitution, 258.
Neutrals and the Peace Congress, 263.
New Year's Day, 1919, 362.
 NICHOLAS, ex-Czar of Russia, report of his execution, 338.
 NICHOLAS (King), of Montenegro, expresses himself in favor of federation of Jugoslavlic States, 306.
 NITTI, Signor, Italian Minister of the Treasury, resigns from Cabinet, 258.
 NOULENS, Joseph, former Ambassador to Russia, is given hearing by Peace Congress, 407.
 NOYES, Alfred, "Slav and Emperor," poem, 337.
 NUMBER of men mobilized in the war, 239.

O

OCEAN lands, reduction in by Great Britain and U. S., 462.
 OCCUPIED regions of Germany, commercial regulations and civil restrictions imposed, 234.
 ODERBERG captured by Czechs from the Poles, 458.
 ODESSA, base of French forces operating in Russia, 269.
 OMSK, Archbishop of, letter relating Bolshevik atrocities, 451.
 OMSK, Russia, Government of, overthrown by coup d'etat of Kolchak, 77.
 ORDNANCE, Bureau of, efficient work in the war, 116.
 ORGANIZATION and training of American soldiers, 144.
Organizing German Austria, 489.
 ORLANDO (Premier), gives adhesion to the League of Nations on behalf of Italy, 386.
 OETZ, M., gives Belgian point of view as to the Congo, 393.
 OSTEND, sufferings of, under German occupation, 37.
 OWEN, H. Collinson, "Constantinople Occupied," 90.

P

PAGE, Humphrey, "Bruges Under the Yoke," 39.
 PAGE, Walter Hines, former Ambassador to Great Britain, dies, 259.
 PALESTINE, operations of British forces described by Gen. Allenby, 167; goal of the Zionist movement, 416.
 PANAMA, war declaration against Germany, 358.
 PAOLUCCI (Dr.), daring exploit in Pola Harbor, 493.
 PARAGUAY shows friendship for the United States, 361.
 PARIS, France, greeting of, to President Wilson, 4; celebrates recovery of Alsace-Lorraine, 46; reason for visiting stated by President Wilson, 109.
 PASHITCH, (Premier) Nikolai, prominent in Jugoslavlic movement, 63.
Passing of the Hapsburg Sovereignty, 484.
 PAY for soldiers, criticism because often in arrears, 249.
Peace Congress, 191, 382.
 PEACE Congress, distribution of delegates among the various States represented, 381; constitution of Supreme Council,

- 382; warning to factions, 382; second Plenary Session, 383; staff personnel of, 391.
- PEACE delegation, American, to Paris Congress, appointment and personnel of, 1.
- Peace Issues in Neutral Countries*, 424.
- PEREZ-VERDIA, Beinto Javier, "Latin America in the War," 358.
- PERM, captured by Gen. Gaida with great number of prisoners, 269.
- PERONNE, France, ruined by the Germans, 515.
- PERRIS, George H., describes the entry of French into Strasbourg, 28.
- PERSHING, (Gen.) John J., headquarters at Treves, Germany, 9; issues rules for regulation of occupied zone, 234.
- PERU, claims against Germany, 358.
- PETAINE, (Marshal) Henri, triumphal entry into Metz, 12.
- PETROVSKI, M., Bolshevik Commissary for Home Affairs, 448.
- PHILPOTTS, Eden, "Wartime Sights in an English Harbor," 44.
- PIAVE River, scene of last Italian-Austrian battle, 293.
- PICHON, Stephen, French Foreign Minister, greets President Wilson at Brest, 3.
- PIEZ, Charles A., regarding the sale of wooden ships, 136.
- PILSUDSKI, (Gen.) Joseph, forms Cabinet for new Polish Government, 79.
- PLARR, Victor Gustave, "Strasbourg," 347.
- PLUMER, (Gen. Sir) Herbert, commanding British Army of Occupation, 26.
- PLUNKETT, (Rear Admiral) C. P., in charge of land operations with naval guns, 116.
- POINCARÉ, (President) Raymond, extends welcome to President Wilson, 4; address on recovery of Alsace-Lorraine, 48.
- POISON gas plant of U. S. largest in the world, 125.
- POLAND orders Germans to leave her territory, 79; political situation, 313.
- Poland's Thousand Years of Evolution*, 319.
- POLES clash with Ukrainians in Galicia, 63.
- Political Confusion in Austria*, 62.
- Political Situation in Poland*, 313.
- POLK, (Acting Secretary of State) Frank L., proclaims prohibition amendment as part of the Constitution, 466.
- POPE Benedict has interview with President Wilson in the Vatican, 212.
- PORTO RICO, soldiers furnished by, 465.
- PORTUGAL, mobilization and total losses, 240; royalist uprising in, 418.
- POSKA, M., Estonian Minister of Foreign Affairs, 445.
- POTTER, Frank Hunter, "War Work of the Y. M. C. A.," 478.
- PRATT, (Capt.) Wm. V., 2.
- Premier Clemenceau's Appeal to America*, 405.
- PRESIDENT Lincoln, sinking of, by submarine, 470.
- President Poincaré's Address*, 48.
- President Poincaré in Alsace-Lorraine*, 427.
- President Wilson in Europe*, 1, 198.
- President Wilson's Visit to Italy*, 209.
- PRESIDENT'S address to Congress, 106.
- PREVEL, Victor, elected Mayor of Metz, in Lorraine, 277.
- PRICE, G. Ward, "Bulgarian cruelties in Serbia," 86.
- PRINCES' Islands, Sea of Marmora, seat of proposed conference between the Allies and Russian factions, 407.
- Prinkipo Conference Plan*, 407.
- PRISONERS, British, in German hands compelled to work under shell fire, 81.
- PRISONERS released by the Germans after armistice, 9.
- Private Diary of the Late Czar*, 344.
- PROHIBITION, nation-wide, President's proclamation of, 69; ratified by three-fourths of the States, 258.
- PROPAGANDA, Bolshevik, millions of dollars expended for, 449.
- PROTHERO, R. E., Secretary of Agriculture in British Cabinet, 257.
- PROVISION for disabled U. S. soldiers, 250.

Q

- Quentin Roosevelt, poem, 155.
- Question of the German Colonies*, 392.

R

- RADEK, Bolshevik emissary stirs up revolt in Berlin, 221.
- RADICAL demands for reforms in German Government, 217.
- RAFET Pacha, cruel oppressor of the Greeks, 552.
- RAGGI, (Marquis) Salvago, discusses question of German colonies, 392.
- RAILROADS under Government control, 466.
- RATHENAU, (Dr) Walter, pessimistic views as to Germany's future, 233.
- Recovery of Brussels, Strasbourg, and Aix*, 27.
- RED Cross, abuses of, by Germans at Villers, France, 82; sends materials for Christmas celebration to American Army of Occupation, 234.
- Red Russia Described by Eyewitnesses*, 448.
- REES, Caroline Runtz, "Women's War Work in Three Nations," 101.
- REGENCY Council of Poland resigns, 261.
- REGULAR army troops in action, 473.
- REGULATION of Ports, Waterways, and Railroads, Committee on, 391.
- REINHART, Prussian War Minister, uses energetic methods to suppress Spartacans, 225.
- RELEASE of industries from war regulation described by President Wilson, 108.
- RENKIN, M., 417.
- RENNER, Herr, one of the trio in charge of German Austrian affairs, 300.
- REPUBLICAN criticism of President's trip to Paris as peace delegate, 1.
- RESPONSIBILITY for the War, Committee on, 391.
- REUTER, Emile, Premier of Luxemburg, 267.
- REVAL, military operations near, 445.
- Revolt in the German Navy*, 439.
- RHINE crossed by American Army of Occupation, 18.
- RICE, (Lieut.) Grantland, "New Year's Day, 1919," 362.
- RICHTER, Chief of Police in Berlin, declares acts of predecessor void, 225.
- RICKENBACHER, (Capt.) Edward V., leading aviator in U. S. flying force, 251.
- RIETH (Dr.), prominent in case of Edith Cavell, rebuked by Mr. Hoover, 238.
- RODMAN, (Admiral) Hugh, receives King George on dreadnought, 30; recommends the sinking of surrendered German war-ships, 238; "Deeds of the American Battle Squadron," 254.
- ROMANONES (Count), called upon to form Cabinet, 75.
- ROME, Italy, extends tumultuous greeting to President Wilson, 209.

- ROOSEVELT, Theodore, ex-President of the United States, died Jan. 6, 1919, 259.
- ROSIERES, France, ruin wrought there by Germans, 515.
- ROSSETTI, (Lieut. Col.) R., "The Sinking of the Viribus Unitis," 493.
- ROUBAIX, France, destruction of industries by Germans, 511.
- ROYE, France, scene of German outrages, 515.
- RUHLBEN, Saxony, German internment camp, 478.
- RUMANIA, total number of soldiers engaged in war, 204; casualties, 240.
- RUPPRECHT (former Crown Prince) of Bavaria seeks to overturn the revolutionary Government, 221.
- RUSSIA, mobilized strength and casualties of, 240; factions invited to meet with the Allies at Prinkipo, 407.
- Russia's Struggle Against Chaos*, 76.
- RUSSIA'S struggle with Bolshevism, 443.
- RUSSIAN front, collapse of, 331.
- Russian Peasant and the Czar*, 343.
- Ruthenians Versus Poles in Galicia*, 326.
- RYAN, John D., resigns as Director of Air Service, 69.
- S**
- SAAR district, problem of coal mines claimed by France, 296.
- SAARBRUCKEN, German town occupied by French forces, 21.
- SAILORS revolt in Berlin, 219.
- SALONIKI, occupation by the Allies of financial advantage to Greece, 423.
- SANDERS, (Gen.) Liman von, connection with Turkish outrages, 552.
- SAXONY, casualties of, 247.
- SAZONOFF, Sergius, opposes project of Prinkipo Conference, 408.
- SCANDINAVIA, effect of Germany's military collapse upon, 70.
- SCHNEIDEMANN, Philipp, resignation from Ebert Cabinet, 53; addresses Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils, 217.
- SCHELDT, dispute between Belgium and Holland concerning, 263.
- SCHLESWIG-Holstein question brought to the notice of President Wilson, 73.
- SCOTT, (Major) James Brown, 3.
- SCHWAB, Charles M., Director General of Emergency Fleet Corporation, makes statement regarding ship construction, 134.
- Secretary Baker on the Army's Record*, 121.
- SEDAN, operations against, 477.
- SEITZ, Herr, one of members of Austrian triumvirate, 300.
- SEMENTOV (Gen.), deposed by Kolchak as leader of Fifth Army, 77; 270.
- SENUSSI, fanatical tribe of Moslems, 482.
- SERBIA, losses in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 240.
- SERBIANS massacred in cold blood by Bulgarians, 86.
- SEYMOUR, (Prof.) Charles, 3.
- Shaping the League of Nations Plan*, 395.
- SHARP, William G., American Ambassador to France, describes reception of the French in Alsace-Lorraine, 281.
- SHELDON, Louis P., American delegate to armistice conference at Treves, 236.
- SHELLS, vast number left behind by Germans at Mulheim, 237.
- SHIP construction in U. S. Navy during the war, 113.
- SHIPPING losses on account of submarine depredations, 133.
- SHIPPING needed for rehabilitation of France and Belgium, 287.
- SHORTT, Edward, British Secretary for Home Affairs, 257.
- SHOTWELL, J. T., 3.
- SIBERIAN expeditionary force, 456.
- SIBERT, (Major Gen.) W. L., Director of U. S. Chemical Warfare Service, 125; trains 1st Division of regulars, 473.
- SIEGFRID, Madame, President of the National Council of French Women, sends tribute to America's dead, 262.
- SIMON, Henri, French Minister of the Colonies, 392.
- SIMONS, (Dr.) George S., testimony before Senate Committee regarding Bolshevism, 448.
- SIMS, (Admiral) William S., witnesses surrender of German fleet, 30.
- Sinking of the Viribus Unitis*, 493.
- SINN FEIN leaders organize an Irish Parliament, 458.
- SKOROPADSKI (Hetman), deposed as head of Ukrainian Government, 79.
- Slave and Emperor*, poem, 337.
- SLAVS of Hungary take steps toward formation of Yugoslav State, 63.
- SMITH, (Sir) F. E., Lord Chancellor in British Cabinet, 257.
- SMITH, Sydney V., 3.
- SMUTS, (Gen.) Jan, commander of allied expeditionary force in East Africa, 130.
- SMYRNA, disposition of, 414.
- SOLDIERS, employment of, after discharge from army, 466.
- SOLDIERS of U. S. praised in President's address to Congress, 106.
- SOLF, (Dr.) William, complains to associated Governments regarding rate of occupation, 13; resignation from Ebert Cabinet, 56.
- SORBONNE confers degree of Doctor on President Wilson, 198.
- Solving New Shipping Problems*, 459.
- SOVIETS in German occupied towns, 16.
- SPA, Belgium, seat of the armistice commission, 33; scenes attending discussion of Kaiser's abdication, 228.
- SPAIN, effect of Germany's military collapse upon, 70; deprecates continued possession of Gibraltar by Great Britain, 263.
- SPARTACAN activity in fomenting riots in Berlin, 222.
- SPARTACAN uprising said to have been inspired by Russians, 225.
- STATES of the Union, soldiers furnished by, 464.
- STEEL-MAITLAND, (Sir) Arthur, 257.
- STEPHANEK (Dr.), in sympathy with the Czechoslovak movement, 490.
- STEWART, (Col.) George E., reports on health and losses of American troops in Archangel section, 269.
- ST. MIHIEL battle participated in by the Marines, 120.
- Story of the First American Regulars*, 473.
- STRASBOURG taken possession of by the French, 28; centre of French administration in Alsace, 275.
- Strasbourg*, poem, 347.
- STRENGTH of allied and German armies compared, 455.
- STRIKES occurring all over Germany after the Emperor's abdication, 54.
- STUDENTS' Army Training Corps demobilized, 64.

STUPIN (Gen.), 447.
 SUBMARINE torpedoes the Antilles, 469.
 SUBMARINES, German, partly completed, ordered to be destroyed, 236; list of total lost, 263.
 SUCCESS of allied arms helped by woman's work, 101.
Sufferings of Ostend Under German Occupation, 37.
Summary of War Damage in France, 516.
 SUMMERALL, (Gen.) Charles P., 476.
 SUPPLY Service, growth and development of, 145.
 SUPREME War Council extends terms of armistice, 236; powers delegated to by Peace Congress, 382.
 SURINAM, sale of, to the U. S. contemplated, 425.
Surrender of the German Fleet, 30.
 SWEDEN, echo of German revolution in Socialist agitation, 74; recalls her diplomatic representative in Russia, 79.
 SWENM, Charles S., 2.
 SWITZERLAND, effect of Germany's military collapse upon, 70; inefficiency of German diplomatic methods denounced, 233.
 SYRIANS massacred by Turks, 239.
 SZARNAL (Jr.), Mayor of Prague, 491.

T

TALAAT PASHA flees from Turkey to Germany, 14.
 TAMPA, U. S. A., sunk in British Channel with loss of all on board, 115.
 TARASOVO, allied withdrawal from, 443.
 TARTAR invasion of Poland, 321.
 TCHITCHERIN, M., Bolshevik Foreign Minister, asks for confirmation of invitation to Prinkipo Conference, 409.
 TERRORISM in Russia shown in execution of 500 officers, 78.
 TESCHEN coal fields claimed by both Poles and Czechoslovaks, 393.
 TEUTON order defeated in Poland in 1410, 323.
 THEODOROFF, new Foreign Minister of Bulgaria, 420.
 THRACE, suggested disposition of, 413.
 TICONDEROGA, brutality of submarine commander in sinking of, 135.
 TIRPITZ, (Admiral) von, blamed for war and declared to be the Kaiser's "evil genius," 231.
 "To the Dead; a Dedication," poem by Maurice Hewlett, 45.
 TOLBERG, Hindenburg's headquarters, 436.
 TOLMINO occupied by American regiment that has fought in Italian Army, 14.
 TORMENTS visited upon Greeks by Bulgarians, 88.
Total Damage Caused by U-Boats, 133.
 TOTAL losses of all belligerents in the war, 239.
 TOURCOING, factories looted of metals and machinery, 506.
 TRANSPORTATION of troops to France described by Secretary Baker, 122.
Transporting Locomotives to France, 492.
 TREDWELL, Roger C., American Consul at Tashkent, 273.
 TRENT, Austria, disorders in, after the armistice, 14.
 TREVES, Germany, entered by Army of Occupation, 15.
 TRIESTE, Austria, disturbances in, after the armistice, 14.
 TRIPOLI occupied by British troops, 547.

TROELSTRA, Holland Socialist leader, seeks to overthrow the Government, 71.
 TROOP Movements Under Armistice, 8.
 TSCHAIKOVSKY, Nicholas, head of Northern Government of Russia, 408.
 TSCHKEKALOFF, (Capt.) Alexander, "The Causes of Russia's Ruin," 330.
 TSING-TAO claimed by China, 416.
 TURIN, Italy, scene of great welcome to President Wilson, 214.
 TURKEY, entered by allied forces of occupation, 14; mobilization of forces and losses sustained, 240.
 TURKISH atrocities in the Levant, 549.
Turkish Cruelty to Prisoners, 89.
 TYRWHITT, (Rear Admiral) Reginald W., receives surrender of German submarines, 13.

U

UFA, scene of victory by Bolshevik forces, 269.
 UKRAINIANS come in conflict with Poles in Galicia, 63.
 UKRAINIANS' efforts toward freedom, 328.
 UNIFORM, subservience shown to, by the Germans, 21.
 UNITED STATES, demobilization activities in, 8, 64; high morale of army, 65; deaths in army from influenza and pneumonia, 65; public debt of, 67; total mobilized forces, 240; casualties of, 240; financial aid to Allies, 462; naval construction program, 465.
 UNITED STATES Army, total strength of, 456; deeds of regulars in France, 473.
United States Navy in the War, 111.
 UNITED STATES Shipping Board announces reduction of ocean rates, 462.
 URAL District Soviet passes sentence on the ex-Czar, 340.
 URAL front in Russia scene of severe fighting, 269.
 URUGUAY, attempt made by Bolsheviks to overthrow Government, 273.
 USKUB, Serbia, treatment meted out to women there by Bulgarians, 87.

V

VALENCIENNES, German hospital, the scene of shocking treatment of wounded British, 84.
 VAN DEVENTER (Major Gen.), operating in East African Campaign against von Lettow-Vorbeck, 130.
 VESNITCH, (Dr.) M. R., Serbian Minister to France, 310.
 VICTOR EMMANUEL III., King of Italy, welcomes President Wilson, 211.
 VIENNA, hoisting of the red flag in, 300.
 VILLERS, France, used as prison camp for British captured by Germans, 81.
 VILNA, captured by Bolshevik forces, 270.
 VIVIANI, Rene, action in regard to Briey, 502.
 VIX (Col.), chief of allied Military Mission in Hungary, 312.
 VLADIMIR, Metropolitan of Kiev, assassinated, 451.
 VOILIN, Leon, plea for the demobilization of French soldiers, 244.
 VORWAERTS newspaper building in Berlin seized by Spartacans, 221.
 VOLUNTARY registration of women for war work, 103.

W

WALKER, James, British Consul at Lille, France, deported to Germany, 509.

- Wanton Destruction of French Factories*, 504.
- War Casualties of All the Nations*, 239.
- WAR, debts of all nations, stated by Federal Reserve Board, 67.
- WAR Labor Policies Board recommends the employment of women, 100.
- WAR material surrendered by Germans in accordance with terms of armistice, 237.
- WAR Revenue bill passes House of Representatives, 455.
- WAR Trade Board issues statement regarding requisition of Dutch ships, 461.
- War Work of the Y. M. C. A.*, 478.
- WAR sufferers, aid for, advocated by President Wilson, 109.
- Wartime Sights in an English Harbor*, by Eden Phillpotts, 44
- WEAKLY, F. E., describes substitution of women for men in war industries, 104.
- WELFARE organizations commended in official report of Gen. Pershing, 146.
- WEIMAR, scene of German National Assembly, 429.
- WESTERMANN, W. L., 3.
- WESTPHALIAN region of Germany scene of labor strikes, 224.
- WEYGAND (Gen.), Chief of French General Staff, 36.
- WHITE, (Hon.) Henry, appointed delegate to Peace Congress, 1.
- WHITE, William Allen, delegate to Pinkipo Conference, 410.
- Why Austria's Peace Efforts Failed*, 499.
- WILSON, (Gen. Sir) Henry, commander of allied garrisons on the Bosphorus, 92.
- WILSON, (President) Woodrow, sails for France at head of American delegation to Peace Congress, 1; public comment on announcement of his purpose, 1; arrival at Brest, 3; reception at Paris, 4; addresses Congress, 106; visits England, 201; warm reception in various cities, 202 et seq.; goes to Italy, 209; hailed with acclamations in Genoa, Milan, and Turin, 214.
- WINDISCHGRATZ (Prince), 484.
- WOLFF, Theodor, exposes condition of German diplomatic service in Switzerland, 233.
- Women's War Work in Three Nations*, 101.
- Women in War Industries*, 95.
- WOMEN, maltreatment of, by Germans in occupied regions, 290.
- WORK for soldiers planned by U. S. Government organizations, 249.
- WUERTTEMBERG, war casualties of, 247.

Y

- Y. M. C. A. work in the war, 478.
- YOUNGER committee on ill-treatment of British captives makes report, 80.
- YPRES, Belgium, place where Germans first used poison gas, 128.

Z

- ZIONIST movement, 417.

Portraits

- BAKER, Ray Stannard, 380.
- BALKAN and Russian Statesmen, 1.
- BARRY, (Major Gen.) Thomas H., 380.
- BROCKDORF-RANTZAU, (Count), 380.
- CREEL, George, 380.
- DASZYNSKI, Ignace, 1.
- DICKMAN, (Major Gen.) Joseph P., 1.
- EBERT, Friedrich W., 190.
- EISNER, Kurt, 190.
- GIBBS, Philip, 380.
- GLASS, (Secretary of the Treasury) Carter, 1.
- HINES, Walker D., 380.
- HIPPER, (Vice Admiral) von, 1.
- KOLTCHAK (Vice Admiral), 1.
- LIEBKNECHT, (Dr.) Karl, 380.
- LVOFF (Prince), 1.
- MARSHALL, (Vice President) Thomas R., 1.
- PADEREWSKI, Ignace Jan, 190.
- PASHITCH, Nicholas, 1.
- PERRIS, George H., 380.
- PILSUDSKI, (Gen.) Joseph, 190.
- RODMAN, (Rear Admiral) Hugh, 1.
- TSCHAIKOVSKY, Nicholas, 380.
- TYRWHITT (Vice Admiral), 1.
- VON MANN, (Vice Admiral) Ritter, 1.

Illustrations

- ALEXANDER, Crown Prince of Serbia, 190.
- ALLIED commanders framing armistice terms at Versailles, 1.
- AMERICA welcomes home her Bluejackets, 191.
- AMERICAN Army of Occupation entering Treves, 191.
- AMERICAN Army of Occupation in Germany, 381.
- AMERONGEN Castle, Holland, residence of the ex-Kaiser, 190.
- BELGIUM redeemed from German rule, 1.
- BELGIUM'S capital redeemed from German rule, 191.
- CLOTH Hall at Ypres, Belgium, 381.
- FRENCH entering Strasbourg, Capital of Alsace, 191.
- GREATEST naval surrender in history, 1.
- GREETING President Wilson in the Place de la Concorde, 190.
- HEADQUARTERS of American Peace Delegates, 191.
- HISTORIC spot where the armistice was signed, 191.

- LEADERS in movement for an Independent Poland, 190.
 MARSHAL Petain entering Metz in triumph, 190.
 MAURETANIA, sister ship of the Lusitania, 1.
 MEETING of two great allied capitals, 381.
 MURAT mansion, temporary home of President Wilson, 190.
 NEW YORK celebrating the end of the war, 1.
 PEACE Conference in session, 380.
 PRESIDENT WILSON at Milan, Italy, 381.
 PRESIDENT WILSON and Mrs. Willson at Chaumont, France, 381.
 PRESIDENT WILSON leaving America for Peace Conference, 1.
 REJOICING in allied capitals, 1.
 ROME, Italy, greeting President Wilson, 381.
 SCENE at proclamation of New German Government, 190.
 STRIKING example of marine camouflage, 1.
 SURRENDER of German submarines, 1.
 TRIUMPHANT French entry into Strasbourg, 381.
 UNITED STATES Council of National Defense, 1.
 VISIT of the King of Italy to Paris, 191.
 "WATCH on the Rhine," 380.
 WHERE the Peace Conference is held, 380.
 WHITE flags that betokened Germany's surrender, 191.

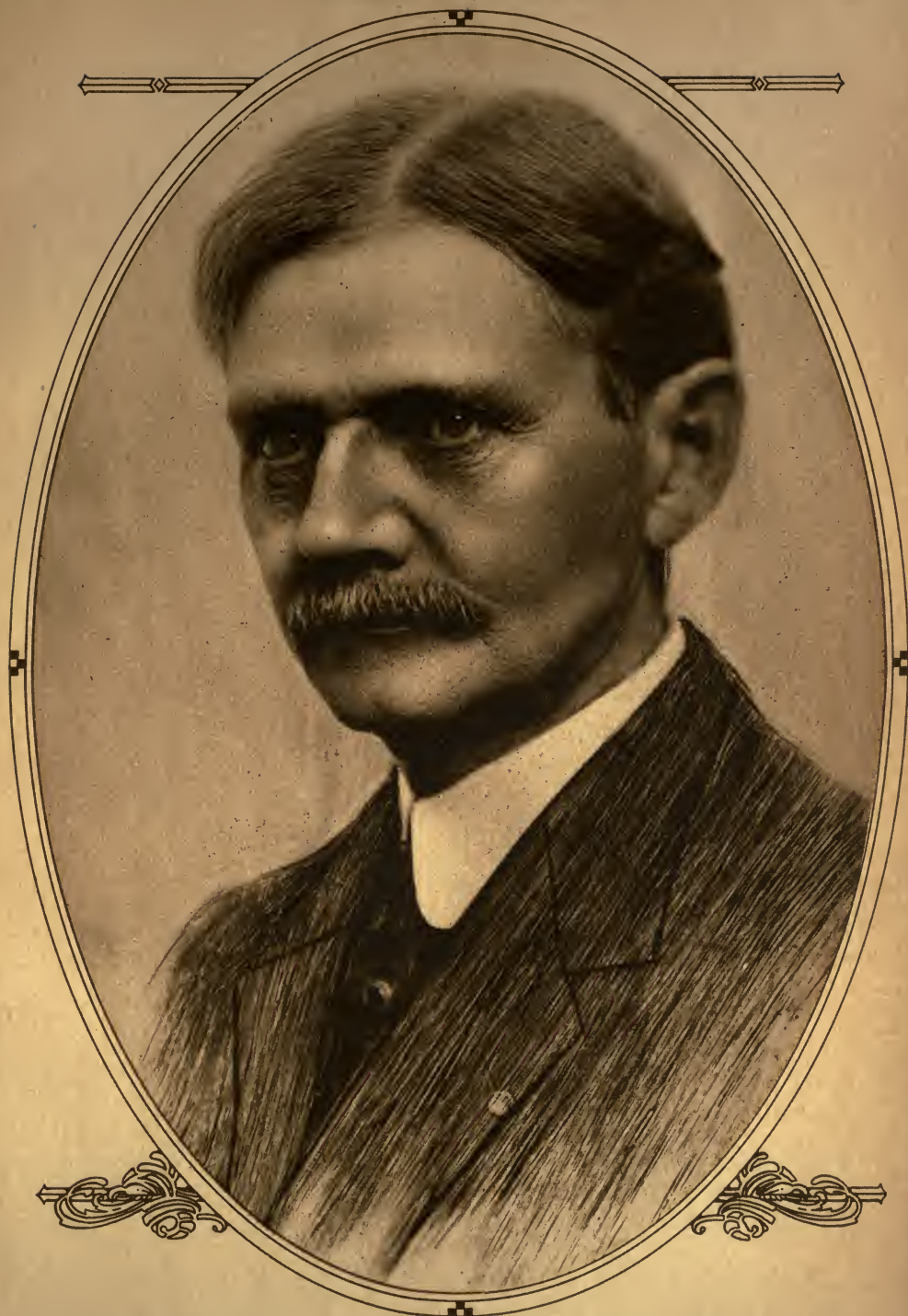
Maps

- ALLENBY'S victorious campaign in Palestine, 541.
 ALSACE-LORRAINE, 296.
 ANCIENT Poland, 320.
 ARABIA, scene of war operations, 351.
 ARGONNE and Meuse, 153.
 BERLIN, scene of British fighting in, 223.
 BOUNDARIES of new kingdom of Yugoslavia, 308.
 BOUNDARIES and territories in dispute, 414.
 CONFLICTING claims in Asia Minor and the Caucasus, 415.
 CONSTANTINOPLE and the Dardanelles, 91.
 CZECHOSLOVAK Republic, 312.
 DISTRIBUTION of Poles in Germany, 316.
 FINAL British victories in France, 524-525.
 FIRST American fighting, scenes of, 147.
 FLANDERS salient, 157.
 GERMAN advance in Picardy, 163.
 GERMAN East Africa, 131.
 ITALY, scene of victory over Austria, 292.
 LINE of battle when hostilities ceased, 1.
 LOCATION of American forces on the Rhine, 19.
 LOCATION of Ekaterinburg, 340.
 MERCHANT tonnage lost in the war, chart, 460.
 PALESTINIAN campaign, 170.
 POLA Harbor, 498.
 POLAND in the year 1321, 322.
 POLISH Republic at time of greatest expansion, 325.
 REGION traversed by allied Armies of Occupation, 11.
 REVOLUTIONARY movement in Germany, 51.
 RUSSIA, movements of Allies in, 271.
 RUSSIA, Onega River, 270.
 RUSSIA, scene of conflict between allied and Bolshevik forces, 445.
 SCHLESWIG, 297.
 ST. MIHIEL salient, 150.
 TERRITORY claimed by Poland, 298.
 WHERE German warships and submarines are interned, 31.

Cartoons

CARTOONS, 173-190; 363-380; 553-570.

THOMAS R. MARSHALL.



Vice President of the United States, Whose Responsibilities Were
Increased by the President's Absence in Europe.

CARTER GLASS



Nominated Dec. 5, 1918, to be Secretary of the Treasury. Succeeding
William G. McAdoo

(© Harris & Ewing)

MAJOR GEN. JOSEPH P. DICKMAN



Commander of the Third American Army During Its Occupation of
German Territory

(© Press Illustrating Service)

ALLIED COMMISSIONERS FRAMING ARMISTICE TERMS AT VERSAILLES



French Official Photograph Showing the Allied Plenipotentiaries at Work on Terms of Armistice. Left Side of Table from Left to Right: Second Man, General di Robilant; Italian Foreign Minister Sonnino, Italian Premier Orlando, Colonel E. M. House, General Tasker H. Bliss; Next But One, Premier Venizelos, and the Serbian Minister, Vesnitch. At the Right: Vice Admiral Wemyss, General Sir Henry Wilson, Field Marshal Haig, General Sackville West, Andrew Bonar Law, Premier Lloyd George, Premier Clémenceau, and French Foreign Minister Stephen Pichon.

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UNITED STATES COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE



The Council of National Defense, Whose Members Exercised Great Influence on the Conduct of the War. This Picture Was Taken on Nov. 29, 1918. From Left to Right Are Grosvenor B. Clarkson, Secretary of the Council Throughout the War, and These Members of the Cabinet: David F. Houston, Josephus Daniels, Newton D. Baker, Franklin K. Lane, William C. Redfield, and William B. Wilson

PRESIDENT WILSON LEAVING AMERICA FOR PEACE CONFERENCE



The George Washington, Flying the President's Flag and Accompanied by Destroyers, Steaming Down the Harbor Dec. 4, 1918. (Insert) The President and Mrs. Wilson Standing at the Rail

(© International Film Service)

MAURETANIA, SISTER SHIP OF THE LUSITANIA



The Camouflaged Mauretania, Bringing the First Shipload of Returning American Soldiers and Receiving an Uproarious Welcome in New York Harbor, Dec. 2, 1918

(© Times Photo Service)

THE GREATEST NAVAL SURRENDER IN HISTORY



The Surrender of the German High Seas Fleet in Accordance with the Armistice Terms Took Place on Nov. 21, 1918, Off the Scottish Coast. Allied Fleets of More Than 400 Vessels Were Drawn Up in Two Lines, and Through These the German Vessels Passed. The Allies Then Took Possession and Sent the Crews Back to Germany

SURRENDER OF GERMAN SUBMARINES



A Group of U-Boats at the Moment When They Were Yielded to the Allies in Compliance with the Armistice Terms, Which Called for the Surrender of the Whole German Underseas Fleet

NEW YORK CELEBRATING THE END OF THE WAR



Scenes of Joyous Demonstrations When News of the Signing of the Armistice Was Received in New York City

REJOICINGS IN ALLIED CAPITALS



Crowds Before Buckingham Palace, London, Cheering the King, Who
Appeared on the Balcony

(© British Official Photo from Western Newspaper Union)



The Place de l'Opera, in the Heart of Paris, Packed with Frenzied
Throngs Celebrating the News of Victory



King Albert of Belgium and Queen Elizabeth Making a Triumphal Entry Into Bruges

GERMAN OCCUPIED TERRITORY



This Map Shows the Line of Battle When Hostilities Ceased, the Territory Occupied by Allied Armies, the Neutral Zone, and the Line of Furthest German Advance in France, Sept. 6, 1914

BALKAN AND RUSSIAN STATESMEN



Ignace Daszynski
Provisional President of Poland
(© Underwood & Underwood)



Vice Admiral Koltchak
Head of Russian Government at Omsk



Prince Lvoff
Head of First Russian Provisional Government



Nicholas Pashitch
Prime Minister of Serbia

FIGURES IN GERMAN FLEET SURRENDER



Rear Admiral Hugh Rodman
Commanding American Dreadnought Squadron



British Vice Admiral Tyrwhitt
Who Received Surrender of German Submarines



Vice Admiral Ritter von Mann
Head of the German Navy



Vice Admiral von Hipper
Head of German High Seas Fleet at Time of Surrender

A STRIKING EXAMPLE OF MARINE CAMOUFLAGE



The Zebra Striped British Transport Osterley, as She Appeared in New York Harbor, Decked with Flags in Honor of the Armistice, Nov. 11, 1918
(© Underwood & Underwood)

PRESIDENT WILSON IN EUROPE

Story of His Voyage and of His Memorable Reception as a Guest of the French Nation

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON sailed for France at the head of the American delegation to the Peace Conference on the steamship *George Washington* at 10:15 A. M., Dec. 4, and arrived at Brest Dec. 13. The voyage had a profound significance, as it was a radical departure from the immemorial custom of American Presidents not to leave the country while in office; moreover, it marked the first active step of definite participation in European politics by an American President. The act gave notice to the world that Mr. Wilson intended not only to take a personal and practical hand in shaping the peace treaties growing out of the world war, but to interpret and urge personally the adoption of his war aims platform, which included as cardinal points "the freedom of the seas" and "a League of Nations."

The announcement of his purpose to go to Europe was officially made on Nov. 18, as follows:

The President expects to sail for France immediately after the opening of the regular session of Congress, for the purpose of taking part in the discussion and settlement of the main features of the treaty of peace.

It is not likely that it will be possible for him to remain throughout the sessions of the formal Peace Conference, but his presence at the outset is necessary in order to obviate the manifest disadvantages of discussion by cable in determining the greater outlines of the final treaty, about which he must necessarily be consulted.

He will, of course, be accompanied by delegates who will sit as the representatives of the United States throughout the conference. The names of the delegates will be presently announced.

This was supplemented on Nov. 29 by the following announcement regarding the membership of the United States delegation to the Peace Conference:

It was announced at the Executive offices tonight that the representatives of the United States at the Peace Conference would be: The President himself, the Sec-

retary of State, the Hon. Henry White, recently Ambassador to France; Mr. Edward M. House, and General Tasker H. Bliss. It was explained that it had not been possible to announce these appointments before because the number of representatives the chief belligerents were to send had until a day or two ago been under discussion.

The announcement had a marked political effect. The Republican leaders and a number of influential independent newspapers and publicists who are neutral in politics expressed strong disapproval of the trip. Measures were introduced in both Houses of Congress by Republicans declaring that the office of President would be vacated during Mr. Wilson's absence from the country. Nothing came of these measures, however, and when the President sailed the agitation had subsided without having brought about any definite action by any official body. The only episode in this phase of the matter was the presence of Vice President Marshall at a meeting of the Cabinet in the White House on Dec. 10, over which he presided. He made the following statement to the members of the Cabinet:

Gentlemen: In assuming the chair and presiding over what is known as a meeting of the Cabinet I deem it proper to make a brief statement so that my conduct may not be misunderstood nor misinterpreted. I am here and am acting in obedience to a request preferred by the President upon the eve of his departure and also at your request. But I am here informally and personally. I am not undertaking to exercise any official duty or function. I shall preside in an unofficial and informal way over your meetings out of deference to your desires and those of the President.

THE PRESIDENT'S DEPARTURE

The departure of President Wilson was witnessed by thousands of persons from the waterfront of Manhattan and Staten Island, while craft in the harbor

joined in a noisy farewell, the like of which New York had, perhaps, never before heard. The President, with Mrs. Wilson at his side, stood on the bridge of the great transport and waved his hands and tipped his hat time and time again to show his appreciation of New York's parting tribute.

The George Washington was escorted down the harbor by five destroyers of the Atlantic Torpedo Flotilla. Off Staten Island the superdreadnought Pennsylvania, flagship of Admiral Henry T. Mayo, the Commander in Chief of the battle fleet, and a dozen other destroyers, the last under orders to escort the liner to a point about 100 miles east of Sandy Hook, and then to return to New York, met the Presidential ship. The Pennsylvania and one flotilla of destroyers conveyed the George Washington to Brest.

The scene on the Government pier in Hoboken when the George Washington backed out into the river at high tide was inspiring. The general public was barred from the pier reservation, the only persons within the inclosure being soldiers, sailors, Government officials, employes, and press representatives.

While the vessel was slowly making its way through the harbor two army airplanes from Mineola came out of the clouds and, swooping low, gave a thrilling touch to the wonderful picture. One of the machines came into view from the east and the other from the north. Both looped the loop, made nose dives, and performed other feats that made the thousands on shore and on ships gasp at the audacity of the pilots. Beyond the Statue of Liberty the Atlantic transport liner Minnehaha, from London, her decks crowded with returning American troops, passed the Washington and the President waved not once, but many times, a greeting to the khaki-clad host.

FAREWELL TRIBUTES

On the Battery perhaps 10,000 persons jammed the seawall to join in the farewell to the President, while on Governor's Island the soldiers rushed to the western shore and shouted their respects to the Commander in Chief. Other great crowds lined the Staten Island shore and

gave the President a greeting. It was off Staten Island that the Washington passed the Minnehaha and the President got his first opportunity personally to wave a welcome home to the men who went overseas to fight.

The George Washington and the naval escort passed Quarantine at 11 o'clock, the Pennsylvania leading the destroyers deployed on either side and in the wake of the transport. Several gunboats in the lower bay thundered out the Presidential salute as the George Washington passed by, and the compliment was repeated by the coast artillerymen when the George Washington was abreast Forts Hamilton and Wadsworth.

As the squadron passed through the gate in the anti-submarine net within 500 feet of the Staten Island shore a group of 500 children waved flags, and this was the last of the tributes accorded the President as he left his home shores for those of France.

MEMBERS OF THE PARTY

The following was the official personnel of the party:

President Wilson.
Mrs. Wilson.
Rear Admiral Cary T. Grayson, U. S. N.
Charles S. Swemm, confidential clerk to the President.
Irving H. Hoover, head usher of the White House.
Miss Edith Benham, secretary to Mrs. Wilson.
George Creel, Chairman of the Committee on Public Information.

GUESTS OF THE PRESIDENT

Jules J. Jusserand, the French Ambassador, and Mme. Jusserand.
Count V. Macchi di Cellere, the Italian Ambassador; the Countess di Cellere, and two children.
John W. Davis, United States Ambassador to Great Britain, and Mrs. Davis.
Mrs. Francisco Quattrone of the Italian Ambassador's party.
Rear Admiral H. K. Knapp, U. S. N.
Captain William V. Pratt, U. S. N.
Mrs. William S. Benson, wife of Admiral Benson, the Chief of Operations.
Mrs. Gordon Auchincloss, daughter of Colonel Edward M. House.
Mrs. Joseph C. Grew and Mrs. David Hunter Miller.
L. C. Probert, representing The Associated Press.
R. J. Bender, representing The United Press.

John E. Nevin of the International News Service.

MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE COMMISSION

Secretary of State Robert Lansing, accompanied by Mrs. Lansing.

Henry White.

Leland Harrison, Assistant Secretary of the Commission.

Philip H. Patchin, Assistant Secretary of the Commission.

Sydney V. Smith, Chief of Bureau, Department of State, attached to the Commission.

William McNeir, Chief of Bureau, Department of State, Disbursing Officer of the Commission.

George H. Harris, Assistant Disbursing Officer of the Commission.

William C. Bullitt, attached to the Commission.

R. O. Sweet, Secretary to Secretary Lansing.

SPECIALISTS

Dr. Isaiah Bowman, Territorial Specialist.
Allyn A. Young, Specialist on Economic Resources.

Charles H. Haskins, Specialist on Alsace-Lorraine and Belgium.

Clive Day, Specialist on the Balkans.

W. E. Lunt, Specialist on Northern Italy.

R. H. Lord, Specialist on Russia and Poland.

Charles Seymour, Specialist on Austria-Hungary.

W. L. Westermann, Specialist on Turkey.

G. L. Beer, Specialist on Colonial History.

Mark Jefferson, Cartographer.

Dr. S. E. Mezes, President, College of the City of New York, and Mrs. Mezes.

J. T. Shotwell.

Major James Brown Scott, Technical Adviser, and Mrs. Scott.

George A. Finch, Assistant to Major Scott.

Professor Amos S. Hershey, Assistant to Major Scott.

George D. Gregory, Confidential Clerk to Major Scott.

There were, besides, a number of assistants and the following from the War Department:

Brig. Gen. William H. Harts.

Brig. Gen. Marlborough Churchill, Chief of Army Intelligence Service.

Colonel Richard H. Jordan, General Staff.

Colonel L. P. Ayers, General Staff.

Major Hunter S. Marston, Adjutant General's Department.

Major C. W. Furlong, U. S. A.

Captain T. M. Childs, U. S. A.

Raymond B. Fosdick.

ARRIVAL IN FRANCE

The voyage was without incident. The President remained in daily communication with Washington by wireless, and daily bulletins from the George Wash-

ington were sent to the press. As the vessel passed the Azores it was greeted with salutes. The George Washington dropped anchor in Brest Roadstead Dec. 13, and the President stepped on French soil at 3:24 P. M.

Before he landed, his arrival in the harbor at 1 P. M. was the culmination of an imposing naval spectacle, which began as the Presidential fleet rounded the outer capes, then passed the entrance forts, and moved majestically into the harbor, where the George Washington anchored at the head of a long double column of American dreadnoughts and destroyers and the units of a French cruiser squadron.

Ahead came a single destroyer, showing the way to the fleet, and close behind loomed the huge bulk of the battleships Pennsylvania and Wyoming, flying, respectively, the flags of Admiral Mayo, Commander of the Atlantic Fleet, and Vice Admiral Sims, Commander of the American naval forces in European waters. Just back of them moved the George Washington, bearing the President, flanked on either side by the battleships Arkansas, Florida, Utah, Nevada, Oklahoma, New York, Texas, and Arizona, by French cruisers, and by a great flotilla of American and French torpedo-boat destroyers.

GREETINGS AT BREST

As the fleet neared the inner harbor of Brest the land batteries and the assembled warcraft took up the thunderous salute, while the quays, the hills, and the terraces of the old Breton city rang with cheers from the enthusiastic multitude. At the same time all the warcraft, merchantmen, and transports dressed ship and manned the yards, while the strains of the American anthem floated over the water, mingling with the roar of the guns and the shouts of the vast crowds.

The whole city was a mass of bunting, and the Place President Wilson was hung with streamers and mottoes. The entire route was lined with Venetian masts, flags, and transparencies.

Stephen Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, and Georges Leygues, Minister of Marine, joined the President as he

stepped ashore and conducted him to a beautifully decorated pavilion. Here the first formal welcomes were given President Wilson as a guest of the French Nation. It was a striking picture as he stood there, surrounded by Old World statesmen, officials, and Generals. The President met each greeting with a smile and a hearty handshake, only speaking a few words as some well-known friend welcomed him.

The Mayor of Brest delivered an address of welcome and presented an engrossed address of the Council.

Following the addresses the Presidential party drove through the Cours Dajot, where vast crowds were assembled. Every foot of the way was lined with American soldiers in their dusty service khaki, and along the road were great stores of war material, recently being rushed to the American front. It gave the President his first glimpse of the American troops and material on the fighting ground. Military honors were accorded as he passed, and large numbers of soldiers off duty mingled with the throng in its enthusiastic tribute. The President left for Paris at 4 P. M.

ARRIVAL AT PARIS

The Presidential party arrived in Paris at 10 A. M. Walter Duranty thus described the scene:

"It was exactly 10:30 when there came a fanfare of trumpets from the military band at the Pont de la Concorde, and a movement like a ripple passed over the acres of upturned faces and waving flags that covered the great square. The ranks of soldiers stiffened to attention as the cavalry escorting the Presidential carriages trotted slowly across the bridge. For twenty minutes the gruff double echo of six-inch guns had been roaring out a salute, their flashes being clearly visible beside the slim pillar of the Eiffel Tower across the river.

"As I looked from the Tuileries Terrace it seemed as if no inch of space where a spectator might perch or cling was unoccupied. The tall trees of the garden, overlooking the place, bore ten or

a dozen each—always with a doughboy at a dizzy eminence above the others.

"On the left was the roof of the Chamber of Deputies, with a fringe of people, and on the Grand Palais, half a mile up the Avenue des Champs Elysées, one could distinguish the blue uniforms and the color of waving flags. On the right the French flag fluttered above the black masses on the roof of the Ministry of Marine. Beside it, across the Rue Royale, a crowd clustered around a pole bearing the Stars and Stripes on top of the Red Cross headquarters.

"At the entrance of the Rue Rivoli, the statue of Strasbourg, stripped at last of emblems of mourning, was entirely hidden by a human pyramid—one enthusiast standing right on the statue's head, waving a big American flag. The neighboring statue of Lille had a similar appearance, save that the Tricolor displaced the Stars and Stripes in the hands of the man at the apex.

"The President drove through the square amid the deep thunder of cheering. As the second carriage, bearing Mrs. Wilson, Miss Wilson and Mme. Poincaré, half hidden in high-piled flowers, passed the Obelisk in the centre of the Place de la Concorde, marking the spot where once stood the grim Altar of Freedom—the guillotine which once purged France of despotism—Mrs. Wilson bent forward with a smile and a little gesture toward a typical Paris gamin astride the end of the fifteen-foot barrel of a long six-inch German gun placed close to the pedestal of the Obelisk.

"Balancing himself there on the foe's deadliest weapon, the boy waved an American flag in his right hand and a Tricolor in his left. It was a queer little symbol of the union of France and America in victory."

PRESIDENT POINCARE'S WELCOME

In welcoming President Wilson at a luncheon in the Elysée Palace Dec. 14 President Poincaré said:

Even before America had resolved to intervene in the struggle she had shown to the wounded and to the orphans of France a solicitude and a generosity the memory of which will always be enshrined

in our hearts. The liberality of your Red Cross, the countless gifts of your fellow-citizens, the inspiring initiative of American women, anticipated your military and naval action, and showed the world to which side your sympathies inclined. And on the day when you flung yourselves into the battle, with what determination your great people and yourself prepared for united success!

Some months ago you cabled to me that the United States would send ever-increasing forces until the day should be reached on which the allied armies were able to submerge the enemy under an overwhelming flow of new divisions; and, in effect, for more than a year a steady stream of youth and energy has been poured upon the shores of France.

No sooner had they landed than your gallant battalions, fired by their chief, General Pershing, flung themselves into the combat with such a manly contempt of danger, such a smiling disregard of death, that our longer experience of this terrible war often moved us to counsel prudence. They brought with them, in arriving here, the enthusiasm of the Crusaders leaving for the Holy Land. It is their right today to look with pride upon the work accomplished and to rest assured that they have powerfully aided by their courage and their faith.

Eager as they were to meet the enemy, they did not know when they arrived the enormity of his crimes. That they might know how the German armies make war it has been necessary that they see towns systematically burned down, mines flooded, factories reduced to ashes, orchards devastated, cathedrals shelled and fired—all that deliberate savagery, aimed to destroy national wealth, nature, and beauty, which the imagination could not conceive at a distance from the men and things that have endured it and today bear witness.

In your turn, Mr. President, you will be able to measure with your own eyes the extent of these disasters, and the French Government will make known to you the authentic documents in which the German General Staff developed with astounding cynicism its program of pillage and industrial annihilation. Your noble conscience will pronounce a verdict on these facts. Should this guilt remain unpunished, could it be renewed, the most splendid victories would be in vain.

Mr. President: France has struggled, has endured, and has suffered during four long years; she has bled at every vein; she has lost the best of her children; she mourns for her youths. She yearns now, even as you do, for a peace of justice and security.

It was not that she might be exposed once again to aggression that she submitted to such sacrifices. Nor was it in order that criminals should go unpun-

ished, that they might lift their heads again to make ready for new crimes, that, under your strong leadership, America armed herself and crossed the ocean.

Faithful to the memory of Lafayette and Rochambeau, she came to the aid of France, because France herself was faithful to her traditions. Our common ideal has triumphed. Together we have defended the vital principles of free nations. Now we must build together such a peace as will forbid the deliberate and hypocritical renewing of an organism aiming at conquest and oppression.

Peace must make amends for the misery and sadness of yesterday, and it must be a guarantee against the dangers of tomorrow. The association which has been formed for the purpose of war, between the United States and the Allies, and which contains the seed of the permanent institutions of which you have spoken so eloquently, will find from this day forward a clear and profitable employment in the concerted search for equitable decisions and in the mutual support which we need if we are to make our rights prevail.

Whatever safeguards we may erect for the future, no one, alas, can assert that we shall forever spare to mankind the horrors of new wars. Five years ago the progress of science and the state of civilization might have permitted the hope that no Government, however autocratic, would have succeeded in hurling armed armies upon Belgium and Serbia.

Without lending ourselves to the illusion that posterity will be forevermore safe from these collective follies, we must introduce into the peace we are going to build all the conditions of justice and all the safeguards of civilization that we can embody in it. To such a vast and magnificent task, Mr. President, you have chosen to come and apply yourself in concert with France. France offers you her thanks. She knows the friendship of America. She knows your rectitude and elevation of spirit. It is in the fullest confidence that she is ready to work with you.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY

President Wilson replied as follows:

Mr. President: I am deeply indebted to you for your gracious greeting. It is very delightful to find myself in France and to feel the quick contact of sympathy and unaffected friendship between the representatives of the United States and the representatives of France.

You have been very generous in what you were pleased to say about myself, but I feel that what I have said and what I have tried to do has been said and done only in an attempt to speak the thought of the people of the United States truly, and to carry that thought out in action.

From the first, the thought of the people of the United States turned toward something more than the mere winning of this war. It turned to the establishment of eternal principles of right and justice. It realized that merely to win the war was not enough; that it must be won in such a way and the questions raised by it settled in such a way as to insure the future peace of the world and lay the foundations for the freedom and happiness of its many peoples and nations.

Never before has war worn so terrible a visage or exhibited more grossly the debasing influence of illicit ambitions. I am sure that I shall look upon the ruin wrought by the armies of the Central Empires with the same repulsion and deep indignation that they stir in the hearts of men of France and Belgium, and I appreciate, as you do, Sir, the necessity of such action in the final settlement of the issues of the war as will not only rebuke such acts of terror and spoliation, but make men everywhere aware that they cannot be ventured upon without the certainty of just punishment.

I know with what ardor and enthusiasm the soldiers and sailors of the United States have given the best that was in them to this war of redemption. They have expressed the true spirit of America. They believe their ideals to be acceptable to free peoples everywhere, and are rejoiced to have played the part they have played in giving reality to those ideals in co-operation with the armies of the Allies. We are proud of the part they have played, and we are happy that they should have been associated with such comrades in common cause.

It is with peculiar feeling, Mr. President, that I find myself in France joining with you in rejoicing over the victory that has been won. The ties that bind France and the United States are peculiarly close. I do not know in what other comradeship we could have fought with more zest or enthusiasm. It will daily be a matter of pleasure with me to be brought into consultation with the statesmen of France and her allies in concerting the measures by which we may secure permanence for these happy relations of friendship and co-operation, and secure for the world at large such safety and freedom in its life as can be secured only by the constant association and co-operation of friends.

I greet you not only with deep personal respect, but as the representative of the great people of France, and beg to bring to you the greetings of another great people to whom the fortunes of France are of profound and lasting interest.

In an address to a Socialist delegation the same day, President Wilson said:

Gentlemen: I received with great inter-

est the address which you have just read to me. The war through which we have just passed has illustrated in a way which never can be forgotten the extraordinary wrongs which can be perpetrated by arbitrary and irresponsible power.

It is not possible to secure the happiness and prosperity of the world, to establish an enduring peace, unless the repetition of such wrongs is rendered impossible. This has indeed been a peoples' war. It has been waged against absolutism and militarism, and these enemies of liberty must from this time forth be shut out from the possibility of working their cruel will upon mankind.

In my judgment, it is not sufficient to establish this principle. It is necessary that it should be supported by a co-operation of the nations which shall be based upon fixed and definite covenants, and which shall be made certain of effective action through the instrumentality of a League of Nations. I believe this to be the conviction of all thoughtful and liberal men.

I am confident that this is the thought of those who lead your own great nation, and I am looking forward with peculiar pleasure to co-operating with them in securing guarantees of a lasting peace of justice and right dealing which shall justify the sacrifices of this war and cause men to look back upon those sacrifices as the dramatic and final processes of their emancipation.

The arrival of the President in France evoked an outburst of enthusiasm from all the allied and neutral countries of Europe. Resolutions were adopted by popular assemblies or official bodies acclaiming the President and bidding him welcome.

AT THE MURAT MANSION

The President during his stay in Paris occupied the home of Prince and Princess Joachim Murat, 28 Rue de Monceau. The ancient mansion is one of the most imposing and richly furnished in the city; it contains various souvenirs of General George Washington, whose niece married Prince Achille Murat. The President's host is a son of Prince Joachim, who was born at Bordentown, N. J., in 1834, and is a descendant of Caroline Bonaparte, sister of Napoleon. Princess Murat, before her marriage, was Cecile Ney, Duchess d'Elchingen. Both Murat and Ney were Marshals in the Napoleonic armies.

On Dec. 16 at the City Hall the President was officially made a "citizen of

Paris." In the course of the ceremonies he was presented with the great gold medal of the City of Paris, and to Mrs. Wilson was given a diamond brooch. In his speech there the President said:

We were more deeply moved by the wrongs of the war because we knew the manner in which they were perpetrated. I beg that you will not suppose that because a wide ocean separated us in space, we were not in effect eyewitnesses of the shameful ruin that was wrought and the cruel and unnecessary sufferings that were brought upon you. These sufferings have filled our hearts with indignation. We know what they were, not only, but we know what they signified, and our hearts were touched to the quick by them, our imaginations filled with the whole picture of what France and Belgium in particular had experienced.

When the United States entered the war, therefore, they entered it not only because they were moved by a conviction that the purposes of the Central Empires were wrong and must be resisted by men everywhere who loved liberty and the right, but also because the illicit ambitions which they were entertaining and attempting to realize had led to the practices which shocked our hearts as much as they offended our principles. Our resolution was formed because we knew how profoundly great principles of right were affected, but our hearts moved also with our resolution.

You have been exceedingly generous in

what you have been gracious enough to say about me—generous far beyond my personal deserts, but you have interpreted with real insight the motives and resolution of the people of the United States. Whatever influence I exercise, whatever authority I speak with, I derive from them. I know what they have thought, I know what they have desired, and when I have spoken what I know was in their minds it has been delightful to see how the consciences and purposes of freemen everywhere responded. We have merely established our right to the full fellowship of those peoples here and throughout the world who reverence the right of genuine liberty and justice.

President Wilson's addresses were cordially received by the French press, and the warmth of the popular welcome seemed to grow as the days passed. Vast throngs waited for hours to see him pass, and wherever he appeared he was loudly acclaimed. The first week of his stay in Paris was busily employed in conferences, which were interrupted by festivities on the 19th, when the King of Italy, accompanied by the Queen, the Crown Prince, the Premier, and the Foreign Minister, arrived in Paris. During the conferences that ensued between President Wilson and King Emmanuel the latter formally invited the President to visit him at the Quirinal in Rome.

The Ishmaelite of Nations

By JAMES CHURCH ALVORD

[First Printed in *The New York Times* of Dec. 4, 1918]

The Ishmaelite of Nations, she shall wait
 Until the crawling centuries mute again
 The hideous echoes of her Hymn of Hate.
 Cursed by the world's immeasurable disdain,
 Cursed by the tears a million mothers shed,
 Cursed on the fields where countless boys lie dead,
 Whimpering for mercy, blustering, desolate—
 The Ishmaelite shall wait.

By rotting wharves her empty ships shall rock,
 Her slattern towns their poverty proclaim,
 Her high-towered factories topple block by block
 Since "Made in Germany" is a brand of shame.
 Thrust from the Door of Human Brotherhood,
 Misunderstanding and misunderstood,
 Beggared, unpardoned, excommunicate—
 The Ishmaelite shall wait.

Gray skulls plow up through fields of Picardy,
 Great fanes lift shattered arches to the dawn,
 Where once dead babies strewed the bitter sea
 The cliffs still whiten in undying scorn.
 Down weary years shall men, beholding this,
 Turn from her bribes and pleading with a hiss,
 Sullen, unpitied in her self-sought fate—
 The Ishmaelite shall wait.

Troop Movements Under Armistice

Full Summary of the Movements of the Allied Armies of Occupation and Their Positions on the Rhine

[UP TO DEC. 18, 1918]

WHEN Germany capitulated on Nov. 11 she had on the western front seventeen armies made up of approximately 3,000,000 bayonets, of which four armies—those of Below, Marwitz, Hutier, and Carlowitz—were on the actual line of combat. Facing them under the supreme command of Marshal Foch were the following allied armies:

	Combat Troops.
Two Belgian	300,000
Five British.....	1,500,000
Three American.....	1,338,169
Ten French.....	2,500,000
One Italian, plus Polish and Czechoslovak detachments.....	300,000
Total	5,938,169

According to the terms of the armistice the German troops were obliged to evacuate Belgium, France, Luxembourg, and Alsace-Lorraine by Nov. 25, and all the terrain west of the Rhine and east of it for a distance of ten kilometers, and at Cologne, Coblenz, and Mayence (Mainz) semicircles with a radius of thirty kilometers, by Dec. 11.

The Germans at once began their retreat. The armies selected to occupy the evacuated territory were the following:

	For Rhine Zones.	
All the Belgians.....	300,000	200,000
Two British.....	350,000	300,000
One American.....	470,000	250,000
Three and then two French	550,000	400,000
Total	1,670,000	1,150,000

The retreat of the German Army under Hindenburg was conducted by the transportation expert, General Groener. On reaching its several corps headquarters it was to be demobilized, save the troops of the classes of 1898 and 1899. There is a report that the class of 1897 is also to be retained.

Neither in France nor in Great Britain is demobilization under way, but in many cases indeterminate furloughs have been granted large bodies of men. New legislation is being projected in these countries for the establishment of national armies without conscription. There is no prospect of an early demobilization of the Italian Armies.

The United States, both here and abroad, at once began the work of demobilization. On Nov. 11 there were in training in American camps 1,700,000 men of all classes. In Europe there were, including the combat troops in France and small detachments in Russia and Italy, and 18,000 in England, 1,890,624—the total sent over of 2,053,347, minus 262,723 casualties. To date (Dec. 18) there have been discharged from the army in training 750,000 men, and there have arrived at American ports, including casualties, about 70,000, the majority of whom have been discharged.

In Germany prisoners numbering 1,500,000, including about 2,000 Americans, have been released. German prisoners numbering 1,200,000 in England and France are still detained under the terms of the armistice. Italy is retaining over 700,000 Austrian and German prisoners.

THE AREAS OCCUPIED

By Dec. 18 the Belgians had occupied and organized their corner of Rhenish Prussia. They had marched 160 miles, having been obliged to skirt the Limburg Province of Holland to the south. Their administrative terrain, excluding the 6.2 miles neutral belt on the eastern bank of the Rhine, amounts to about 700 square miles.

The British armies marched on the average of 150 miles, and occupy and administer a terrain of 2,500 square miles. In the area of the Cologne bridge-

head zone the lax rule of the advance detachments has been altered to rigid martial law imposed by General Plumer.

The Americans, having marched 160 miles, principally through the Moselle Valley, are administering a terrain of 3,000 square miles. General Pershing's headquarters is at Treves; there also General Preston Brown administers the region as Military Governor and General Harry A. Smith as Civil Governor. On Dec. 16 the American detachments completed their occupation of the semicircular zone on the eastern or right bank of the Rhine, enveloping Coblenz, and replaced the red flag by the Stars and Stripes over the ancient German fortress of Ehrenbreitstein. In the Coblenz zone are 40,000 American troops.

The French terrain of occupation was covered after a march of 170 miles, and includes an area of over 4,000 square miles. Their zone of administration reaches to the suburbs of Frankfurt, which is in the neutral zone beyond. At Mayence General Fayolle is in command. To the south the civil administration of Alsace-Lorraine had been in vogue for twenty-three days on Dec. 18.

On Dec. 13 the German armistice, which would have expired on the 17th, (that is, thirty-six days after the signing on Nov. 11,) was extended in accordance with Article XXXIV. until Jan. 17. Meanwhile, its terms, with special reference to Articles II., (evacuation of occupied territory;) IV. and VII., (surrender of equipment;) V., (evacuation of German territory to and beyond the Rhine;) X., (repatriation of prisoners of war;) XXIII., (surrender of the German fleet,) and XVII., (evacuation of German East Africa,) have been carried out as follows, with the Belgians occupying the Rhine zone from the Dutch frontier to the bridgehead semicircle at Cologne, where General Plumer and the British are established, with the Americans under General Dickman in charge of the Coblenz bridgehead zone; with the French at the Mayence zone under General Fayolle, and from Mayence south to the Swiss frontier, with the ten-kilometer river zone in charge of the French:

MARCH THROUGH BELGIUM

Preceding the general advance of the allied armies of occupation over a front approximating 350 miles, begun on Nov. 17, a force of 25,000 German troops at Maeseyck, Belgium, on Nov. 13, desiring to reach Germany via the Dutch province of Limburg, surrendered their arms to the Dutch and proceeded that way without them. Antwerp was occupied on Nov. 15 by the Belgians, due to a special arrangement with the German Main Headquarters at Spa.

When the general advance was begun two days later, the Belgian Army had on its right two British armies, the Second under General Plumer and the Fourth under General Rawlinson. On their right was the French Fourth Army, commanded by General Gouraud. These armies were to reoccupy Belgium and reach the Prussian frontier by Nov. 25, whence the Belgian and British armies were to advance upon the Rhine to their allotted places.

At the end of the first day's march the Belgians had reached the general line Baesrode-Termonde-Alost and had sent forward a cavalry brigade reinforced with artillery and cyclist carabineers toward Brussels, and a cavalry regiment to Malines. The British had reached the line of Oexfontaine, Pry, Pieton, La Louvière, Soignies, Enghien, and south of Ninove, the last place being about fifteen miles west of Brussels. The French had crossed the Franco-Belgian frontier after occupying the towns of Sedan and Bouillon, passing Mariembourg, Corvin, and Fumay, on their left, crossing the Semoy and reaching Carignan.

While the Belgians advanced to occupy towns as soon as they were informed that the Germans had evacuated them, which was invariably ahead of the schedule time, the British and French moved as planned. Thus on the 18th the British had only reached the line Florrennes-Charleroi-Seneffe-Hal and the latter the line Bourseigne-Vielle-Rienne. On the morning of Nov. 22 King Albert entered Brussels with the royal family and a large body of troops. The British were rapidly approaching the

Prussian-Belgian frontier, where they were to link up with the Third American Army at Vianden on the Prussian-Luxemburg frontier. The French in the angle thus formed were leisurely occupying the Belgian towns east of the line, Offange, Bertrix, Straimont, Jamaigne.

On the 24th the British, one day ahead of schedule time, reached the Prussian frontier north of the Duchy of Luxembourg, with their line on the frontier south of Beho, Grand Mesnil, Bomal, Huy, east of Avennes. The French line in Belgium and Luxembourg was Wiltz, Noville, and Nadrin, while a French cavalry detachment had reached the Prussian-Luxemburg line on the left of the Americans already there.

INTO PRUSSIA

According to the terms of the armistice the Germans had an additional sixteen days in which to evacuate the Rhine province and certain smaller States on the left bank of the Rhine. Together these form a triangular terrain with the base composed of Lorraine and Alsace, the east side bounded by the Rhine and the west by the Dutch, Belgian, Luxembourg, and part of the Lorraine frontiers. The Belgian and British armies which had marched through Belgium were to occupy this terrain along the Rhine from the Dutch frontier as far south as Oberwinter, including the bridgehead of Cologne.

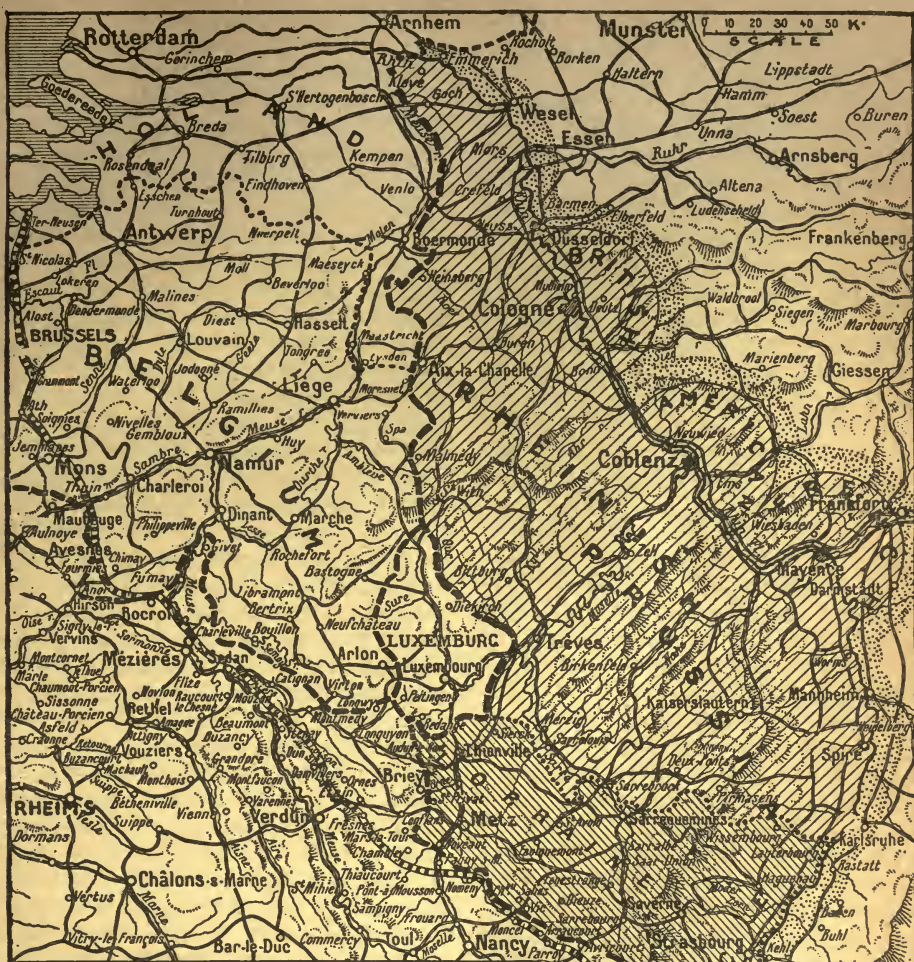
British cavalry patrols reached Spa on Nov. 29 and the next day began their advance on Cologne. On Dec. 1 General Plumer's army crossed the frontier between Beho and Eupen and by evening had reached the line Hurg, Reuland, Bullingen, and Montjoie. On the evening of the 6th the British had reached the line toward the Cologne bridgehead of Blankenheim, east of Schleiden, the River Erft, to the south of Grevenbroich. That same evening the Belgians on their left had reached with two cavalry detachments Düsseldorf, on the left bank of the Rhine, twenty-one miles northwest of Cologne. At both Düsseldorf and Aix-la-Chapelle, the Belgians employed for a few days the same discipline which the Germans had formerly used toward civilians in Belgian communities.

On Dec. 6 Cologne was also entered by the advance guard of the British. On the 12th other British troops occupied the university town of Bonn, where the Kaiser was educated, and held the Rhine bridge there.

WITH THE AMERICAN ARMY

The Third American Army under Major Gen. Joseph T. Dickman, in large part drawn from the First and Second, consisting of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 32d, and 42d Divisions, to which were added later the 7th Army Corps under Major Gen. Haan, composed of the 5th, 89th, and 90th Division, and the 26th Division under Brig. Gen. Frank E. Bamford, began its forward march on the morning of Nov. 17 from a fifty-mile front extending from Mouzon, on the Meuse River, southeast to beyond Fresnes. The six divisions (about 200,000) first mentioned led the advance, and by the evening of Nov. 19 had reached the line Longwy-Briey. At these places, both great centres of industry, they had the advantage of the railways leading down the Moselle. On the evening of the 20th they encamped on the outskirts of Luxembourg City, while their advance guard had crossed the frontier into Lorraine. By the 23d they were well through the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, and were preparing to be entrained in force for their journey down the Moselle. On that day the American front ran from Walendorf to Wasserbillig, along the Sauer River, and thence along the Moselle, and prepared to move on Treves, in Prussian territory.

Here the situation was unique. While the Germans were retiring along one bank of the river the Americans were passing along the other bank, each in sight of the other. Presently the Germans began sending back officers, requesting the Americans not to move so fast. The Germans, (von der Marwitz's Fifth Army,) unable to march so rapidly, were becoming confused. In fact, many traffic jams were visible, and so the Americans were compelled to slow down. Consequently they did not enter the Prussian province on Nov. 26, the first day on which the Germans were to begin their evacuation of that terrain.



REGION TRAVERSED BY ALLIED ARMIES OF OCCUPATION, WHICH REACHED THE PRUSSIAN FRONTIER AS FOLLOWS, BEGINNING AT THE NORTH: BELGIAN ARMY, PLUMER'S AND RAWLINSON'S BRITISH ARMIES, AND GOURAUD'S FRENCH ARMY ALL CROSSED INTO GERMAN TERRITORY ON NOV. 24, 1918. DICKMAN'S AMERICAN ARMY REACHED THE LUXEMBURG-LORRAINE-PRUSSIAN FRONTIER NOV. 23. MANGIN'S FRENCH ARMY REACHED THE LORRAINE-PRUSSIAN LINE NOV. 25, AND HIRSCHAUER'S FRENCH ARMY PEACHED THE RHINE ON THE SAME DAY.

The Americans entered the Prussian province on the morning of Dec. 1 by crossing the Sauer and Moselle Rivers, and by night had established a line running through Winterscheid, Habscheid, Lichtenborn, Oberweis, Irrel, Kordel, Treves, Saarbarg, and Serrig. The detachments south of the Moselle proceeded more rapidly than those north, and on Dec. 5 had reached the general line Berncastel - Malborn - Otzenhausen.



The next day at evening the whole front was represented by the line Effelsberg, Adenau, Albeck, Mürtenbach, Alflen, Dreis, Aldequip, Peterswald, Kostanz, Rhaunen, and Herstein, twenty miles west of the Rhine.

On Dec. 8 a battalion of American in-

fantry was entrained at Treves for Colblenz to maintain order there as soon as the last German soldier should have crossed the Rhine. It took over the policing of the city the next day. This battalion was from the 39th Infantry of the 4th Division. Late on Dec. 11 the four advance divisions of the American Army of Occupation completed their march to the Rhine. Of these the 1st, 2d, and 32d crossed the river and established the bridgehead on the 13th, flanked on the right by three French divisions. The terrain on the right bank thus occupied is in the form of a semicircle, starting from the Rhine on the north through Stefshard, Bolsheid, Rossbach, Hahn, Diez, and Katzenelnbogen, and swinging back to the Rhine at Oberwesel.

LORRAINE AND ALSACE

Between the signing of the armistice on Nov. 11 and Nov. 17, the first day of the general advance of the allied armies of occupation, the Tenth French Army, under General Mangin, moved to the Metz front, taking the place of the Second American and French Armies, which had been prepared to invade Lorraine when hostilities ceased, while in its turn the Second French Army was moved still further south, taking the place of the First French in Alsace.

The Tenth Army, with the American Third on its left, was to move northeast across Lorraine and the southern part of the Prussian province, including the Palatinate and Rhenish Hesse, taking possession of the bridgehead at Mayence and the left bank of the Rhine as far south as Lauterbourg, where it would have the Second French Army on its right, which meanwhile had proceeded through Alsace to the Rhine, covering the river zone from Lauterbourg to Huningue on the Swiss frontier.

The Government also appointed two Commissioners to administer the territory taken from France in 1871. Henry Poulet was to administer the region of Metz and Georges Meringer that of Strasbourg. The latter, who received the title of High Commissioner, however, would also administer the three divisions of Alsace-Lorraine, known before 1871 as

Upper Rhine, with the prefecture at Colmar; Lower Rhine, with the prefecture at Strasbourg, and Moselle, with the prefecture at Metz. General Maud'huy was appointed Military Governor of Metz and General Bourgeois of Strasbourg, when those cities should be occupied.

On the first day of the advance, Sunday, Nov. 17, the Tenth Army, which for a few days was to be commanded by General Lecomte in place of General Mangin, who had been injured by a fall from his horse, sent its vanguards to Gravelotte, the forts on the right bank of the Meuse south of Metz, and to Morhange and Dieuze. In Alsace the army reached Donon and Schirmeck.

On the right, the Second Army under General Hirschauer, a native of Alsace, reached the gates of Colmar and Eysenheim and went beyond Richecourt, Cirey, Château-Salins, Münster, Cernay, and Altkirsch. At noon General Hirschauer, at the head of the 169th Division, commanded by General Mainvielle, entered Mulhouse amid the delirious enthusiasm of its 50,000 inhabitants.

The next day, the 18th, the Tenth Army in the region south of Neuchâteau-en-Lorraine occupied St. Marie-aux-Chenes and Crehagne, on the St. Avold road, and skirted the Upper Sarre above Finestrang, making a solemn entry into Sarrebourg. Advance guards were posted at the gates of Wasselonne and Meusold, while further south the Second Army neared the Rhine from north of Neuf-Brisach to the Swiss frontier.

On Nov. 19 Pétain, created Marshal of the Republic by telephone, made his triumphal entry into Metz, the capital of Lorraine. He was accompanied by General Castelnau, Commander of the Eastern Army Group, and, in 1914, of the Second Army, and General Lecomte, with detachments of the Tenth Army. Meanwhile General Gouraud entered Saverne with picked detachments of the Fourth Army. The advance in Lorraine reached the line Kiereberg, Hemmorleng, Saverne, Allenvillers, and Wangen. Colmar, in Alsace, received the Second Army.

On Nov. 23 Strasbourg set its clocks to French time, and Marshal Foch, the Commander in Chief of the allied armies,

made his triumphal entry and crossed the River Ill, two miles west of the Rhine. Foch was accompanied by Marshal Pétain and Generals Castelnau and Gouraud.

By the 25th the Second Army, under General Hirschauer, had taken up its allotted posts along the Rhine in Alsace. To the northwest the Tenth Army was on the Lorraine-Prussian frontier.

Here the next day, between Merzig and Sarreguemines, on the Sarre River, occurred a curious incident when the French soldiers reached the Sarre across the frontier. Dr. Solf, the German Foreign Secretary, complained to the Associated Governments that they should not have entered the Prussian province until the 27th, which would have been the first of the sixteen additional days given the Germans for the evacuation. The only way to account for the incident is that Solf literally translated the French "quinze jours," in the Second Article of the armistice, into "Fünfzehn Tage"—or fifteen days instead of fourteen days, reckoned from Nov. 11.

By Dec. 3 the Tenth Army, however, had completely occupied the valley of the Sarre, with the Prussian towns Merzig, Sarrelouis, and Sarrebruck, (Saarbrücken,) and three days later General Mangin, who had recovered from his accident, was preparing to enter Mayence (Mainz) and establish the bridgehead there as stipulated in the armistice terms. On Dec. 10 the 13th and 43d Infantry Divisions of his army took possession of this great Rhine fortress, and in the following week crossed the river and occupied the bridgehead zone.

GERMAN FLEET SURRENDERS

According to Articles XXII. and XXIII. of the armistice of Nov. 11 a decisive percentage of the German high seas fleet, including all the submarines, was to be handed over to the Allies and the United States. The details of the surrender were arranged Nov. 17 between Rear Admiral Hugo Meurer, the plenipotentiary of the German naval command, who came on the German light cruiser Königsberg, and the Commander in Chief of the Grand Fleet, Admiral Sir David

Beatty, on board the latter's flagship, the Queen Elizabeth, lying in the Firth of Forth. The German Admiral had commanded the battleship König in the battle of Jutland. The surrender of the major portion of the surface fleet took place in the North Sea, fifty miles east of the Firth of Forth, on Nov. 18, as described in detail elsewhere in these pages. The surrender of the submarines was made to Rear Admiral Reginald W. Tyrwhitt at Harwich, beginning two days later. Among the last to be given up was the Deutschland, alias U-153, well known for its voyage to American waters. The total of surrendered U-boats was 129.

IN REDEEMED ITALY

The day before the Austro-Hungarian capitulation to General Diaz, Italian troops had occupied Dobereto and Trent in the Trentino, had reclaimed about half of the Regione di Veneto—their cavalry having penetrated beyond Belluno in the northeast and Udine in the east—and had taken possession of the coastal cities of Trieste and Pola. The territory to be evacuated by the enemy, according to the terms of the armistice, was approximately identical with that conceded to Italy by Great Britain, France, and Russia in the Treaty of London, April 26, 1915, and was popularly known as "Italia Irredenta"—Unredeemed Italy.

As there was mutiny in the Austro-Hungarian Army, as the prisoners of the Associated Powers were to be immediately discharged, and as the German troops were to be sent home within fourteen days, General Diaz, according to the terms of the armistice, was to stipulate the distance to be traversed by the retreating enemy from day to day in order to avoid confusion. Moreover, in occupying the evacuated territory the fullest use possible was to be made of the American, French, and British troops bracketed with the Tenth Army under Lord Cavan, while in the coastal region—Istria, Croatia, Dalmatia—and the islands mentioned for occupation by the armies of the Associated Powers, not only the Italian Navy was concerned, but also naval detachments of Italy's allies

and of the United States to the extent of their operating forces. Meanwhile the 40,000 Czechoslovak soldiers mobilized by the Italians were entrained for Bohemia.

In spite of the most careful preparations made by the Italian General Staff considerable confusion ensued on account of the utter demoralization of the late enemy and his lack of food. By Nov. 17, however, the sole American regiment present, which had lost only one man killed and six wounded in the recent offensive, had occupied the City of Tolmino, whence had started the great enemy offensive of October, 1917, which had brought about the disaster of Caporetto. To the south Italian detachments had reached Novacco, Ottalesco, Idra, and Dolle. By the end of the month the Austro-Hungarian military authorities had completed the terms of the armistice as far as the evacuation was concerned and Italy was in full possession of the terrain to be occupied by her and the armies associated with her pending the final terms of the treaty of peace, and the confirmation in that treaty of the Treaty of London.

Nowhere did the occupying troops establish civil governments. In certain towns, notably Trent, Gorizia, and Trieste, the Italian population attempted to do so. This brought them into conflict with the Yugoslav elements and an unfortunate situation was developed at Fiume, which quickly spread to Pola and Trieste.

Fiume was just outside the terrain of evacuation; still, it has a predominating Italian population of 45,000. The Mayor was Italian, so was the Town Council. Armed bands of Yugoslavs under orders from the Yugoslav Council at Agram entered the town, forced the resignation of the Mayor and Town Council, and ordered them to take down the Italian flag and hoist the Yugoslav banner in its place. Gatherings of Italians to celebrate the Italian victory were dispersed by rifle and machine-gun fire. Italian soldiers on the heights above the city looked on and saw their fellow-countrymen thus terrorized and were powerless to help them until orders came from General Diaz for their commander, Gen-

eral Raineri, to take possession of Fiume and protect the Italians there. Meanwhile similar, although not so serious, Yugoslav demonstrations had taken place at Trieste and Pola, where they had been suppressed by the respective military Governors, General Petitti and Admiral Cagni.

THE ALLIES IN TURKEY

The capitulations which the Commissioners of Mohammed VI. were forced to accept from Vice Admiral Sir Somerset Gough-Calthorpe, the commander of the allied fleet, on the Island of Lemnos, Oct. 31, included the provision for the immediate occupation of Constantinople and the Dardanelles and Bosphorus forts, the surrender of all Turkish war vessels, the demobilization of the army, and the release of the allied prisoners of war.

The first British warship to reach Constantinople was a destroyer, which anchored in the Golden Horn on the afternoon of Nov. 10. A French destroyer followed. Both brought staff officers who were to organize the administration of the city. A few days before Enver Pasha and Talaat Pasha, the evil geniuses of Turkey, had made their escape to a Black Sea port on board a German destroyer, and are now said to be in Berlin.

Already, on Nov. 9, British troops had been landed on the peninsula of Gallipoli and had taken possession of the forts there and reoccupied the sites so full of the fatal memories of the Summer of 1915.

By Dec. 8 a military administration, under the direction of the British Vice Admiral as High Commissioner and Rear Admiral Richard Webb as assistant, was in full running order in Constantinople, while the Government of the Sultan was obeying its directions, particularly in regard to the distribution of food and of justice. The foreign consulate courts were restored.

On Nov. 26 an allied naval squadron passed through the Black Sea and took possession of the Russian ships at Sebastopol, which had been surrendered to the Germans by the Bolsheviks, and on Dec. 13 French marines arrived at Odesa and expelled the Germans who still

lingered there. This littoral, as well as Rumania, had been occupied by the German army of Field Marshal von Mackensen. Its movements were governed not by the Turkish capitulation of Oct. 31, but by the German armistice of Nov. 11, Articles XIII. and XIV. This army numbered 170,000 men. On its way back to Germany its path lay through Hungary, where on Nov. 30, on the demand of the French Commissioners at Budapest,

it was interned. It had already been partially disarmed at its stations in Rumania and on the Black Sea littoral.

The German commander in East Africa, General von Lettow-Vorbeck, did not comply at once with the terms of the armistice of Nov. 11, though his force had been reduced to 1,000 natives and 300 Germans. On Nov. 14, however, he surrendered near Kasama, on the Zambezi, in Northern Rhodesia.

The Allied Armies in Germany

Advance of American, French, and British Troops Into Germany Described by Eyewitnesses

[SEE ROTOGRAVURE MAP OF GERMAN OCCUPIED TERRITORY IN FRONTISPICE PAGES]

THE British, American, and French Armies of Occupation, to name them in their order from the Holland frontier to the Swiss border, all reached the boundaries of Germany on or about Nov. 23; so well organized was the advance that they all set foot on German soil within two days. The withdrawal of the Germans was conducted in an orderly and systematic manner, the main bodies keeping two or three days' march ahead of the advancing allies. On Nov. 23 the American Third Army reached the German border, its front extending from Wallendorf to Wasserbillig along the Sauer River, and from there south along the Moselle. The Germans occupied the opposite banks of the narrow streams, but there was no fraternizing, as rigid orders to that effect had been issued by General Dickman, the American commander.

AMERICANS ENTER GERMANY

The American Army of Occupation entered Germany Dec. 1, 1918, crossing the Sauer and Moselle Rivers and spreading out on a front of sixty miles. Treves, the first important city reached, was occupied the same day. Edwin L. James, the correspondent of The New York Times and CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, described this on Dec. 1 as follows:

"The City of Treves greeted the American Army of Occupation today with sullen, glowering mien. The reception in Treves was just like that all along the ninety-kilometer front on which the Third Army advanced into Germany this morning. It was Sunday, but no church bells rang. There were no flags, no cheers, no smiles, few tears. It was just such a reception as only the boche could give.

"It was just 5:30 o'clock this morning, exactly one month after they broke through the German line north of Verdun and made the now-famous dash toward Sedan, that the Americans quit hospitable Luxemburg for their trek into what the late and unlamented Kaiser used to call the sacred soil of the Fatherland.

"To one watching those businesslike lads cross the international bridge of Wasserbillig in the sickly light of a cloudy dawn they seemed to march just as they did, not so long ago, when the same lads were going into the hell which lasted five weeks over in the Meuse sector. Who could have told them a month ago that today they would be marching foot-free into the land of the enemy? But into Germany they marched, their eyes straight ahead, their rifles held tight, and their cartridge clips filled. There was nothing of the popular con-

ception of a conquering army about them. They were solemn-faced lads, businesslike and quiet, and, above all, ready for whatever was to come.

SCENES IN TREVES

"The feature of the day's advance into the territory of the foe was their entrance into Treves, a city of 75,000 population, rich and important in manufactures. On our reception there the eyes of every American commander were turned. It was felt that the reception there meant the measure of distance from the Luxemburg border to the Rhineland.

"I got into the city an hour before the troops arrived. The streets and squares were lined with people. There were civilians in silk hats; there were soldiers in half uniform, demobilized, some of them only two days; there were officers in arrogantly splendid uniforms; there were women with furs and women in ragged clothes, and everywhere many, many children.

"One was impressed by the general prosperous and sleek appearance of the whole city. The shop windows were well filled with all sorts of merchandise; the meat shops were far from empty. There was that air that one used to see about captured German officers—the same sullen apathy, the same insolent and disdainful manner. To one who smiled, many frowned; but most simply stood there and stared. We went out on the bridge over the beautiful Moselle to await the coming of the Americans.

"It was just at 1 o'clock, German time, that Colonel Hunt appeared, leading the 6th Infantry of the 5th Division, which is to be the permanent garrison of the city during our occupation. Behind him came a brass band, formed by doughboys, who were a full regiment strong, and a company of machine guns. They were neat and nifty, these victorious young Americans, as they marched so solemnly into this Hun city.

SILENT HOSTILITY

"It was so different from the entry into French and Belgian towns, where the smiles of little children and blessings and joyful tears of grown folks had

greeted us. Here was hostility lurking beneath the smirking surface hospitality of the Hun. I turned and marched with the head of the column into the ancient city, the German name of which is Trier.

"No American was there but loved that bandmaster. He must have come from south of the Mason and Dixon Line, for as Colonel Hunt set foot into the city the strains of 'Dixie' broke out. The tune quickened the heartbeats and footsteps of the Americans, but of all those thousands of Germans who lined our path none showed the least feeling except the little children, who smiled at the soldiers, as all children will.

"The crowd grew denser and denser as we reached the square. Here a band broke into 'Suwanee River,' and just then the standard bearer gave the Stars and Stripes an extra whirl, and the column passed on by the ancient Porta Nigra to their barracks.

"After the triumphal and glorious march through France and Belgium and even Luxemburg the appalling silence almost frightened one. There was gloom everywhere. Even the German flags and arches which had welcomed the returning boche soldiers had been put away, and nothing remained undone to make the ceremony more sombre.

CONTACT WITH SOVIETS

"One noticeable feature of the crowd was the presence of a large number of men with rifles slung across their shoulders, muzzle down. Each wore a white band with a purple stamp. These were the guards of the local Soldiers' and Workmen's Council. They will be relieved of duty tomorrow and replaced by Americans.

"The local Soviets have given effusive orders to the population to treat the Americans with all order and good behavior. A special proclamation to girls warns them against talking to American soldiers. The American commander tomorrow will post proclamations telling the population that there will be no trouble if the Germans do not make it. The Germans will be given to understand that we mean business and that no foolishness will be tolerated. If the Germans all along behave as they did in Treves today

and keep ill-feelings to themselves there will be no friction. If trouble starts anywhere on our sector the Americans are ready to deal with it.

"One was deeply impressed by the quiet dignity of the American soldiers today. These lads whistled and joked and played mouth-organs while going into battle, but marching through Germany today there wasn't a smile on their faces or a joke on their lips. They were dead serious.

EVIDENCE OF PROSPERITY

"This industrial centre appears sleek and prosperous, and the persons of its inhabitants show no ravages of hunger. The bread is poor and of coffee there is none. Otherwise food can be had of many kinds.

"It seems that at the time when America is ready to stint herself and her friends to feed unrepentant Germany, a statement should be made that the food conditions here today are better than in that part of France recently occupied by the Germans. And the German Army has just passed through this place.

"Three days ago I ate this luncheon in Nancy at the Café Liégeoise: Fish, beefsteak, potatoes, and salad, paying for it an equivalent of \$3.25. Yesterday, at the Hotel Porta Nigra here, I ate fish, beefsteak, potatoes, and salad and paid an equivalent of \$2.50. The two places were about of the same class.

"One may buy a dinner here cheaper than in Paris, with the same grade of service. The cafés are well filled at all meals, and the tables seem well loaded. The meat shops are not badly supplied. An abundance of canned goods may be seen in the windows of the shops along the Sigonstrasse.

"It is true that retail prices at the stores are high, which means perhaps that poor people have difficulty in getting what they need. But there is food aplenty for those with money to pay, and in the last twenty-four hours I have heard a score of Americans say that perhaps Germany had better make a readjustment of her own food supply before calling on America."

The advance toward the Rhine con-

tinued in an orderly manner; the troops met with no resistance, but the people generally were silent and sullen, blinds were drawn as the troops passed, and the people remained indoors. On Dec. 8, in compliance with a request of the German command, a battalion of American infantry went by train from Treves to Coblenz to maintain order in the period between the departure of the retiring German Army and the arrival of the Americans. A battalion of the 39th Infantry of the 4th Division was sent. The main army reached Coblenz four days later.

GREETINGS AT COBLENZ

Under date of Dec. 9 Mr. James reported the reception of the American vanguard at Coblenz as follows:

"The reception of the Americans here was very different from that at Treves. There sullen silence greeted us everywhere. Here smiling delegations met us; pretty girls waved hands and handkerchiefs.

"The river promenade was crowded with the curious, who were in remarkably good humor. Every one seems anxious to do what can be done for the Americans. One walks along the boardwalk here, which, if one did not look across the picturesque Rhine, one might imagine the Atlantic City promenade, and one rubs one's eyes to make one's self believe that this is a vanquished nation.

"A German officer took me for a walk late in the afternoon. Thousands of well-dressed men and handsomely gowned women thronged the boulevard along the Rhine, the crowd in front of the magnificent Coblenzerhof reminding one of a Fifth Avenue holiday parade. The shop windows were filled with luxuries of every description. I bought excellent cigars and Waldorf-Astoria cigarettes.

"My German guide took me into the city's finest tearoom. Here was matched the tearoom in Sherry's any December afternoon. Silks and satins and furs were on all sides. The tearoom itself was ornate and luxurious in its appointments.

"Last night the cafés were filled with

merrymakers up to 11 o'clock, and the theatres were running full blast. The gayety was as if Germany had won and not lost the war. The world knows Coblenz as one of the beautiful cities of Europe, and certainly the German defeat has dimmed none of its glory. Blooming prosperity is everywhere apparent, and if there is any scarcity of food I have not been able to find it. The famous old Monopol Hotel and the Coblenzerhof and numerous restaurants serve meals that would tickle the palate of an epicure.

"At almost any other time one would have felt happy to be here; but now, seeing Coblenz, one at once remembers Rheims. Seeing Coblenz sleek and prosperous, one feels that Germany is not yet repentant.

"The Mayor of Coblenz issued a proclamation in which he requested the inhabitants to refrain from all acts of discourtesy or violence and to accord the Americans such assistance as was possible. A local committee was appointed to assist the Americans in assuming control, and officers of the German Army remained behind after the last of their men had marched out, in order to deliver to the Americans great stores of supplies.

"The officers with Colonel Rhea are Colonel Clarence Sherrill of Greensboro, N. C.; Colonel George Spaulding of Michigan, and Colonel Henry M. White of Kentucky.

"While the Americans were marching into the city today the last division of the German Army was only a few kilometers beyond the Rhine, moving in orderly fashion, with the spirit of a holiday rather than that of a defeated army. Almost every man had a rosette or a sprig of green in his cap. Many of the trucks and wagons had on top of them quantities of Christmas greens."

CROSSING THE RHINE

The American Army crossed the Rhine on Dec. 13. The advance divisions completed their march on the 11th, resting in the suburbs of Coblenz. The Americans on Dec. 10 took possession of the great fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, one of the most formidable in Germany; on Dec. 16 the Stars and Stripes flew upon

the flagstaff where for a hundred years the German standard had remained undisturbed. The fort was occupied by the 7th Field Artillery, commanded by Colonel Francis of Washington, D. C. It had been evacuated by German detachments on Dec. 9. On the 11th the entire German Army was nine miles from the Rhine. On Dec. 12 Mr. James wrote:

"One month after the cessation of hostilities found the Americans yesterday on the Rhine River along most of the sector to be occupied by them. Since they entered Germany on Dec. 1 not one shot has been fired. The reception, however, becomes more strained the deeper they get into Germany. The people are beginning to show irritation at our presence. This is more pronounced in the cities than in the smaller places, and in the last two days in Coblenz, where there is a strong pro-Kaiser faction, an inclination has been shown to sneer at the Americans.

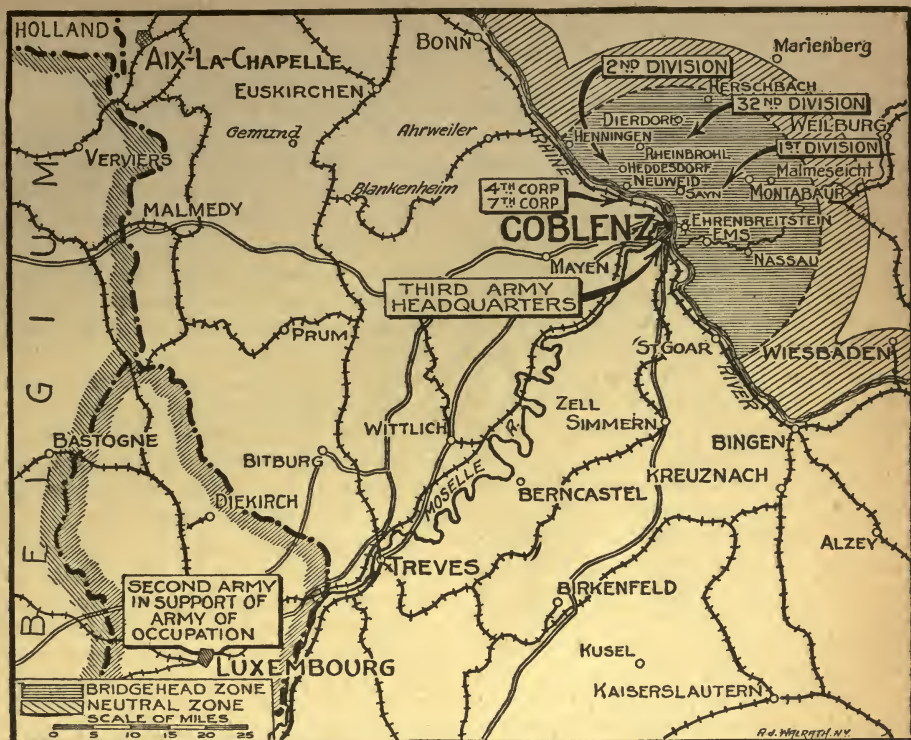
"It is too early to say that this is serious. The failure of the Americans to respond to the starvation propaganda treatment seems to be followed by a disposition of some persons here to be boastful. One may predict that they will be cured.

"In the smaller towns the Americans are well treated, and are responding in kind. For there are today only 1,000 men here for police duty, having come at the request of the German High Command. Perhaps the display of force which will take place when we occupy the city will have a salutary effect. The Volkszeitung of Mayen, where the Third Army has its headquarters, says of the Americans: 'The troops are well behaved, their intercourse with the people is correct, and we willingly admit that the Americans are good fellows.'

OCCUPYING THE BRIDGEHEAD

The Americans took formal control of Coblenz on Dec. 12, and the Army of Occupation crossed the Rhine on the morning of the 13th to occupy the bridgehead beyond the city. Mr. James described the crossing as follows:

"Just before crossing three French divisions were put in to take over the



LOCATION OF AMERICAN FORCES ON THE RHINE

southern part of our sector across the river, and one American division, the 3d, composed of regulars, was sent south to take over part of the French bridgehead at Mainz.

"The 1st, 2d, and 32d American Divisions comprised the force which went over the river Dec. 13. The 1st crossed over the old pontoon bridge, the 32d and the French using the big Koblenz bridge. It was raining and just getting light when the troops started over, but the American flag was waving and bands were playing.

"The people were out to see the first crossing of the Rhine by hostile troops in more than a century. The doughboys marched over in an undramatic manner, just as they crossed the Moselle, into the Fatherland. The aged crest of the Ehrenbreitstein Fortress looked down in impotence as the men in khaki went on their way to make sure that Germany could not start the war again.

"The area to be occupied across the river is in the form of a semicircle with

the Rhine as the diameter and a thirty-kilometer radius. This semicircle may be traced, starting at the Rhine on the north at Linz, then through Stefshard, Bolsheid, Roszbach, Hahn, Diez, and Katzenelnbogen to the Rhine at Oberwesel. Outside this semicircle is a ring ten kilometers wide, which is a neutral zone to be policed by Germans not in force.

PLAYED AMERICAN AIRS

"As the various detachments reached the boundaries of the bridgehead the infantrymen marched into the towns behind bands playing spirited American airs. In some instances the bands gave concerts for the benefit of the natives while the infantrymen hustled about looking for quarters. The men of the bridgehead force as they reached the limits of the great arc began settling down for a rest after their hike from the battleline in France, which began just four weeks ago. Different units all along the line are in the occupied villages. The

officers are using public buildings as headquarters, but are being billeted in hotels and private homes.

"For three days the Americans streamed across the four bridges spanning the Rhine. The two bridges at Coblenz were particularly burdened, even during part of the night. With the first troops, who crossed Dec. 13, went some camions with temporary supplies. Dec. 14 streams of motor trucks, loaded with food, clothing, and gasoline, rumbled along the cobblestone streets of Coblenz in greater numbers than the citizens had ever seen, notwithstanding the fact that Coblenz was formerly an important point for the German Army

"There were no hostile demonstrations anywhere. Sales of firearms were prohibited in Coblenz by orders of the Burgomaster, who is co-operating with the American forces. All civilians were directed to turn over their firearms to the municipal authorities. German militiamen and discharged soldiers, who have been assisting in police duties, were discharged by the Burgomaster's order preliminary to turning the municipal affairs entirely over to the Americans. All theatres and restaurants were affected by the order directing cafés to close at 11 o'clock. These places are forbidden to burn lights after that hour. Hotels were also affected, but in a lesser degree."

OCCUPATION COMPLETE

On Dec. 17 all the units of American forces assigned to the occupation of the

bridgehead at Coblenz had reached their destination. From left to right the first line American divisions in the bridgehead area were the 2d, 32d and 1st Divisions.

The 2d Division occupied the right bank of the Rhine to Henningen, with its headquarters at Hedesdorf. The 32d Division's line ran from Breitscheld, east to Herschbach, thence southeast through Alsbach to Sayn, which was the headquarters. The 1st Division was between the 32d and French headquarters at Montabaur.

The dividing line of the French and American parts of the bridgehead was the Lahn River from the Rhine to the region of Ems, whence the line zigzagged northeast to the region of Malmesiecht, directly east of Montabaur.

The fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, often called the Gibraltar of the Rhine, just across the river from Coblenz, was being prepared for occupancy by the American troops on the 17th. It occupies more than 100 acres on a rocky promontory 400 feet above the river. Each night on the fortress summit the Germans built a great bonfire of the rubbish accumulated by the day's cleaning of the barracks and various other buildings, some of which were erected hundreds of years ago.

An American Post Office was established in Coblenz. Owing to fluctuation in the value of the German mark only French and American money was accepted. The official rate of exchange was 142 marks for 100 francs.

The French Advance to the Rhine

By WALTER DURANTY

THE French crossed the frontier of Germany proper today, [Dec. 2, 1918.] There was no demonstration anywhere or any sign of excitement on the part of the poilus in traversing the imaginary line drawn across the country that represents the ancient boundary mark of France and Germany before the war of 1870. For, although by the terms of the armistice the troops have been halted at

the said line for several days, there was nothing—owing to the incorporation of Alsace-Lorraine in the German Empire—in the way of sentry posts or customs boundaries to mark the old frontier; and when the order was given this morning for an advance, the men simply hoisted their packs on their shoulders and moved forward without more ado.

As far as the French are concerned, the armistice has robbed the conquest of

its glory—from the soldiers' point of view they might as well be engaged in a manoeuvre route march, such as they often knew in peace time. The whole affair is utterly staid and prosaic. Only the difference in language reminds the poilus that they are actually realizing their dream of invading Germany. Otherwise it is simply a change of billets. There is no excitement, no resistance, not even evidence of hostile feeling. The people of the country we are now traversing are simply apathetic. There are no cheers, no flags, no welcome; but, on the other hand, there are completeness of submission and concealment of every sign of ill-will—if, indeed, any is felt—which makes it hard to realize that we are actually in enemy territory. One has a feeling that respect for the uniform has been so impressed on the minds of these Germans that even soldiers of the enemy are regarded as something superior to themselves.

SUBSERVIENCE TO UNIFORMS

As one moves along the sidewalk of a German town or village people instinctively make way. It is not for friend or foe, but simply the uniform and rank marks of authority that they are considering. They have been so drilled to consider the soldier superior to the civilian and the officer a person to respect that they automatically pay the same homage to troops of the enemy. In private life there is a combination of this sentiment with a certain degree of apprehension.

One has a definite impression that these people have lived under the yoke of their own militarism hardly less grievously than the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine. True, for them it was not the yoke of an alien, but it was a yoke nevertheless, and even now they seem unable to realize that it is lifted from their necks. The Allies have fought to free France and Belgium, but it may well be that the bringing of liberty to Germany herself will not be the least part of their achievement.

In the meantime nothing could be more correct than the attitude of the troops and of the population. I saw a

poilu distributing slices of army bread and jam to a group of small children. As I passed he looked up and said, half apologetically: "Have you seen the nasty stuff they call bread hereabouts? These poor kids have tasted nothing better for ages, and I am giving them a little treat." There in a nutshell you have the attitude of the French Army in Germany. They came as victors over a hated foe, expecting at least the appearance of hostility. They found a submission which was almost servile of a people that had been beaten down to the ground. Immediately, instead of stalking in the arrogance of the conqueror, they adopt, almost despite themselves, the rôle of benefactors. It is just one more proof of the nobility of the French character as compared with that of the German.

CONDITIONS IN SAABRUECKEN

Saarbrücken, Dec. 3.—The French occupied this city today. Though the 125,000 inhabitants do not look thin and do not seem to have suffered real hunger, most of them, especially the children, have an unhealthy, waxy complexion, characteristic of malnutrition. In the hotels, however, and in the leading restaurants the menu is fairly abundant for those who can afford it.

There is veal in large quantities at 8 marks per portion, with potatoes; ham, cold or cooked, 2 marks; beef, very rarely, 10 marks; excellent potato or other vegetable soup, 1 mark; hare and vegetables, 8 marks; best Strasbourg pâté de foie gras, with toast, 8 marks, and even pancakes or sweet omelet at 10 marks. All portions are considerably larger than those served in Paris, and on the whole prices seem to contrast pretty favorably with those of the French capital. It is possible to drink poor beer at half a mark a litre, and any amount of German wine at normal rates.

It seems—something which I observed in Alsace-Lorraine and Belgium—that the well-to-do classes were more favored, as compared with their poorer brethren, than in France or England. Restrictions which pressed very heavily on the poor have hardly touched the rich, and this, perhaps, is not one of the least

causes of the widespread social discontent which bids fair to disrupt Germany today.

In the stores of Saarbrücken there are plenty of goods at fairly moderate prices. Despite what one has heard to the contrary, a decent suit of clothes can be bought for 200 marks. Leather boots are expensive—50 to 100 marks a pair, according to style—but leather vanity bags, gloves, &c., seem little dearer than in Paris. And always it must be remembered that the inflation of paper currency reduces the mark to about half its value in real money, so that to obtain a fair comparison with allied prices one should make a reduction of nearly 50 per cent.

FRENCH OCCUPY MAINZ

The French forces occupied Mainz (Mayence) on Dec. 14, and reached the extreme limit of the bridgehead on the 15th. In its forward movement the Tenth Army found more of a spirit of curiosity among the population than of hostility. The regular authorities were recognized by the French, and no attention was paid to the Workmen's Committees. Food supplies seemed ample and the inhabitants appeared to be in good health. Activity was suspended in most of the industrial centres, otherwise life in this region continued normal.

The entry of Generals Fayolle and Mangin into Mainz at 2 o'clock Dec. 14 created a profound impression on that part of the population that did not remain indoors. It was one of the most memorable ceremonies of the occupation.

The strong guard of French troops requested by the authorities of the city had put an end to the pillaging of the military stores on Dec. 9. Their conduct since that time had provoked the most favorable comment on the part of citizens and officials, and that impression was strengthened when the men of the Tenth Army marched through Mainz with the same dignity that has characterized the forward movement of the French everywhere into German territory.

The Frenchmen swung through the old Hessian town, which was French for

a score of years after occupation by the Revolutionary armies, with the business-like gait so familiar in the last four and a half years, apparently unconscious that they were victors marching into the conquered town of an adversary. The attitude of officers and men greatly facilitated the task of occupation. The people maintained greater reserve than the inhabitants of the other towns occupied by the French. Many of the houses and buildings were tightly closed, and a large proportion of the people in the streets were women and children.

After a review of the troops of the Tenth Army, General Fayolle and General Mangin were presented to the city and provisional authorities in the old Hessian grand ducal palace. The Burgomaster, the President of the Provincial Government, and the President of the Chamber of Commerce addressed General Fayolle, expressing the hope that the military authorities would co-operate with them in maintaining order and keeping the economic life of the region going.

GENERAL FAYOLLE'S ADDRESS

General Fayolle, in reply, reminded them that the war imposed by Germany was one of the most cruel and unjust in history. He drew a picture of the devastation in France and Belgium, and the distress of families without shelter, their goods, products, and manufacturing machinery having been carried off into Germany and their soil left a desert.

The General recalled how, after repeated defeats since July 15, the Germans had been obliged to ask for an armistice. He assured the authorities that, however natural reprisals might be considered, they had nothing to fear from the troops of occupation, either for their persons or possessions, so long as they realized the situation and accepted the French occupation in a proper spirit.

The German authorities listened with respectful attention to a translation of General Fayolle's address and a short talk by General Mangin, who assured them of the co-operation of the army in maintaining the regular course of life in the occupied region. The German offi-

cials appeared disposed to continue the conversation, but they were given to understand that the ceremony was over and they filed out after ceremonious salutes.

The French 313th Corps, under General Lecomte, occupied Wiesbaden on Dec. 16 and was reviewed from the steps of the City Hall, opposite the statue of former Kaiser Wilhelm.

The British Advance to Cologne

By PHILIP GIBBS

MALMEDY, Germany, Dec. 3.—British troops crossed the Belgian frontier and entered Germany today. Here and there some small children, watching from cottage windows or in their mothers' arms, waved their hands with the friendliness of childhood for all men on horses, and they were not rebuked. German schoolboys in peaked caps, with their hands thrust in their pockets, stared without friendliness or unfriendliness. Some girls on a hillside above the winding road laughed and waved their handkerchiefs. There was no sense as yet of passing through a hostile country where we were not wanted.

Round the hairpin turn we came down into Malmedy, lying in a narrow valley with some of its streets and houses climbing up the hillsides. It was a typical little German town, with here and there houses of the chalet style and houses of the modern country type in Germany, with wooden balconies and low-pitched roofs, and beyond very neat and clean-looking factories on the outskirts of the town. The shops were bright, and I saw a display of wooden soldiers and flaxen-haired dolls and toy engines as though for the German Christmas which is coming, and in one little garden there was a figure of the little old gnomelike Rumpelstiltskin in my old copy of Grimm's Fairy Tales.

It was surprising to hear that most of the people about one were speaking French. Some of us remembered then that Malmedy was not in Germany until after 1815, and that for a long time it was an independent little town belonging to a Belgian Abbey of great wealth and power before it was destroyed in the French Revolution. The people here

were not typically German, and many of them at least had the neutral spirit of people who live close to the frontier and speak two languages, or three, as at Malmedy, where every one is equally familiar with German, French, and Walloon.

At Malmedy there was no sign whatever of hostility except the sullen look on the faces of some men who stared through the windows of a clubhouse and the gravity of other men who turned their heads away when the cavalry passed, as though unaware of them. In many windows was a notice in German, which I read. It was an appeal by Burgomaster Kalpers, reading:

"Citizens are earnestly requested to maintain great calm and order on the entry of the Entente troops into our city and to receive them with courtesy and dignity."

That wish was being carried out, and it was with politeness as well as dignity that the strangers were greeted in this first German town across the frontier.

COLOGNE ASKS BRITISH AID

Outside Cologne, Dec. 7.—For some days now British troops have been in Germany and this morning were just outside Cologne. Again and again during the last few days I have heard German people say, "Thank God the English have come," and I believe they say that with sincerity. The German middle class are more afraid, it seems, of Bolshevism than of the British soldiers, and during the time of political crisis and social revolution people with property and those who desire law and order rather than anarchy of the mob were anxious for the presence of the British as being the

lesser of two evils, though tragedy enough.

Thus the Burgomaster of Cologne yesterday a special message, asking that the troops should enter earlier than previously arranged, and some machine gunners were sent forward. This is to restrain the low element of the civil population from pillaging and rioting, as they have been doing in Cologne.

At Duren, now occupied by British, the first act of the mob, partly made up of revolutionary soldiers and partly of disorderly youths, was to break into the barracks and loot them. The German officers were disarmed and degraded, but not otherwise hurt, and there was a good deal of window-smashing and pillage until the Burgomaster enrolled a town guard, mostly made up of ex-soldiers in plain clothes, with arm bands and with loaded rifles.

FRIENDLY VILLAGERS

Yesterday I passed columns of English and Scottish troops on the march through the forest of Duren and on the high winding roads of the plateau. Duren is a great forest, dark and mysterious in its depths, between long glades of tall, straight columned firs, with their sweep of green foliage above masses of scarlet bracken. * * *

Everywhere I found that the villagers had received the British in a friendly way and that yellow-haired children stood in groups round them as they picketed their horses and unloaded their transports. War is war, but children are children, and it is difficult to nourish hatred in one's heart when small boys and girls come to shake one's hand or kiss it, and when little maids with pig-tails curtsy as one passes and in a wayside inn the serving maid wishes one a good appetite before one eats and stands around with anxious eyes to observe the effect of the food she has cooked.

Every man of high or low estate doffs his hat when he meets a British officer, and if one stops to make inquiry of the German civilians, many of whom were German officers until a week ago, they answer with the utmost politeness.

Defeat and the revolution with which they are threatened and fear of worse

things that may happen have made the German people painfully anxious to abide by the rules of occupation and get on the right side of those who now have powers of life and death over them. This fear and the tremendous relief that bloodshed has finished, and perhaps also hope of a new era of liberty released from Prussian militarism, has changed amazingly the attitude of these people of the Rhineland toward the English. There is no more "Gott strafe England."

WATCH ON THE RHINE

Cologne, Dec. 7.—British cavalry patrols yesterday entered Cologne, and, riding to the swing bridge which has replaced the old bridge of boats, were the first British soldiers to reach the Rhine. This morning one sentry lad of the 18th Hussars was posted on the town side of the bridge and another on the other side opposite the village of Deutz, famous as far back as Roman times as the bridgehead of Cologne. Facing him on that side was a German sentry in uniform bearing arms, the last of the rearguard of the German Army.

I walked on the bridge this morning, and, leaning over it, looked down on the waters of the Rhine, and even then could hardly believe we were there and had reached that goal which used to be spoken of as a grim jest in the dugouts near Ypres and on the Somme, when it seemed easier to get to Heaven than to this German river—and this was so to many thousands of Britishers three months ago. I went into Bapaume on the morning of its capture, and even then the idea that we should be on the Rhine today would have seemed a fantastic vision. But there this morning were the Hussars with their sentries keeping guard, and down below the bridges on the quayside some of the British men were cleaning their machine guns in the centre of a German crowd, and in the streets were some of their armored cars, at which the people of Cologne stared from tramcars and sidewalks.

The young Hussar pacing the bridge looked lonely among all those German civilians about him, looking at his kit and giving him sidelong glances as they

passed. One of my friends spoke to him and asked him how he was getting on.

"The people are not unfriendly," he said. "They come up and speak to me in English now and then."

"What do they say?" he was asked, and for a moment he hesitated. Then he grinned and said:

"One German this morning came up to me and said, in well-spoken English, 'So you have wound up as the Watch on the Rhine?'"

WHERE HUNGER LURKS

My first impressions of German conditions of life in the villages and rural towns, like Malmedy and Montjoie and Dupen, were of surprise at the good meals one can get in the hotels and restaurants. There seemed to be an abundance of meat and other supplies in towns like Aix-la-Chapelle and an absence of the hunger look in the faces of the middle class crowds in Cologne. But if one examines deeper, one finds that this is all superficial and due partly to the gross inequality of conditions between the rich and the poor, and partly, too, to proud camouflage of the misery which is beneath the surface of this show in the handsome streets and rich restaurants. There is hideous stinting and scraping of the barest necessities of life, with the hunger wolf at the doors of the small houses and in some quarters where workingwomen live in half starvation, which drains them of vitality.

This camouflage of life's luxuries has been cleverly done by the Germans, but like camouflage in war it is all sham. There is sham coffee and sham tea. Even the rich-looking pastry in the shop windows is made without fat, and with a little flour mixed with substitutes, so that it has no nourishment. In the great hotels the skill of the chefs makes poor food tasty and ekes it out. The rich middle classes can buy good food at high prices, evading the food regulations, so long as they have the money to pay, but the workingwomen and poorer middle class or professional people have to abide by their ration cards, and, as a Frenchwoman told me of her own people in the war zone, they get too much for death but not enough for life.

BRITISH CROSS THE RHINE

Cologne, Dec. 14.—This morning at 10 o'clock our cavalry passed through the streets of Cologne, crossed the Hohenzollern Bridge, and went beyond the Rhine to take possession of the bridge-heads.

For some days not many British soldiers had been seen in the City of Cologne, the troops being camped in the outskirts, and it was only yesterday afternoon that the British Governor made his entry and established his headquarters in one of the hotels which had been taken over for the purpose. Crowds of German people gathered to see the man who will control their way of life during the British occupation, and were kept back in a hollow square by their own police when the Governor's motor car drove in with an escort of lancers, while a band of Scottish pipers played a greeting.

This morning the passing of the cavalry over the Rhine was an impressive sight for all the people of Cologne, and for the British was another historical episode on the long journey of this war, which has led at last to this river flowing now behind the British lines. To the German people the Rhine is the very river of their life, and down its tide come drifting all the ghost memories of their race, and its water is sacred to them as the fount from which their national legends, their old folk songs, and the sentiment that lies deep in their hearts have come forth in abundance.

In military history the Rhine has been their last line of defense, the moat around the keep of German strength; so today when British troops rode across the bridge and passed beyond the Rhine to further outposts it was the supreme sign of victory for them and of German defeat.

They are a proud people, and they did not show by any word of rage or cry of bitterness the emotion they must have felt when the British went over the bridge. There were not large crowds about. Many of the people of Cologne did not come out to see the actual crossing, though they were in the streets through which the cavalry rode, but there

were lines of people on each side of the way and groups of them at each end of the Hohenzollern Bridge.

PLUMER AND HIS MEN

The Hohenzollern Bridge is a massive structure of the German character, with castellated towers at each end like those outside a mediaeval fortress. At the city end on pedestals below the towers are enormous equestrian figures of William I. of Prussia and his son of the House of Hohenzollern which has now fallen with a crash that has shaken off the crowns of the other German Kings.

Below one of these statues on the southern side of the bridge, General Sir Herbert Plumer, commanding the Second Army of the British armies in the field army of Flanders, which has fought so many battles since the first battle of Ypres, stood in the midst of the Generals and staff officers of his corps and divisions and brigades and received the salute of the cavalry as they rode behind the Rhine.

Hardly once during two hours did this gallant old General give his arm any rest as he stood there rigid, with his hand to his cap. It was an ordeal for any man, but Plumer, who has known the sacrifice of his men through bloody years, saluted each of them today, Colonel or Corporal, or trooper, horse gunner, bugler, or signaler, with all the honor he could give them on this last ride to their journey's end. It was a picture which belongs to history.

LANCERS AND HUSSARS

A guard of honor of Lancers, with red and white pennons at their lance tips, was on one side of the bridge below the statue of William I., sitting there motionless, as though also made of bronze, like that great horseman, except when their beautiful animals pawed the ground and tossed their heads. A band was close to the army commander's place, and when he came it played the old tune of "Rule, Britannia," and then when the cavalry passed led the song of "The Long, Long Trail."

There were Lancers in the first escort squadron, and the officers rode with drawn swords, and as they came near to

the saluting base turned in their saddles and shouted in the high, long-drawn voice of the cavalry command, "Carry swords," and then to the escort squadron, "Eyes right," and every trooper turned his head sideways, so that there was a gleam of steel helmets down the lines with that fine stern look of men which gives a thrill to one's spine.

Lancers and Dragoon Guards and Hussars, with their horse artillery, in which each gun was polished as a pretty toy for pageantry and not for death, they passed in a steady stream which took two hours to flow by across that bridge.

Down below on the quayside was an other procession which I happened to see when I looked over the bridge. It was headed by two German officers in full uniform, with a white flag on the front of their motor car, and behind them came a long line of other cars with the German eagle painted on the panels. They had come into Cologne under a flag of truce to deliver up the cars according to the terms of the armistice.

RIGID MARTIAL LAW

Cologne is orderly and submissive to the regulations under British authority. The people go about their way with as little notice as possible of the foreign troops in their midst, though in the cafés and restaurants one sees them stealing glances at the British officers and men who come in to listen to the music of the orchestras, which play on gayly, as though no tragic thing had come to Germany.

Martial law was declared in Cologne on Dec. 12. Contained in the list of rules are two which the residents appear to dislike particularly. One provides that all males must greet British officers and the playing of the British national anthem, civilians by removing their hats and men in uniform by the usual military salute. The other order forbids residents to leave their homes between the hours of 7 at night and 6 o'clock in the morning, with some exceptions, such as clergymen and physicians.

On the inside of the door leading into every house must be posted a list of the occupants, containing information re-

garding their ages, occupations, and other matters. No person may change residence without permission, and every inhabitant 12 years of age or over must have an identification card. All day crowds are gathered outside the shops of photographers waiting to get the pictures which must be placed on the cards. Residents having these cards may circulate freely about the city, but may not leave it without permission. It is forbidden to travel on horseback or on a bicycle, except for certain occupational reasons.

No newspapers or pamphlets may be printed or circulated without permission. Today [Dec. 12] the Cologne Gazette and other papers were not published, although they expect to resume tomorrow.

The transportation and sale of liquor, except beer and wines, are forbidden. No street assemblies will be permitted, and other assemblies must be authorized. Amusement places cannot run without authorization.

Residents must surrender all weapons and must aid the military in the pursuit of lawbreakers. There can be no telephone communication save in extreme cases, and then only with permission. The employment of wireless and pigeons is forbidden. Only limited personal or business correspondence with unoccupied Germany and foreign countries and correspondence with German prisoners are permitted. Civilians are forbidden to have cameras. The military will have the right to search men suspected of having concealed weapons or of having broken ordinances.

Field Marshal Haig has issued an order to the entire occupied territory in which he declares that the inhabitants will be protected as long as they are obedient and peaceable. The death penalty or such other punishment as may be decreed is provided if violence is done to soldiers, or the supplies or works necessary to the military operations are damaged.

Recovery of Brussels, Strasbourg, and Aix

Special correspondents of The New York Times and CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE described in moving terms the formal occupation of historic Belgian and French cities on the way to the Rhine. Walter Duranty cabled from Brussels on Nov. 22:

"Just one hour ago King Albert halted his white horse at the Flanders Gate of his capital city of Brussels, and Burgomaster Max stepped from the throng of Municipal Councilors to greet him. By the King's side was the Queen, a slender figure in a fawn-colored riding habit, with a close-fitting fur toque. During the Burgomaster's short speech of welcome and the King's reply the Queen raised her hand from time to time, to shelter her eyes from the sun, which was dazzling in a cloudless sky, where scores of airplanes wheeled like gleaming birds.

"It was a striking picture that the soldier King made, sitting motionless on his horse, in the uniform of a General, with a khaki helmet. He wore two rows of ribbons, including that of the French

Legion of Honor, Military Medal, and War Cross. Not a word could be heard on account of the thunderous roar of the multitude, which never ceased for a moment.

"The enthusiasm of the people was delirious, indescribable. Fully a million people must have lined the route through which the procession passed. They were everywhere—on the housetops or perched on ledges from the first story to the fourth, attached by ropes to windows. Each lamppost bore two or three, and on a telegraph pole at the Flanders Gate there was a boy hanging insecurely by his sash who somehow managed to wave and cheer without breaking his neck.

"Although his words were lost, the King's face showed deep emotion as he replied to the Burgomaster, and twice he gestured strongly with his right hand. Two paces behind him was Prince Albert of England in the uniform of the Royal Air Force, with the Belgian Princes and the Princess just beyond. In the grand stand to the rear of the Burgomaster

stood a number of American and British officers, including General Farnsworth, commander in Flanders, whom I saw chatting with the Burgomaster a few minutes before the arrival of the royal party.

"When the short ceremony was ended the King and Queen wheeled their horses to greet a party of allied Generals on horseback. Then, as the procession moved forward, it seemed that the noise increased, if that were possible, and so King Albert entered Brussels, riding along a narrow street where flags made an avenue of color before him and flowerers fell about him in a bright rain. The Belgian Princes and their sister rode abreast, Leopold in the centre, a slim boy in the plain khaki of the Belgian poilu. On his right was Charles, a stocky youngster, in the uniform of an English naval cadet. Princess Marie José was on the right, a smiling child in a gray dress, with her golden hair in fuzzy plaits beside each ear. As she passed a youth on a telegraph pole she laughed and waved to him. The crowd yelled delightedly, and the youth responded with such energy that nothing but a miracle averted a fall."

STRASBOURG FRENCH AGAIN

The entry of the French into Strasbourg was described by Walter Duranty on Nov. 25:

"If there was any doubt as to the genuineness of the rejoicing in Alsace over the prospect of being French again it would have been dispelled by the enthusiasm of the reception given Marshal Pétain, attended by Generals Fayolle and Gouraud, as he drove through Strasbourg today followed by the flower of the French Army.

"I watched the procession pass through the square of the eleventh century cathedral that had witnessed the triumphal entry of Louis XIV. After the Generals in automobiles came picked battalions of the Colonial Army, led by zouaves with red shoulder straps, flanked on either side by a long file of girls in bright-colored Alsatian costumes. Then came a little band of veterans of 1870.

"I talked with one afterward, a man

of 76, whose limp is a memory of a bullet wound received at Mars-la-Tour. He was almost overcome with emotion in his gratitude to heaven that he had lived to see the day when French soldiers again marched through the City of Strasbourg. For that was characteristic of the ceremony. It was the pageant and triumph of the French Army, an astounding demonstration of the military power that had borne the brunt of the war throughout, had upheld the Allies in defeat, and had had the lion's share in the final campaign to victory. In Brussels it was the fête of King Albert; in Strasbourg it was the poilus' triumph."

George H. Perris gave this further word picture on Nov. 26:

"Three halts were made in the procession through the city, first in the Kleberplatz, where the troops presented arms before the statue of Marshal Kleber, an Alsatian who was one of Napoleon's most spirited lieutenants; second, in Town Hall Square, where the flags were ceremoniously saluted, and last in the Kaiserplatz, before the local palace of the lamented Emperor. At each of these points the masses of inhabitants and country folk had gathered during the forenoon, and the surrounding buildings, substantial structures in red sandstone, fine shops and charming old houses, with steep dormer-windowed roofs, were full of happy faces laughing through waving fields of tricolor flags.

"In Kleber Square many of the musical and sporting societies by which Alsatian patriotism has been secretly sustained during the German domination were in evidence by their bands and banners, some of these drawn from their hiding places for the first time in forty-eight years. Everywhere the holiday dress of Alsatian girls splashed the scene with jolly waves of color.

"I have often testified to the genius of our French friends for the organization of great public spectacles. Today's was in every way worthy of the occasion. More can hardly be said. Not the least was the pertinent note of mordant wit which flavored its pathos and magnificence. A less bold artist in open-air staging would not have ventured to choose for his final scene the Kaiserplatz

and the steps of the recently imperial palace. It recalls the famous witticism about the Holy Roman Empire—that it was neither holy nor Roman. So the vulgar barrack is neither imperial nor palatial in any sense but that of the modern boche railway station.

"Four pseudo-mediaeval heralds of giant size hold the tricolor now floating from the roof. The German eagle still screams from the stone plinth above the outer staircase. The Hohenzollern arms have not been removed, and it was under these symbols of dead imposture that the heroic poilus of republican France and their chiefs today received their reward in the plaudits of one of the lands they have delivered.

"Pétain, with Castelnau, Fayolle, and Maistre, all three commanders of groups of armies; Humbert, Buat and other Generals and several hundred staff officers, were at the foot of the steps and on either side for the march past. Gouraud, the 'Lame Lion of Africa,' faced them on the other side of the roadway, an immobile figure of almost tragic gravity. Behind him a vast crowd swayed and cheered the passing groups of chasseurs, zouaves, tankmen, tirailleurs, pioneers, machine gunners, artillerymen, and dragoons."

IN AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

The Belgian Army's entry into Germany at Aix-la-Chapelle was depicted by Philip Gibbs as follows, under date of Dec. 3:

"I went this morning to Aix-la-Chapelle, (Aachen, as it is called in German,) and saw the entry of the Belgian Army of occupation. They came with bugles playing, and their officers rode with drawn swords, and the men marched through at a quick pace with their colors flying. One German boy failed to take off his hat to the colors, and a Belgian soldier plucked it off and said: 'Salute the Belgian flag.' On the walls were the posters which have turned the tables on the Germans, point by point, as they had ruled in the Belgian towns. All hats are to be taken off when Belgian officers pass.

"The people of Aachen knew the meaning of defeat when they saw the Belgians enter their city. They knew that those men were their masters who would order their way of life and have them at their mercy. I think they were afraid; but they lined up in the streets to watch the passing of the troops and were calm and put a good face upon this tragedy of theirs.

"I saw one girl close to me weeping. One by one the tears swelled into her eyes and fell as she stared, quite motionless. But I saw no other tears. Some of these German women found it in their hearts to smile, and others had proud faces which did not show any emotion of hostility or sorrow.

"The Belgian bugles blew through the streets of Aachen, and afterward the people went about their business as though nothing new had befallen them. I went to the old cathedral and found many people praying there under the arches and between the pillars which were built one thousand and one hundred years ago by Charlemagne, whose body lay there, and whose throne, looking down upon the high altar, is still there, as when the Emperor of the Franks sat there and plucked his flaxen beard and saw the Spirit of God somehow above all the welter of barbaric peoples who had been subdued to his sword. The German people were praying, I think, for peace today, and their heads were bowed.

"The rules promulgated Dec. 6 provide that nobody may enter or leave the town without passports. They prohibit all meetings or assemblies and close all theatres and moving-picture shows. Cafés and restaurants are permitted to remain open between 11 A. M. and 2 P. M. and between 5 P. M. and 8 P. M., Belgian time. The rules require also that all arms and military material must be surrendered. No German soldier is permitted to appear in uniform without permission of the Armistice Commission. The men generally are polite to the invaders, but it remains to the women to send bitter glances of hatred in the direction of the troops of occupation."

Surrender of the German Fleet

Described by an Eyewitness

A special correspondent on board the United States warship Florida, accompanying the British Grand Fleet in the Firth of Forth, Nov. 21, 1918, wrote for The New York Times and for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE this vivid description of the historic spectacle presented during the surrender of the German High Seas Fleet:

IN the bright sunlight this afternoon nine German battleships, five battle cruisers, and seven light cruisers steamed into the Firth of Forth and gave themselves up for internment. They were led by a tiny British cruiser, and as they passed between the long lines of British and American battleships, the very perfection of their steaming and accuracy of their handling seemed to accentuate their humiliation.

How completely the menace which has hung like a cloud over the Allies was dissipated today is shown by the roll of vessels given up. Chief of the battleship squadron, which was commanded by Rear Admiral von Reuter, was the new Bayern, of 28,000 tons and carrying eight 15-inch guns. Then came the Grosser Kurfürst, the Markgraf, and the Kronprinz, each of 25,390 tons, and with ten 12-inch guns, and lastly the Friedrich der Grosse, König Albert, Prinzregent Luitpold, Kaiser, and Kaiserin, each of 24,310 tons and ten 12-inch guns.

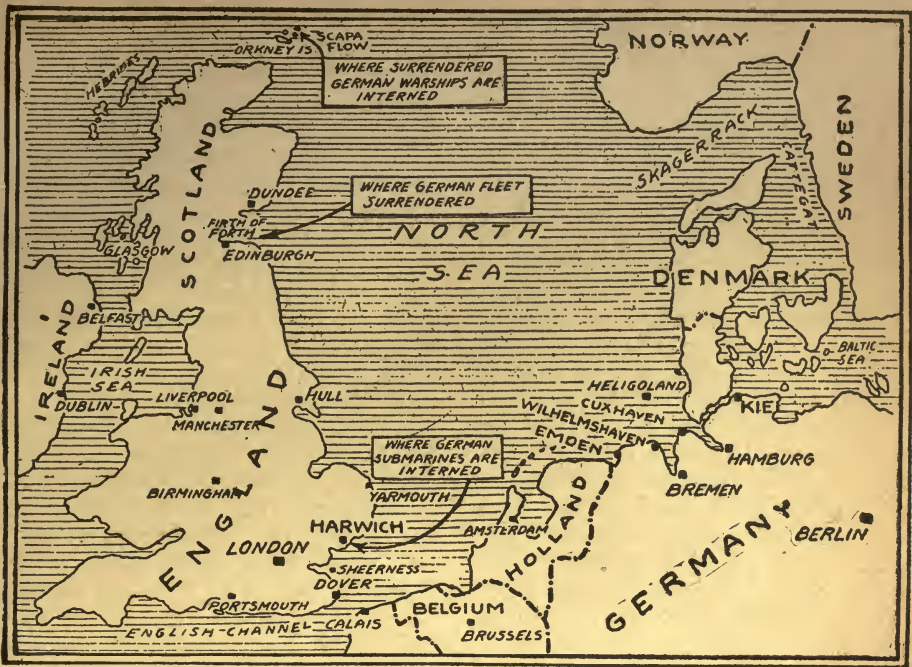
Commodore Tagert commanded the five battle cruisers, the Derfflinger and Hindenburg, each of 26,180 tons, with eight 12-inch guns; the Seidlitz, 24,610 tons, with ten 11-inch guns; the Moltke, of 22,640 tons and same armament, and the Von der Tann, of 19,100 tons and eight 11-inch guns. The light cruisers brought in today under Commodore Harder included the Karlsruhe, Nürnberg, Koeln, Frankfurt, Brummer, Bremse and Emden. In addition there were fifty destroyers. All these are now at anchor under the guns of the Grand Fleet in British waters.

The program for the surrender was absolutely simple. The Germans had expressed a willingness to give themselves up, and there was nothing for them to

do but to come on their last cruise across the North Sea.

Last Monday [Nov. 18] the Germans, in accordance with orders from Admiral Beatty, put out to sea, with magazines empty, their guns secured amidships, and only navigating and engineering crews aboard. The British and American fleets were in parade order to receive a visit from King George. On Wednesday the King, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, in the destroyer Oak, steamed along miles of water between the great fighting ships. He was received formally on the American flagship New York in the afternoon by Admirals Sims and Rodman and Captain Beach, and he met the commanding officers of the other dreadnoughts—Florida, Arkansas, Wyoming, and Texas. But there were two noteworthy incidents connected with that visit. As the King stepped upon the deck of the New York, for the first time since the Revolution the British royal standard was broken out at the mainmast of an American warship in honor of the King of England, and before he left he made an interesting suggestion to Admiral Rodman. He said he would like to see certain British ships cross the Atlantic each year to take part in American manoeuvres, and American vessels in British waters at work with the British fleet. Thus, he thought, an understanding between the two great naval forces might be perpetuated.

Meanwhile, as the King spoke of his plans for peace, half a mile away was a reminder that the war was not yet over. As he shook hands with the American officers, out of the mists above the Forth Bridge came a long line of low, gray war vessels. They paid no atten-



WHERE THE GERMAN WAR SHIPS AND SUBMARINES ARE INTERNED

tion to the battleships, with their cheering crews. They paused not to salute the flag. Quietly they kept on their way. As they swung a little to northward toward the sea, another division of them slid silently up, and before these grew dim in the dusk yet another half dozen hove into sight. They were destroyers, the eyes and ears of the British fleet, and they were already putting out to meet the Germans. Since a little before noon they had begun to get under way, and from then until well after dark division after division of them kept slipping by. As they went, every one of them was as ready for action as though the armistice had not been signed and U-boats lurked beneath the surface of the sea.

BEATTY TOOK NO CHANCES

Admiral Beatty was taking no chances. He knew it would have been suicide for the Germans to attempt resistance at the last moment, but are there no moments when brave men may prefer death to dishonor? So, as the British and American fleets prepared to receive the surrender, they were also prepared for action.

Their decks were stripped, their battle flags were hoisted, ammunition for the big guns was in the turrets, and every officer and man was ready.

The plan was that the Germans should reach the rendezvous, sixty miles out, at 8 o'clock in the morning. All but their destroyers were to form in a long column headed by the British light cruiser Cardiff. First came the battle cruisers, then the battleships, three cables apart, then after a gap of three miles the light cruisers at the same interval, and last, three miles astern, the destroyers in groups of five. The Cardiff was to regulate their movements, and get, if possible, twelve knots out of them. All their big guns were to be trained inboard. Meanwhile on either side of their course, the Grand Fleet was to stand out and meet them in two long columns. Light cruisers were to lead the van, and behind them were the battleships, and behind these again other battle cruisers and light cruisers. Two great columns, each at least twenty miles long, were thus to be formed, and between them, under constant surveillance all the way, the German ships were to sail.

There was to be no communication between them and the Allies. They were to be left completely alone, and had only to obey signals and take up the anchorage assigned to them.

Long before dawn this morning the Grand Fleet got under way to go down to the appointed place. Thirty-three battleships, nine battle cruisers, five cruisers, and thirty-one light cruisers were to take part in the great triumph, and it takes a long time to move a mighty fleet like that in single file. It was a wonderful sight to watch them slip away in the small hours of the morning. There was a full moon, but the sky was overcast. For over six hours the British and American ships were picking their way down the Firth and manoeuvring to assume the two-column formation. From time to time through the air came signals from the Germans, announcing exactly where they were and what progress they were making.

At 8:18 o'clock the German commander reported he could not make the twelve knots required, but only ten. Everything was going well, but it was not until 9:15 that the Germans were first made out from the Grand Fleet. They were holding strictly to their course and steaming steadily ahead in excellent order, but from the northern column, at any rate looking into the sun and across the mists, they seemed very ghosts of a fighting force. They were dim and shadowy and were barely discernible against the gray sea. Above them floated a British observation balloon and a dirigible, but they made no signals and paid no attention to any one.

MET THEIR OLD RIVALS

After they had passed the cruiser they met the famous fifth British battle squadron which once before had come across them and left its mark upon them. There were the Barham, Valiant, Warspite, and the Malaya, ships which rushed at the battle of Jutland to the rescue of the battle cruisers. Then they were sheathed in smoke and fire; today they stood out in the sunlight glistening as if with silver, and gay with signaling flags—sturdy and solid looking craft they were. Then next behind them came

five tall ships from across the Atlantic, with Stars and Stripes floating proudly from each of their masts and flaunting as well from the latticework of their mainmasts. If the Germans used their glasses they must have seen their decks almost bare of figures, but their fighting tops crowded with them at their stations and their big guns ready to be swung round at a second's notice.

To the trained sailor's eye they represented warships ready for instantaneous battle.

"It is the proudest moment in my life," said an American officer as he looked through the mist at the German fleet slinking into inglorious safety, and again at the line of American ships keeping perfect distance and direction as they followed the flagship New York.

But even when these two powerful squadrons had gone by, the Germans had still to pass the nine battleships of the second battle squadron, Admiral Beatty's flagship, the Queen Elizabeth, and four ships of the first battle cruiser squadron and the Lion, as well as the fourth light cruiser squadron. Moreover, what the Germans saw on their starboard bow clearly enough in the sun, they knew was repeated on their other quarter, even though it was shadowed by the mists. They were steaming between two mighty fleets, which could blow them out of the water in five minutes. And it was of their own volition. This is what the ceremony of today seemed especially designed to bring out—that the surrender of the German fleet was a voluntary act on their part, and that there was no reason why they should have done it if they had not been afraid to fight. After a time the British columns turned and accompanied their prisoners back, each separate squadron wheeling out of line and back again so as to reverse the order of the whole array without altering that of each unit. But through it all the Germans kept plodding on. No one apparently gave them orders; no one coerced them; they were self-confessed in defeat and fleeing to safety while there was yet time.

The ceremony was almost terribly impersonal, so ostentatiously did the Grand Fleet keep its hands off its prisoners. It

had been at grips with the Germans before, and now it was content to let them pass and leave them alone.

As the Germans drew nearer their anchorage the humiliating nature of their plight must have come home still more sharply to them. As it chanced, it was necessary for the three lines of vessels to come closer together. The north and south columns of the Grand Fleet sheered in toward the German, and it seemed as though it was merely one division of a mighty fighting force.

STILL FLEW BATTLE FLAGS

The German ships were still flying their battle flags. Their guns ran out stiffly from their turrets, and their low silhouettes showed how skillfully they had been designed as war machines.

They were keeping a beautiful formation as regards distance, and there was nothing to suggest what they were, yet every mile was bringing them nearer hopeless and prolonged captivity, and

all their professional skill served only to aid their enemies in putting them easily into confinement. So as they reached their anchorage in the Firth, some miles below the Forth Bridge, in obedience to orders from the British, they split up into several lines and came to a halt. There they lay, motionless and harmless, and the British and American victors swept by, leaving them to the care of guardships. This afternoon Sir David Beatty sent to Admiral von Reuter this order:

"The German flag is to be hauled down at 5:57 today, (that is, sundown.) It is not to be hoisted again without permission."

Before many days the German ships will be moved under close guard in small detachments to that delightful Winter resort, Skapa Flow, in the bleak Orkneys, where they will be able to meditate for weeks and months on what British and American seamen dared to endure to cut their claws.

Executing the Armistice

Time Prolonged a Month

THE Germans complied with the armistice terms in the main in good faith, notwithstanding the revolutionary agitation, but certain conditions were impossible of fulfillment within the time limit. On Dec. 14 the following amendment to the armistice was signed in Marshal Foch's headquarters at Trèves:

First—The duration of the treaty of armistice concluded on Nov. 11 is prolonged one month, until the 17th day of January, 1919, at 5 o'clock in the morning. This extension of a month will be extended until the conclusion of preliminaries to peace, subject to the consent of the allied Governments.

Second—The execution of the conditions of the agreement of Nov. 11, such as are not completely fulfilled, will be followed and completed in the period of the extension of the armistice after regulations fixed by the International Armistice Committee according to instructions of the Allied High Command.

Third—The following conditions will be

added to the agreement of Nov. 11: "The Allied High Command reserves the right to begin meanwhile, if it thinks it wise in order to assure new guarantees, to occupy the neutral zone on the right bank of the Rhine to the north of the bridgehead of Cologne, up to the Dutch frontier. This occupation will be announced by the Allied High Command by giving six days' notice."

In the interim between the signing on Nov. 11 and the prolongation on Dec. 14 the International Armistice Commission was in daily session at Spa in Belgium. The conferences were held at the border in the former seat of the Great German Headquarters, and were attended by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany. The utmost formality marked the proceedings.

The commission began its sittings Nov. 12, 1918. At that time the enemy was still occupying Spa. In the succeeding days long lines of hurrying and disor-

ganized German traffic and troops sped eastward through the watering place. There remained something more than a hundred German officers and men in the place under the orders of General von Winterfeldt, who represented the German Government.

Among the Entente representatives were Major Gen. Charles D. Rhodes and staff, for the United States; Major Gen. Sir Richard C. Haking and staff, for Great Britain, and General Nudant and staff for France. Major Gen. Rhodes occupied the villa Sous-Bois, which had been Field Marshal von Hindenburg's headquarters.

The conferences were held in the grand salon of the Hotel Britannique, which was part of Great Headquarters, and in which the Emperor took his final resolve to quit Germany.

The German sentry at the entrance of the hotel would click his heels sharply as the delegates entered or other officers passed. The sittings began at 10 o'clock daily. Prior to that hour the German delegates took their places at a huge table and received the allied officers standing. The latter walked silently to their chairs, where each delegate bowed profoundly to the man opposite before sitting down. There were no words of greeting, no pleasantries exchanged, and the business of the day was conducted throughout with the same grim precision.

So far as reported, there was no friction and no evidence that the Germans were evading the terms. There were frequent notes sent by cable to the United States by the German Foreign Secretary, Dr. W. S. Solf, protesting against certain features and asking modifications and revisions; all were referred to the allied High Command, but the cable petitions continued to come with such frequency that the United States Government at length requested the German authorities to address their communications to the allied council. No modifications of any sort were made.

The Germans complied to the letter in the surrender of the stipulated number of war vessels and gave up every submarine afloat, the total number reaching 122. These vessels were interned at Harwich, England. The delivery of airplanes

was made by piecemeal, as it was found impossible to assemble 2,000 airplanes at one place. The delivery of locomotives and cars was delayed on account of difficulties in transport, but toward the end of the thirty days of the armistice there was a readier compliance with this demand.

Mine sweepers left the Firth of Forth Nov. 22 for Kiel and Wilhelmshaven to clear the channels and disarm the remnants of the German Navy. On Dec. 3 a British fleet arrived at the port of Libau in Courland, on the Baltic, and the entire Baltic littoral came under control of the Allies. A Paris dispatch dated Dec. 4 stated that the Germans had begun financial restitution, and on that day had delivered to the Allies 300,000,000 francs in gold, which had come from the Russian Treasury. It was also reported that the French had recovered valuable etchings and Watteau paintings which had been taken from the museum at Valenciennes.

An incident with relation to the surrender of the German fleet was made public Nov. 28. Admiral von Reuter, Commander of the German fleet, which surrendered on Nov. 21, had protested against the order of Admiral Sir David Beatty of the British fleet, directing that the German flag be hauled down. He protested that internment in a British harbor was, under the terms of the armistice, equivalent to internment in a neutral port, where, in accordance with precedent, flags are allowed to remain hoisted. He added:

"I esteem it unjustifiable and contrary to international custom to order the striking of the flag on German ships. Moreover, in my opinion, the order to strike the flag was not in keeping with the idea of chivalry between two honorable opponents."

Admiral Beatty, calling attention to the fact that the armistice merely suspended hostilities, and that a state of war still existed between Germany and the Allies, replied:

"Under the circumstances, no enemy vessel can be permitted to fly its national ensign in British ports while under custody."

The German Armistice Delegates

French Soldiers' Attitude Toward Them

A correspondent of The London Post, who was at Guise on the night of Nov. 11, 1918, saw the German Delegates as they were departing from the Armistice Conference, on their way back to their own country. He describes the attitude of the French soldiers toward their foes as follows:

THE roads were a mass of mud, motor cars of all sorts were ranged by the side of the main street, and the German plenipotentiaries were temporarily halted because of a breakdown to a motor lorry in the road in front of them. There were seven cars in all, two of them belonging to French Headquarters and five being German. The plenipotentiaries must have halted for nearly half an hour, and certain members of the junior staff attached to them got down while the details of a fresh route to be followed were discussed by them with the French officers by whom they were being escorted.

The senior members remained in the cars, invisible in darkness. Those we saw were of the typical officer class, clean-shaven and almost aggressively self-contained. For the most part they were silent, but occasionally they talked in low tones. On the pavement by the houses there was a continual movement of French soldiers. No guard was round the cars, for any sort of guard was entirely unnecessary. There was not a single individual among the two or three hundred men present who even moved forward to catch a glimpse of the mission. There was no question as to any one doubting their identity, for the cars bore on their panels the crest of the Black Eagle.

The demeanor of the French soldier was typical of the high standard of courtesy set by Marshal Foch. Both army and nation realized that with Marshal Foch in command the terms of the armistice were in absolutely safe hands, as he had abundantly shown that he had taken to the full such measures as the situation required. He insisted, however, that every detail of the transaction should be conducted in absolute privacy, and there was not present at the historic

meeting a single representative of the French or allied press. In the same way the French soldier who has proved his capacity as an enemy of the German showed last night instinctively a chivalrous courtesy to his beaten adversary, and the army authorities knew that they could trust implicitly in the conduct of the men under their command.

The Captain in command at the advance post near Chimoy, on the route taken by the plenipotentiaries when they came to request the terms of an armistice, described their approach as follows:

I had been warned that it was possible an envoy might arrive and that fire had ceased in the sector. At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon a German Lieutenant appeared, magnificently turned out and magnificently mounted, with an escort of two. I met him about a hundred yards in front of our lines and he wished me to go back with him to meet the plenipotentiaries. I told him I could not leave my command, and at first there was some demur, the idea of those with him being that a French officer should accompany the plenipotentiaries from the other side of the line. I assured him there would be no firing in the sector, that the plenipotentiaries could cross the line in safety, and that I would receive them at my post of command. "This gentleman is an officer," he said to the men with him, "and as an officer I can accept and trust his word." Five o'clock was the time fixed for the arrival of the delegates, but at that hour no one arrived, the mission, as is known, actually making their appearance considerably later in the evening, when they at once proceeded on their way.

A member of the German Armistice Delegation communicated to the Vossische Zeitung the following account of the

meeting with Marshal Foch and the allied delegates:

When on Nov. 5 we left Spa in motor cars and reached the French lines we found enemy carriages already waiting to take us to the unknown scene of negotiations. This motor tour with the French officers lasted ten hours, and it appears likely was intentionally prolonged in order to drive us all over the devastated province and prepare us by what we saw for what was shortly to be put before us in the way of hatred and revenge in the extremely severe armistice conditions. Now and again a Frenchman pointed silently to heaps of ruins, or mentioned a name, "Voilà St. Quentin." In the evening, wherever it was, a train stood ready for us. The windows of the carriages were curtained, and when we awoke next morning the train stood in the midst of a wood.

We know now that the negotiations took place in the forest of Compiègne, but a week ago we knew nothing. Perhaps it was a measure of precaution, even for our sakes, that we were taken through no town. Perhaps acts of violence were feared on the part of the population, for the hatred for us among them is boundless. The wood was evidently barred by troops to all comers. There were no houses and no tents. On the railway line stood two trains, one occupied by Marshal Foch and his people, the other by ours. Here for three days we lived, worked, and deliberated. This seems to be the modern form of such negotiations. The castles and fortresses of olden times have gone, even for such purposes. The train with its sleeping, drawing-room, and dining cars was very comfortable, and we were provided with everything we wanted. The officer who had charge of the train had us supplied, and the conduct of the numerous guards who stood around was beyond reproach.

But all the hostility and the fullness of hate for our country that seems now to be cherished in France came to expression in the form of the negotiations, as well as in the terrible nature of the conditions. Those of use who were soldiers wore uniforms and the Iron Cross. The introduction to the half-dozen French

officers who conducted the negotiations with us "in plenum" and the greetings were of the coldest. Foch, who showed himself only twice—at the opening and at the end—gave us no word of the particular politeness that in earlier times distinguished the most chivalrous nation in the world, and his officers just as little. He received us with the words, "Qu'est ce que vous désirez, messieurs?" and invited us into his business car, furnished with tables and maps. As each was to speak his own language and everything was translated, the reading of the conditions alone occupied nearly two hours. It was moreover a discovery when Foch answered that there were to be no negotiations, and only dictated matter. Altogether, with all his coldness, he was by no means so tactless and brusque as was General d'Esperey at Belgrade.

Then we retired to our train, which stood on the other line. As we had been sent by the old Government, and had certainly not been authorized to sign everything without conditions, we proceeded, at the instance of Erzberger, to divide the various points under three heads, military, naval, and diplomatic, and discussed them separately with the members of the enemy commissions, which consisted only of officers. Military Germany thus, with two civilians, stood face to face with now completely militarized France. The enemy maintained, in the persons of all his representatives, the same objective; their coldness was mitigated by no single word that bordered upon the human, as had marked our reception by the Marshal. The English Admiral adopted the tone of the French, and only from Foch's Chief of the General Staff, who bore the Alsatian name of Weygand, did we perhaps receive any greater politeness.

During our two days' proceedings there was really no negotiation, and we could only try to obtain concessions on various conditions. For when the enemy demanded delivery of 160 U-boats we could only point out the technical impossibility, as we had not 160 to give. This demand had to be changed into the formula, "all U-boats." The chief point was that of food, and of this we were in

a certain measure able to obtain assurance. In the meantime, in this lonely wood, with its two railway trains, we were cut off from all intercourse with the outside world. Foch himself went off twice to Paris, and couriers were able in two hours to arrive with the papers. Thus it was possible for the enemy on Sunday, early, to hand us the Paris news-

papers with the abdication of the Kaiser. We read no laughter, no triumph, in their faces, but we saw in their hearts that our work was not interrupted. Immediately before the close of the second and last plenary sitting we placed before the enemy in the German language our protest against the treaty, but in the end we had to sign.

Sufferings of Ostend Under German Occupation

Ostend, the famous Belgian Summer resort, after enduring four years of German occupation, was evacuated late in October, 1918. A tragic episode of the day of the German withdrawal was the killing of three little children by booby traps. A correspondent, who visited the evacuated city on Oct. 24, gave the following account:

THE city is like a place awakening from a deep sleep. Hotels and shops and houses are barred and shuttered. Their tenants have lived in England, or Holland, or France since 1914. Grass is growing in the cobbled streets; the only traffic to pass is an occasional car or a tiny dog-drawn cart. Twenty-seven thousand people are living in the town. The Germans cut off the gas, electricity, and water the day they left.

The Sheriff and Burgomaster of the city, M. Auguste Liebaert, described the occupation as follows: "We had to execute the orders the Germans gave us. All that they demanded had to be done, and I acted so that I got into no disputes with them, and the town also was kept out of trouble. So far as administration is concerned, things went along smoothly. We paid no fines. Once when the Germans said that a pigeon had been shot down carrying a message from Ostend over the lines a fine of 1,250,000 francs was imposed, but at the end of two months we got it remitted."

There were many requisitions. First the wine was seized, then the wool and linen, then the copper and brass. Matresses were taken even from under men dying in hospital. Hotels were stripped of sheets, tablecloths, and other articles. Bicycles and motor cars had to be surrendered for one-tenth of their value.

With regard to the collection of brass and copper, I saw people fishing in a dock basin to recover a parcel of things dropped into the water many months ago to keep them from falling into enemy hands. The church bells and the Ostend carillon were all commandeered. There was no general robbery of *objets d'art*, but houses and hotels abandoned during the flight of the population four years ago have been thoroughly pillaged. Forced labor was general. Belgians were often set to work in places exposed to bombardments, and a number of men were injured at different times. Men who would not work were put in prison or sent to the front, and food was refused to their wives. In this harsh way obedience could be compelled. On one occasion the town was ordered to provide forty men for work connected with the construction of an aerodrome. The draft failed to appear at the stated time, and the civil authorities were notified that a fine of 300 marks would be levied for each hour which passed before the labor was provided. Eventually the men were obtained, and again a remission of the fine was secured.

When the Germans came into the town they seized the municipal funds, but three years later these were restored, apparently without explanation. Currency has been almost entirely in paper, and instead of using German money the

Ostend people had a note issue of their own. This reached \$8,000,000.

The distribution of food through the commission was in very limited quantities. Once a fortnight each member of a household received 150 grammes (5½ ounces) of flaked corn, 50 grammes of dried peas, 500 grammes of beans, 150 grammes of fat bacon, and 400 grammes of lard or some other fat. There was also a packet of matches for each family, and occasionally a ration of salt. Every six months a household received a piece of leather for soling boots, Bread, made from a mixed meal of barley, peas, beans, and other things, coarse and unpalatable, should have been shared out on a basis of 300 grammes a day, but the ration often could not be obtained. For food and clothing other than that provided by the Relief Commission extravagant prices were demanded. The following prices prevailed:

	Per Pound.		Per Pound.
Meat	\$1.90	Tobacco	\$3.00
Barley .....	.40	Rabbits, each..	5.00
Coffee	5.00	Soap, a bar....	2.60
Tea	9.00	Suit of clothes..	100.00
Butter	6.00	Boots	50.00
Lard	2.50	Hat	10.00
Eggs, each.....	.25		

Sub-Lieutenant von Beker, the Juge d'Instruction, was especially hated. A familiar practice with this officer was to act both as policeman and Magistrate. He made arrests and the next day imposed the fines. Other Germans who aroused the hatred of the people were Captain Hintze, "a foul brute." He heard that a woman had bought a piano so that her daughter could earn something by giving lessons. Hintze said he wanted the instrument, and when the woman protested he sentenced her to six months' imprisonment and moved the piano away. One of the Judges who condemned Captain Fryatt, a man named

Zeppfel, afterward became a military Judge at Ostend. The most recent commandant of the town, Captain Fischer of the German Navy, seems to have been of a better type.

Instances of savage punishment of individuals and of brutality could be described until columns were filled. What happened at Lille in the way of disgusting medical examinations of respectable women and girls was repeated at Ostend in a more limited form. Any girl denounced secretly to the German authorities through spite, or who was supposed to have spoken to a soldier, had to submit to the ordeal, and it often happened that perfectly innocent women were made victims of the system. On Aug. 18 of this year two British airmen, whose names are said to be Ingram and Wyncourt, came down near the town and were taken prisoner. As they were being marched through the streets a Belgian took off his hat to them. The Germans fined him 1,000 francs and sent him to prison for a fortnight. The man told me the story himself this morning. At the Hotel de la Courronne the proprietor was fined heavily when one German stole another German's baggage. A girl servant in the hotel said that her 70-year-old father lived near Dixmude all alone. He had become frail, but permission was refused either for the girl to join the father or for the father to come to Ostend. The man died without the girl seeing him. "L'Allemand est sans coeur," she exclaimed bitterly to me, and in that cry she summed up Ostend's opinion of the boche soldier, and more particularly the boche officer.

Twice during the occupation the Kaiser visited Ostend. On each occasion the people of the town were strictly forbidden to leave their houses, and nobody saw the supreme War Lord.



Bruges Under the Yoke

By HUMPHREY PAGE*

AT the first entrance of the enemy billeting was general throughout Bruges, but at this time our house happily escaped, the Germans having promised that none should be quartered, against the owner's will, in a house occupied by the owner himself.

For the first year we were left in comparative peace, though always liable to the visits of officers in search of pleasant quarters, who frequently demanded to be shown all over the house, even insisting upon a visit to the garden. In January, 1916, an officer called and asked, as usual, to be shown over the house. As my wife was ill, and I happened to be out, the servant, knowing the promise not to billet in any house occupied by the proprietor against his wish, explained that I was absent, that her mistress was indisposed, that the place was our own, and that we did not receive lodgers, and with some difficulty induced him to depart. Two days later I was surprised by a visit from the Platz Major Loos, accompanied by his subordinate, who informed me that I was condemned to receive into my house two officers, a bureau, and ten men, in punishment "for impoliteness to a German officer." My wife was seriously ill at the time, as Loos could plainly see when he ran across her while inspecting the different rooms. But he was absolutely implacable, telling me to prepare immediately for the reception of the men, although I protested that I had never even seen the officer to whom I was said to have been impolite.

On Jan. 27 we received a billeting order for one officer and one orderly, who were to arrive during the night, and had scarcely time to congratulate ourselves that it was no worse, when another order was brought for a second officer and a second man, also to arrive during the night. The two orderlies' luggage arrived in the early afternoon, and after arranging their own room and preparing those of their masters they went off with the house key, saying they would return at midnight. At 2 A. M. we were

aroused by their entrance with their officers, Ober-Lieut. Schäfer and Lieut. Schumann, both of the 10th Company, 2d M. I. R. (Marine Infantry). I got up to see what was going on, and told them that if there was anything further required I would attend to it in the morning, and upon Schäfer demanding a fire at once in his room I answered that we had received no directions to have fires lighted, and there was no one to make them at that time of night, and so left him.

Scarcely had we finished breakfast next morning when I walked Schumann and peremptorily desired that a "room already warmed" might instantly be placed at his disposal for their coffee. My wife explained that the breakfast room was the only one in which there was a fire burning, and was reserved for our own use, their rooms having already been selected by the Platz Major, who had also given us to understand that meals would be taken in the casino, and added, "If you persist in taking this room you practically oblige us to go into the kitchen." He answered rudely, "Ca ne me regarde pas," and immediately called the orderlies to prepare their breakfast. While they were taking their meal, I went to consult the town authorities. During my absence, Schumann ordered my wife, in presence of Schäfer and two other officers of the regiment, to show him over the whole house in order that he might select other rooms for himself. "Wait at least till my husband's return, as I am not very strong," she answered, but he only replied, "If you don't show them at once I will break them open with a hammer." Of course, she could only comply.

[Details are given of other insults offered the householder by officers who were billeted on him, two of whom insisted that their dogs be quartered in their rooms with them; both became

*Mr. Page is an elderly English gentleman who remained at Bruges during the four years of German occupation.

beastly drunk every night. Mr. Page continues:]

A flagrant violation of the German promise, as of all laws and conventions, was shown in the wholesale seizure of Belgian workmen, who were compelled either to serve on military works or else transported into Germany. On a protest being made, the excuse was that it was for the general good of Belgium, since nothing was more dangerous to the peace of the community than having a number of idle unoccupied men, who would naturally make their living by crime. The excuse that only the unemployed were taken was an absolute lie. Even skilled artisans, carvers, cabinetmakers and the like, men earning high wages, were sent to do rough work in the fields and trenches.

The Germans began by ordering men to appear on one or the other pretext, and then seizing them in full daylight; but as this led to great disturbance and many accidents, ended by taking them in the early hours of the morning, in many instances the bayonet being playfully employed to help them out of bed. Our cook told us of a very brutal case which had happened near our own house. A poor man whose wife had just died, leaving him with five or six young children, was dragged out of bed and told to go; when he protested and asked what was to become of his children, the only answer he received was: "Let the neighbors look after them."

In the Winter of 1916-17 the Germans, not content with quartering officers and men on the inhabitants, began to take entire possession of some of the largest houses, turning the occupants into the streets, even when the owners themselves were in occupation; this in direct violation of their promises. I hoped that we were safe, as our house had not a great number of bedrooms, but we were among the first to suffer, and in the afternoon of Feb. 19 a Belgian police agent arrived with an order from the Kommandantur of which the following is a translation:

Bruges. To the Belgian Police.
Kommandantur, 19.2.17.

The house at No. 20, St. Georges-street, is hereby seized. The occupiers must va-

cate the house before 6 P. M. on the 24th, and the keys must be handed over to the guard.

Nothing must be taken out of the house but clothes and body linen.

(Signed) FREIHERR VON BUTTLAR.

Scarcely had I finished reading it when three naval officers arrived to inspect the house, and I pointed out the special hardship of the order in our case as we had not, like the Belgians in similar circumstances, any relations in the town to give us house room, neither had we money, nor means of obtaining any.

Immediately as they left the house four sentries arrived and at once installed themselves in my best drawing room, gathering together all the rugs and cushions they could find to sleep on, and lighting the log gas-fire which continued to burn night and day till we left. As I stood watching them one of the brutes, a great burly fellow, jumped on to a polished table with his hobnailed boots and lighted all the burners of the lustre. Not knowing what might happen next, I ran off to the Kommandantur to ask that they might be sent away at 9 P. M. until the following morning, as no civilian was allowed out of doors after that hour and it would therefore be impossible for us to remove anything during their absence; but the request was refused, and for the next five days we had them, (and their numerous friends,) running all over the parqueted floors and plush carpets in their heavy, dirty boots. As the weather happened to be particularly bad and wet, and these barbarians utterly ignored the use of mats, you may imagine our misery.

A day or two later our house was occupied by ten naval officers and their orderlies, bedroom furniture having been introduced into my wife's boudoir, the library, dining room, and small drawing room. Had the place been used like most of the other houses seized, simply for sleeping purposes, things would probably not have been so bad; but the "gentlemen" in possession began by making a messroom of the broad inclosed veranda which runs along the whole of one side of the house, breaking through one end of it to construct a short cut to the kitchen. It was large

enough to accommodate a great number of officers, and all the naval men quartered in the neighborhood messed there.

Besides private houses, a great number of religious, charitable, and educational establishments were seized, and used either as barracks, offices, or hospitals; among these were the Dames Anglaises and the hospital for incurable women managed by the Sisters of Charity, who were ejected in spite of medical testimony that their removal would probably result in the death of a number of the invalids. Perhaps the most brutal of all was the expulsion of these sisters. A place was selected for them and their patients in some abandoned buildings in a distant part of the country, and their departure fixed for such a time that they could not reach their destination till nearly midnight, and they found on ar-

rival that notice of their coming had only been received that same day.

The sisters in charge of the great lunatic asylum were treated in an equally barbarous manner, being ordered to be ready to start at 8 A. M. on one day, whereas no train was ready until 4 P. M. on the day following. They started at last with half the patients (some of whom were violent and had to be carried to the station bound with ropes) on a journey which was to last throughout the night and well into the next day, and this in the depth of Winter, their discomfort being increased by the fact that the bedding had been sent to the station at the time fixed, and when the travelers came to take the train they found that a considerable part of their bedding had disappeared; the remaining half of the patients followed a couple of days later.

Chronology of the Armistice Period

Record of Events From Nov. 15 Up to and Including Dec. 19, 1918

UNITED STATES

Discontinuance of press censorship in connection with cable, postal, and telegraph lines was announced Nov. 15.

Government took control of the cables operating between the United States and foreign countries Nov. 16. Newcomb Carlton, President of the Western Union Telegraph Company, placed in charge of all systems.

The Clyde, Mallory, Merchants' and Miners', and Southern Steamship Lines relinquished from Federal control Dec. 5.

The Agricultural bill, with legislative rider providing for national prohibition from next July 1 until the demobilization of the American Army, signed by President Nov. 21.

William G. McAdoo resigned as Secretary of the Treasury and Director General of Railroads Nov. 22. Carter Glass was appointed Secretary of the Treasury.

John D. Ryan resigned as Second Assistant Secretary of War and Director of Aircraft Production Nov. 22. Bernard M. Baruch resigned as Chairman of the War Industries Board Nov. 30. Dr. Harry A. Garfield resigned as Fuel Administrator Dec. 3, and Charles M. Schwab resigned as Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation Dec. 11.

The first troops of the expeditionary force returned on the Mauretania, which landed in New York Dec. 2. Other transports followed in rapid succession. Up to Dec. 12, 1,373 officers and 30,750 men had sailed for home.

PEACE CONFERENCE

United States Delegates to the Peace Conference were announced Nov. 18 as follows: The President, Robert Lansing, Colonel Edward M. House, Henry White, and General Tasker H. Bliss.

President sailed for France Dec. 4; arrived at Brest Dec. 13.

EXECUTION OF ARMISTICE TERMS

Twenty German submarines were surrendered Nov. 20. German High Seas Fleet of nine battleships, five battle cruisers, seven light cruisers, and fifty destroyers surrendered Nov. 21.

On Nov. 17 the allied army of occupation began its march for Germany.

Marshal Foch, with Generals Guillaumat and Gouraud, entered Strasbourg Nov. 25.

On Nov. 29 the Germans began withdrawing across the Rhine.

The American Army entered Germany Dec. 1. British troops crossed the Belgian frontier and entered Germany Dec. 3.

On Dec. 12 the armistice was extended until Jan. 17.

The American Army crossed the Rhine on Dec. 13, and the French entered Mainz.

On Dec. 16 the American Army reached its final objective at Coblenz, and the British formally occupied Cologne.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

According to official figures announced by the Bureau of Navigation, a total of 145 American passenger and merchant vessels, having a gross tonnage approaching 375,000 tons, was lost through enemy acts from the beginning of the war to the cessation of hostilities on Nov. 11. In all, 775 lives were lost.

The total losses of merchant tonnage by allied and neutral nations from the beginning of the war to the end of October, 1918, through belligerent action and marine risk, was 15,053,786 gross tons, according to an official announcement from London, Dec. 5.

AERIAL RECORD

When hostilities suspended American aviators had destroyed 661 more German airplanes and 35 more German balloons than the Americans had lost. The number of enemy airplanes destroyed by the Americans was 926, and the number of balloons 73. Two hundred and sixty-five American airplanes and 38 balloons were destroyed by the enemy.

NAVAL RECORD

During the war British submarines sank 43 enemy warships and 272 other vessels.

The British warship *Cassandra* struck a mine in the Baltic Sea Dec. 4.

GERMANY

King Ludwig of Bavaria renounced his throne on Nov. 16, and the next day Duke Charles Edward of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Grand Duke Friedrich Franz IV. of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and Grand Duke Friedrich II. of Baden abdicated, and Baden and Saxe-Meiningen were proclaimed republics.

The United Workers and Soldiers' Councils proclaimed Oldenburg, Oestfriesland, Bremen, Hamburg, and Schleswig-Holstein a North Sea republic, Nov. 22. Hamburg was named as the capital.

William II. formally abdicated on Nov. 29, and on Nov. 30 the act of renunciation was issued by the German Government.

The Crown Prince renounced his right to the throne Dec. 6, and the Prussian Government withdrew from the Hohenzollern family the privilege of immunity from law.

A Government headed by Friedrich Ebert was formed Nov. 16 and announced on Nov. 17 that bank deposits would not be seized, that the legitimacy of war loans would not be impaired, and that salaries, pensions, and other claims on the State would remain valid.

Several adherents of the Spartacus group of Socialists were killed in Berlin Nov. 22 in an attempt to seize the Police Presidency.

An agreement with the Ebert Government and the Soldiers and Sailors' Council, by which power passed to the Council, was proclaimed in Berlin Nov. 25.

Serious disturbances occurred in Berlin. The Executive Committee of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council was arrested Dec. 6. On Dec. 7 the Spartacides clashed with returning troops and 180 casualties were reported.

Dr. W. S. Solf resigned as Foreign Minister Dec. 11.

Hugo Haase and Herr Barth, two of the three Independent Socialist members of the German Government, resigned Dec. 15. Georg Ledebour also severed his connection with the Government.

The National Conference of Soldiers and Workers' Councils met in Berlin Dec. 17.

AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY

Several hundred persons were arrested in Vienna on charges of conspiring with the Red Guard to proclaim a Bolshevik Government Nov. 20.

Formal proclamation of the Hungarian Republic was made Nov. 17. Archduke Joseph took the oath of allegiance to the new Government.

The Hungarian Government ordered the internment of General von Mackensen and his army.

JUGOSLAVIA

Crown Prince Alexander of Serbia was appointed Regent of the Yugoslav State by the National Council at Agram Nov. 26.

Italy's occupation of Fiume resulted in a protest to the Entente Powers from the Croatian National Council at Agram.

POLAND

Heavy fighting occurred between the Poles and the Ukrainians for supremacy in Galicia. The Polish troops were accused of murdering many Jews, and the Bolshevik element contributed to the general disorders.

General Joseph Pilsudski became dictator in Russian Poland.

Poland severed relations with Germany Dec. 15, charging the German authorities in occupied territories with acting contrary to Polish interests and working with the Bolsheviks. Count Kessler, the German Minister, with his whole staff, was ordered to leave Poland within twelve hours.

RUMANIA

The Transylvanian National Assembly proclaimed the union of Transylvania with Rumania Dec. 1. A resolution was passed declaring the union of all Rumanian people in all the territory they inhabit, and affirming the inalienable right of Rumanians to all the Banat Ter-

ritory between Maros, Theiss, and the Danube.

RUSSIA

Through a coup on the part of the Council of Ministers of the new All-Russian Government at Omsk, Admiral Kolchak became virtual dictator and commander of the All-Russian Army and fleet, Nov. 19.

Two Ministers, M. Avskentjeff and M. Zenzehoff, who opposed his dictatorship, were arrested. General Horvath, General Ivanoff, and General Renoff, announced that they recognized the new authority.

New massacres were begun in Petrograd. Within a few days previous to Nov. 22 500 former officers had been shot.

The Councils of Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland appealed to allied and neutral Governments urging intervention in the Baltic Provinces against the invasion of Russian Bolshevik forces.

On Dec. 6 Admiral Kolchak issued an order deposing General Semenoff, the anti-Bolshevist military leader in Siberia. Colonel Valkov was named as Semenoff's successor.

Sweden recalled her diplomatic and consular representatives in Russia, charging that the representative of the Soviet Government in Stockholm had been transmitting Bolshevik literature from Russia, Dec. 8.

Word was received Nov. 20 that the Ukrainian Government had been overturned and Kiev had been captured by General Denikine at the head of pro-ally Cossacks. General Skoropadski, Ukrainian dictator, surrendered, and General Denikine was named as his successor.

The Ukrainian Bureau of Lausanne announced on Dec. 6 that Unionist forces had seized all the power in the Ukraine after a battle in Kiev, and that General Skoropadski, the Hetman, had been killed.

Russian minelayers arrived on Nov. 19 in Finnish waters off the Puumalo battery, belonging to the fortress of Ino, and began laying mines. On Nov. 20 three Russian warships flying the red flag of Kronstadt bombarded Viikila.

A republic was proclaimed in Lithuania Nov. 30, under the Presidency of Karl Ullman.

BELGIUM

A delegation of Socialists and Catholics asked the King of the Belgians for a more liberal constitution Nov. 16.

LUXEMBURG

The Luxemburg Chamber of Deputies adopted a motion demanding a referendum to decide the future form of government Nov. 18.

ENGLAND

Lord Robert Cecil, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, resigned, Nov. 22.

Lieut. Gen. Jan Christian Smuts resigned as a member of the War Cabinet, Dec. 16.

FRANCE

The French Minister of Commerce, M. Clementel, announced on Dec. 4 that the French Government had denounced all commercial treaties containing most favored nation clauses.

MONTENEGRO

King Nicholas was deposed by the National Assembly, Dec. 2. The Assembly declared for a union with Serbia under King Peter.

SPAIN

Spain recalled her Ambassador to Berlin, Dec. 9, following the announcement that Premier Romanones intended to expel the German Ambassador, Prince von Ratibor, and members of his staff, for spying and supporting the agitation against the Spanish royal family.

Catalonian Deputies in the Cortez withdrew from the Assembly and political parties in control in Catalonia declared for autonomous Government.

PORTUGAL

Dr. Sidonio Paes, President, was shot and killed by an assassin, Dec. 14. His assailant was killed by a crowd. Dr. Brito Camacho, leader of the Unionist group in the Chamber of Deputies, and Magalhaes Lima, leader of the Republican Party, were arrested.

Admiral Canto y Castro was elected President by Parliament.



Wartime Sights in an English Harbor

By EDEN PHILLPOTTS

[By Arrangement With The London Chronicle]

Mr. Phillpotts, who spent twenty years depicting the life of Dartmoor in more than a score of novels, has penned this picture of a Southern English bay as it looked on the last evening of the war:

WITH the naked eye, from a perch east of the bay, one marks little but the deep inlet of the sea, as it were a lake, with the further shore of undulating hills dotted along a rolling skyline, broken by the roofs of farms and the rounded bosses of elm trees. One marks no more save that the land breaks at the fishing village, where it lies in a dimple of cultivated fields and green woodlands. But with a four-inch telescope all is changed; the good miles between are banished and the life and business of the harbor and hilltop alike brought so near that everything proceeds at close quarters. There lack only the hubbub and noise, for, like a living picture, all goes forward in silence.

To seaward, high overhead in the blue, a spot appears no larger than a midge. Slowly it swells to the greatness of a dragon fly. Then its humming becomes audible. It is a hydroplane back from her beat above the Channel. Soon the wing spread is visible above the gondola and the floats beneath it. Then the sun flashes on her colors and shows a green body and a tail painted red, white, and blue. She sweeps in a great curve above the bay; then the drone of her engine changes, she descends as gently as a bird, and scuttles like a duck over the water through a rush of foam.

Beneath the limestone cliffs there glides the fishing fleet homing to harbor, with a hundred hulls and five hundred tan and russet sails flashing brave color in the evening glow. The irregular procession of the trawlers stretches from the Head to the harbor; and astern of each boat wheel and turn little clouds of white and gray gulls, touched to rose color by the warm radiance from the west. The catch is being cleaned for market, and the birds do well.

Soon the fleet is round the breakwa-

ter and making for moorings. Then boats put off, and the fish are rowed ashore, where auctioneers and salesmen wait for them.

Before dusk a couple of gray scouts, flying the white ensign, speed into the bay, cut a silver line through the red light that now rests upon the waters, and are soon away again; then sets out a little steamer, to guide ships to their nightly berths, for the bay is still guarded from submarine attack and the anchorage proof against all foes; and the steamboat from shore goes seaward to pick up travelers and bring them safely through the invisible barrier. They come creeping in presently, as though weary and glad to drop anchor and enjoy a night of repose in these peaceful waters. The red merchant flag of England predominates, but the allied flags and those of occasional neutrals can be distinguished.

One picks up the "Stars and Stripes" of the States, whose merchant flag and ensign are similar; the red and yellow of Spain; the blue and white of Portugal; the red, white, and green of Italy; and the red, white, and blue of France. There are strange, obsolescent types of steamships that haunt the sea nowadays, and beside the low, raking, modern vessels created by the war lie venerable, beamy ships—"dugouts"—brought from their repose to face the perils of deep water once again.

All, to the smallest cargo boat, mount a gun lifted over the stern, and nearly all, save the least, are camouflaged in wonderful and bewildering patterns. Some exhibit a stiff zebra design of perpendicular black and white bars, while others are painted horizontally with long flowing lines like the run of waves—black and white, green and blue. These appear to be best disguised, viewed from

this standpoint three miles off; but others are almost equally difficult to distinguish without a glass—craft painted cubist fashion in squares and blocks and sharp angles of black and white, russet and gray, jagged upon each other.

Even to their funnels and bridges, the steamers are thus decorated, until they present no more amorphous lumps than faint blobs of disconnected color lying upon the sea. Their lines entirely disappear, and what is visible almost ceases to suggest a ship even seen at anchor from this vantage ground 200 feet above them; but their concealment in a running sea must surely be complete, and from a periscope, or even the deck of a sub-

marine, these disguised craft would have been hard enough to find even on rare occasions of perfect visibility.

There is a splash and a leap of foam as the anchor falls from each sharp bow and the chain-cable slips through the hawser. So the ships are still, and the last sunlight glitters in their copper and glass, then dives and leaves them shapeless, gray ghosts on the gray water. The sun departs, and heavy shadows soon pour down off the hills into the haven; the last sail is furled; a squat beacon opens its ruby eye at the end of the breakwater, and the riding lights begin to glimmer gold through the gathering darkness.

To the Dead: A Dedication

By MAURICE HEWLETT

In days to come when husht the strife,
And scab of rust aligns the blade
Wherewith, to save, you ventur'd life
And all the promise youth had made;
When the red roads are all relaid
And a man dares to leave his wife
For his day's work, sure that his maid
And she are safe from German knife;

When all the kings are crown'd or dead,
And every General made a lord;
When all the thanksgivings are said,
Dealt every medal and award—
Let there be one found to record
Your deed who were content to tread
The way of death, a nameless horde,
Unribbon'd and unheralded.

I think I see the bristled spills
That stud the field where thick you lie;
I know what heavy taint distils
From countless graves in Picardy;
I see the hoody crow and pie
Preening themselves with sated bills
There where a sick and leaden sky
Hangs like a pall upon the hills:

Then, if I stand on that gray plain
Where the sea-wind for ever moans
And low clouds fling the sheeted rain
Over the sand that hides your bones,
I think to hear your undertones
That say, "Tell them there is no gain
To us in any churchyard stones
To guard the bed where we are lain.

"But say that what we had we gave
So men should hold their heads upright;
And if no man need be a slave
Henceforth, we were content to fight.
When the peace-beacon throws her light
It may not warm us in the grave;
Yet let them spare a thought that night
To us who sleep beyond the wave."

I who have learn'd your simple lore
And gain'd by everything you lose,
Chiefest to love that country more
Which breeds such men for such a use,
How should I falter and refuse
What blood my heart has yet in store,
To write in it the holy dues
Of you who fought the Holy War?

Nov. 14, 1918.

Alsace and Lorraine Again French

Historic Demonstration in Paris to Celebrate the Return of the Lost Provinces

By PERCEVAL LANDON

Paris, Nov. 17, 1918.

THE trees of Paris have stripped themselves of the cloth of gold in which they welcomed the coming of the herald of peace. Along the Champs Elysées and the Tuileries Garden the carpenters worked all night beneath the silhouette of myriads of stripped branches, darkly outlined against the brilliant haze of a moonlit sky. The châteaux, each named after a town or commune in the recovered provinces, have received the last touch of decoration; the gilt and crimson of the Presidential inclosure glitters in the bright, hard light of a sun that has not even yet melted the ice-covered gutters or the jewelry of frost that last night hung upon every twig and blade of grass.

The real work of decoration was done weeks ago, when the vast avenues and circles of guns were manhandled into their places with their muzzles depressed and their power for evil gone. These, not the flags and the festoons, are the real witnesses to the allied victory—these and the long routes of the cortège that passed today between them, from which no class or work or interest in all Paris or all France were left without its representatives. And among them the eyes of all Paris in attendance followed one section till it was out of sight, for the men of Alsace and Lorraine are coming home today after an imprisonment of forty-seven years. The great and bitter protest that they made in 1871 against their slavery has been the charter of their life from that day to this, and in the sure and certain hope of this return however slow its footsteps, they steeled their hearts in their captivity. The nightmare is ended, and in spirit all Lorraine and all Alsace today was present when the Chief Magistrate of the French Nation welcomed back her long-lost children.

PLACE DE LA CONCORDE

It would be difficult for the most inveterate boulevardier to recognize the Place de la Concorde today. Besides the sandbagged humps which protect the statues of Renown and Mercury at the gardens gate—these, by the way, have been studded all over with rusty German helmets, and bring back a sudden and significant memory of the towers of victory built by Persian conquerors, each pigeonhole of which contained a human head—the captured guns cover the surface of the square everywhere except upon the roads, and even these are encroached upon by the sulky muzzles and futurist patterns of the screens. A long row of German airplanes, almost intact, were aligned, atiptoe and ready for flight, along the wall of the Tuileries Garden, and trophies of flags made alive with bunting the fronts of the Ministry of Marine and its companion building. The statue of Lille was almost smothered with flags and garlands, conspicuous among which was the little motor flag of General Haking, the man who secured the evacuation of Lille, and then stood aside to let the French enter their own loved city first. Hard by, the statue of Strasbourg was even more ornamented.

There has been no scheme of decoration. The individual has set upon the great monuments his own little token as seemed good to him. And this want of careful prevision is characteristic of the significant and splendid spontaneity of all the celebration and ceremony of today. Paris is enjoying herself in her own fashion. In a proclamation that is still wet upon the walls the Municipal Council of Paris adjures the inhabitants thus: "Que Paris sort de la fière réserve qui lui a valu l'admiration du monde." There is a place and time for

all things, and today Paris, in the name of France, has gathered her lost ones to her breast in her own way, and the Allies feel with her to the full the poignant joy of the great redemption.

Before 11 o'clock there was already a sprinkling of men and women along the processional route, though the coldness of the weather increased, and except for a flash of sun about 12:30 the day settled down cloudy and cold. By noon all the coigns of vantage had been taken up, and the crowd, six or seven deep from end to end of the two-mile course, seemed almost to prevent the chance of others seeing much of the great event. Half an hour after noon the real importance of the crowd began to be visible. From north and south, from east and west, all Paris moved slowly inward upon the Champs Elysées and the Garden of the Tuileries. The great fountains of the Place de la Concorde burst out with a rush such as they had not known for years, and the first harbingers of the airplane squadron purred over our heads.

A GIGANTIC GATHERING

As the crowd increased, all temporary barriers were swept away; the airplanes manning the wall of the Garden of the Tuileries were scrambled over and in most cases broken to pieces by the crowd that would not be denied; every statue had its nest of human beings, and every tree, however weak, held up its human load. One o'clock came and went; but the continual tramp of Paris went on remorselessly. It was the strangest contrast in crowds that ever was seen. There was a deep happiness in every face, too profound for crying aloud, yet the crowd wore one unvarying color—black. Of course, it is true that on his holidays the Frenchman, and to a great degree the Frenchwoman also, wears black; but this was not the reason of the sable crowd of humanity that welcomed the homecoming of Alsace and Lorraine today. It was mourning, none deeper and none more profound; but it was mourning transfigured for the day, and there was not a man or woman there who did not wear black with a deeper sense that in each home some part of the great

sacrifice that victory complete and final demanded had been paid as a gift to France.

GREAT PROCESSION

At 2 o'clock salvos of guns announced the starting of the great procession, and the bronze whirring of the airplanes overhead increased to a continuous chord—the ground bass that accompanied the service of the day. Perhaps the details of the procession, as one by one they entered the Place de l'Etoile and slowly took their course down the most famous triumphal way on earth, would seem to an outsider to have differed little save in magnitude from those which in the old days used to parade in Paris from time to time. There were, of course, the obvious differences of sex, of military service, and, in one case, of childhood also. But it was in reality such a gathering not merely of Frenchmen, but of all that France stands for, as even Paris was almost awestruck to behold. The start of the procession was well handled, and the first ranks of the descending flood reached the Place de la Concorde in fairly good time. Here there were gathered to meet them the President of the Republic, the Presidents of the two Chambers, and all the great officers and Ministers of State, together with the representatives of foreign powers.

The waiting was long, and the cold increased in bitterness as the afternoon wore on, but no one seemed to notice it or care. Not one in ten thousand could hear the words of the President's speech, but all Paris knew what it wished M. Poincaré to say, and they trusted him implicitly to say it. So when the great moment came, and the guns and the released pigeons told the great message to city and country alike, Paris may well have thought the misery of the long exile of their compatriots worth the completeness of their enemy's overthrow and the triumph of this glorious welcome home.

[A translation of President Poincaré's address, delivered on this occasion, appears on the next page.]

President Poincaré's Address

The President of the French Republic delivered this eloquent address at the Paris celebration of the return of Alsace and Lorraine, Nov. 17, 1918:

The thousands of Frenchmen who prepared this great demonstration had, at the outset, the purpose simply of placing at the feet of the statue of Strasbourg the offering of their love and fidelity. Victory has come to enrich their program with a magnificent addition and to enable them to celebrate in the triumph of France the return also of Lorraine and Alsace to the maternal home.

If ever our hearts have felt regret at our inability to retard the passage of the hours so that we might enjoy at our leisure the noblest pleasure of which our souls are capable, surely we feel that emotion now in these hours of national pride and harmony, when the nation that has so long been mutilated is again made whole. Since, however, we cannot prolong these divine moments, let us at least promise ourselves to keep their memory immaculate and bequeath it as an inestimable treasure to France, the eternal.

For forty-eight years our inconsolable grief has clothed this statue of sadness and captivity with crêpe and funeral wreaths. None of us was able to pass beneath the motionless eyes of this cherished figure, mute and veiled, without seeing there the symbol of steadfastness even in servitude, and without feeling to the bottom of our souls a secret humiliation at our defeat, mingled with a lasting remorse because of our inaction.

None of us, however—and I call the whole country as witness—not one of us would have been willing, even though he might thus wash out past stains and avenge outraged justice, to take the responsibility of a single word or gesture which might kindle the first blaze of a murderous world war. In silence and resignation we waited for the waking of slumbering justice. It was Germany herself who, believing justice dying and planning to give her the final thrust, involuntarily woke her from her long sleep. It was Germany who with her own hands tore up the monstrous treaty which she had imposed upon us by vio-

lence, and which placed under foreign domination an inalienable part of indivisible France.

The war which was declared against us, and which terminated such an odious series of provocations and threats, liberated us at last from the constraint under which we had been held by our love of peace and our horror of bloodshed. From the day when these robbers of our provinces attacked us without excuse we had the right and the duty of reclaiming the national patrimony which force had torn from us.

In the memorable session of Aug. 4, 1914, the members of the French Chamber, grouping themselves patriotically about the Government of the republic, took a solemn engagement not to lay down their arms until Alsace and Lorraine had been restored to the mother country. They kept their word. For more than four years the army and the people have suffered and fought continually; for more than four years they have known the extremes of hope and disappointment; for more than four years the nation, resolved to conquer, has seen without complaint or discouragement the flower of its youth harvested by death. Yet nothing has limited its effort, nothing has weakened its will.

This indomitable energy has won its recompense. Alsace and Lorraine have again become French. Germany has been so completely overwhelmed that, even before the peace treaty has been signed, she has been forced to appeal to us to protect her retreating army against the hostility of the population. Yes, behold her reduced to convict herself of falsehood. Yesterday she declared that the Alsatian people were reconciled to the German yoke and did not wish separation from what was then the German Empire; today, in frank distress, she begs us to save her troops. "Alsace pursues me," she cries. "Alsace threatens to strike me. Hold her hands!"

Alsace and Lorraine have again become French! How glorious it is to repeat those words—once words murmured in a dream, now words of actual truth. Soon all France will go to Alsace and Lorraine to offer them enthusiastic congratulations on their deliverance. What will be the emotion of those among us who for nearly fifty years have waited, tortured by the memories of that other war, waited for this day of glory and of resurrection! What will be the emotion of the President of the council, who, with so much ardor and foresight, so much faith and success, has labored for the liberation of the captive provinces!

Alsace and Lorraine have again become French! The majority of the heroes who have died for them have never known them. They were not neighbors and friends, as some of us have been; they have not been lulled to sleep in infancy by Alsatian songs; they have not in their memories the ineffaceable visions of those blue mountains and broad plains. Yet they have sacrificed themselves to deliver these two captive provinces and restore them to the France which has not forgotten them. They have understood that the provinces were necessary to the unity of the nation, and that since they were torn away France has lacked a part of her flesh and a fragment of her soul.

Alsace and Lorraine have again become French! They have come into that which was theirs by right. They are French by geography, which placed both of them within the confines of ancient Gaul. They are French by decree of history, which under the ancient monarchy blended them with France; by history, which on July 14, 1790, consecrated this voluntary fusion; by history which has increased the glory of France by all the glory gained in the centuries past by

the scholars and soldiers of Alsace and Lorraine.

Unity with France is theirs by virtue of the eloquent protest made by their representatives in the National Assembly at Bordeaux; by the unanimous re-election of those same representatives after the forced annexation; by the courageous declaration which their delegates made in the Reichstag in 1874; by the voluntary banishment undergone by those who sadly left their invaded hearths, and by the decision of those who remained there to perpetuate French traditions in the bosom of their family and cherish jealously the holy flame of memory.

To justify the return of Alsace and Lorraine to France, it is only necessary to recall these centuries of past glory, followed by years of bitter sorrow shared in common. A plébiscite would add nothing to the eloquence of facts. A plébiscite would be a mockery, since it would not be able to record the votes of the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine who were driven from their homes by the treaty of Frankfort. It would be a denial of justice, because it would submit to a new decision the liberties which these populations had long possessed before they were torn from them by violence. Restitution, pure and simple! Reparation for the past demands it. The conscience of the world insists upon it. The victory of our arms assures it.

All honor to our armies who have saved France and forced the demoralized enemy to beg for armistice and peace; to the allied armies who have matched our own in courage and endurance. But above all, we render homage to the dead. Their shell-torn bodies lie in the devastated regions where the fate of the world was decided, but their image will be forever enshrined in our hearts. All honor to the dead, the immortal ones who shall teach us how to live!



The German Revolution

Chancellor Ebert's Cabinet and Dr. Liebknecht's Radicals Among the Contending Forces

[PERIOD ENDED DEC, 15, 1918]

POLITICAL and other events in Germany continued as seen through a mist of drifting crosscurrents. A strong Government leadership with a definite policy could be distinguished but vaguely in development. Amazing topsyturvy changes swiftly followed one another throughout the former empire. The Council of National Plenipotentiaries under the Presidency of Chancellor Ebert, composed of three majority Socialists and three Independent Socialists, proceeded to fill the chief departments of State as follows:

Foreign Office, Dr. W. S. SOLF.
Treasury, Dr. SCHIFFER.
Economics, Dr. AUGUST MUELLER.
Industry and Demobilization, Dr. KOTH.
War Food, EMANUEL WURM.
Labor, Dr. BAUER.
War, Major Gen. SCHEUCH.
Admiralty, Vice Admiral MANN.
Justice, Dr. PAUL KRAUSE.
Post Office, Dr. RUEDLIN.

Dr. Solf, the most prominent member of the Cabinet, had been Foreign Secretary since the retirement of von Kühlmann. Dr. Schiffer was a leader of the National Liberal Party and formerly was Under Secretary of the Imperial Finance Ministry. Dr. Müller was a Social Democrat and formerly Under Secretary of the War Bureau. General Scheuch had been Prussian Minister of War. Vice Admiral Mann had been appointed Secretary of the Navy early in October, and previously was head of the U-boat Department of the Navy. Both Emanuel Wurm and Dr. Bauer were Socialist members of the Reichstag. Dr. Paul Krause was a National Liberal and was appointed Secretary of Justice in the Prussian Cabinet in August, 1917. He was Second Vice President of the Prussian lower house. Dr. Ruedlin had been Director of Railways and Minister of Posts in the Prussian Cabinet since August, 1917.

The Spartacus group of Extreme Radicals remained unrepresented, though Haase and Barth, differing from Dr. Liebknecht on the exercise of violence, had seats at the Council of National Plenipotentiaries. Announcement was made that the Government purposed holding elections for a National Assembly early in January, and that it held the support of the majority of the soldiers.

At the same time reports indicated great confusion throughout Germany owing to the powers assumed by various councils, committees, and officials. With this went a kaleidoscopic formation of new parties, chiefly noticeable being a regrouping of the Extreme Spartacides under Dr. Karl Liebknecht. Of councils, in Berlin figuratively these flourished on every tree of Unter den Linden, (now rechristened Roten Linden—Red Linden.) Thus, besides the Council of Soldiers and Workers there were the Council of Stock Exchange Men, the Council of Academicians—including professors and students—the Council of the Reformed Liberal Parties, that of Berlin Municipal Employes, that of Gardeners and Peasants, and many others. All these bodies were engaged in energetic debates and the passing of resolutions which, to the outside world, seemed to have but an obscure relation to the national crisis.

PRINCE MAX'S EXPLANATION

Two important documents bearing on the armistice and peace proposals were now issued in Germany. In the first ex-Chancellor Prince Maxmilian of Baden explained his position:

My peace policy was entirely upset by the proposal for an armistice, which was handed to me in complete form on my arrival in Berlin. I fought against it for practical and political reasons. It seemed to me a grave mistake to allow the first



THE INSURGENT MOVEMENT, WHICH BLAZED OUT AT KIEL, SOON SPREAD ALL OVER GERMANY, FROM THE RHINE PROVINCES TO BERLIN AND THE BALTIC PORTS

step toward peace to be accompanied by such an amazing admission of Germany's weakness.

Neither the enemy powers nor our own people believed our military situation to be such as to make desperate measures necessary.

I proposed that the Government as a first measure should state exactly its program of war aims and demonstrate to the world our agreement with President Wilson's principles and our readiness to undergo heavy national sacrifices to fulfill those principles.

I was told in reply that there was not time to wait for the effect of such a statement, and that the situation at the front demanded that a proposal for an armistice should be made within twenty-four hours, to be supported by publication of the names of a new and unimpeachable Government.

A week later the military authorities informed me that they had been mistaken in the judgment they had formed concerning the situation at the front on Oct. 1.

LIEBKNECHT'S MANIFESTO

Follows the flaming Call to Arms of the Social Revolution by Dr. Karl Liebknecht, issued in the days just before the armistice:

Dear Comrades: For more than four years our rulers have been engaged in a robber war for the oppression of our neighbors. During the last ten or twelve years these same rulers have preached the bad doctrine of "Slavic danger." They

sowed in our hearts fear of the Slavs. But this was merely camouflage for further imperialistic aggression. As if the way to St. Petersburg lay through Belgium and Northern France, they gave orders to let the armies loose.

During these four years the peoples of the world have bled until they can bleed no more. And what have we won? Have we won one hundredth part of what we and our rulers started out to get? Instead of this, we have lost until we have nothing more to lose. One thing we have won—the hatred of mankind.

And now we have, through the President of America, asked our enemies for peace. Comrades, now comes for you a fitting opportunity. Unite. Hold together under the banner of the "International." You should not hold yourselves as discouraged. It was never your war. You were driven by your rulers into the world slaughter. You have got what you deserved. It now lies with you to dismiss your rulers.

Act at once. It is your only prospect. Stretch the tyrant at your feet with a mighty blow. He now wavers. A well-aimed blow will at this time win your freedom, and will to some extent recompense you for all the blood that has been shed during the last four sad years.

Lay down your weapons, you soldiers at the front. Lay down your tools, you workers at home. Do not let yourselves be deceived any longer by your rulers, the lip patriots, and the munitions profiteers. Rise with power and seize the reins of government. Yours is the force. To you belongs the right to rule. Answer the

call for freedom and win your own war for liberty.

For more than four years have your oppressors used you as the tools with which to fill their pockets. More than four years have they offered your sons, fathers, brothers, as victims and have starved millions, so that they might coin profits out of your blood.

Had you won the war you would have remained helpless slaves; you are beaten. Victory is within your grasp. It lies with you to seize it.

Comrades! Soldiers! Sailors! And you workers! Arise by regiments and arise by factories. Disarm your officers, whose sympathies and ideas are those of the ruling classes. Conquer your foremen, who are on the side of the present order. Announce the fall of your masters and demonstrate your solidarity. Do not heed the advice of the Kaiser Social Democrats. Do not let yourselves be led any longer by unworthy politicians, who play you false and deliver you into the hands of the enemy.

Stand fast like many of the genuine Social Democrats in your companies and regiments. Seize the quarters of your officers; disarm them immediately. Make sure that your officers sympathize with you. In case they do so, let them lead you. Shoot them immediately in case they betray you after they have declared themselves supporters of your cause.

Soldiers and marines! Fraternize! Take possession of your ships. Overpower first your officers. Place yourselves in communication with your comrades on land and seize all harbors and open fire, if necessary, on loyal groups.

Workers in munition factories: You are the masters of the situation. Stop work immediately. From this moment on you are only making bullets which will be used against you and yours. The bullets which you now make will never reach the front.

Stop making bayonets which will be thrust into your entrails by the knights of the Government. Arise, organize, seize weapons and use them against those who plan to make slaves of you after they have made their own peace. End the war yourselves and use your weapons against the rulers.

FEAR OF BOLSHEVISM

By Nov. 18 the last German ruler had abdicated and the revolution was everywhere predominant. Harold Williams, however, wrote from Geneva that, as seen from there, it was "extremely unlikely like the Russian revolution—no exultation in liberty, no particular indignation against the authors of the national mis-

"fortune, no recognition of the wrong done by Germany to the world, not the faintest sign of national repentance. The overthrow of the German monarchs is regarded with indifference or scarcely concealed regret. * * * The discipline of the German people is surprising. It apparently submits to the new authority as readily as to the old and is only concerned to adapt itself to new conditions. The prevailing anxiety is to maintain order, in view of the demobilization and the Bolshevik danger."

In corroboration of this danger, Friedrich Ebert, opposing the formation of Red Guards, issued this statement:

I have no anxiety for the new Government, because it is sustained by the confidence of the masses. We have received news that the troops were orderly when the armistice was declared. In the back areas, however, it was different. Many cases of haste to return home are reported. In Baden and Württemberg the troops streaming back from the front constitute a great danger to security.

Negotiations are in progress to obtain food from America, for food is what we need. Peace and order mean transport facilities. All Soldiers' Councils must place themselves at the service of the Government to hasten demobilization. Democracy can march only if its head is untouched. Then, too, we have the prospect of getting peace conditions which at least may be somewhat favorable.

If the enemy sees anarchy among us, he will dictate conditions which will destroy German economic life. Therefore, go forward to common work for the future.

EFFORTS OF EBERT CABINET

An additional statement put forward conjointly by Ebert and Haase was intended to reassure the masses in their financial holdings. Its three clauses follow:

First, we do not intend to confiscate any bank or savings bank deposits nor any sums in cash or bank notes or other valuable papers deposited in the bank safes.

Secondly, we do not intend to cancel any subscriptions to the Ninth War Loan, or in any other way to impair the legitimacy of those loans. The Government, however, is determined to enforce the strictest measures that large fortunes and great incomes shall contribute appropriately toward the public expense.

Thirdly, salaries, pensions, and other

claims on the State, held by officials, employes, officers, wounded and other soldiers and their relatives, will remain absolutely valid.

During the ten days thereafter reports and counter-reports regarding the stability of the Ebert Cabinet, in face of the attacks by the Spartacides, sped one after the other out of Germany. Violent speeches by such as Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg instigated some rioting in Berlin, but the total result in loss of life and property damage was insignificant—fifteen deaths in all.

KURT EISNER'S ATTACK

Throughout Southern Germany, however, there were manifest signs of growing irritation with the indecisive policy of the Berlin Government. It was especially the case in Munich. Premier Kurt Eisner, who had come to the front as anti-Prussian, vigorously denounced the Ebert Cabinet, and demanded the immediate summoning of an all-German National Assembly. He was supported by Bavarian soldiers in rejecting any form of dictatorship by the Berlin Council of Soldiers and Workers. Further, in a proclamation to the Saxon people, "the new Government of Saxony declared that it was striving for the abolition of the old Federal Constitution, and for the union of the Saxon and German peoples in a republic, including German Austria. Self-government and the protection of their cultured interests should be granted to the component parts of the republic. The authority of the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils should be defined most speedily by the National Council. * * * Expenditure could be covered by assessments on big fortunes, especially those derived from war profits. Incomes derived from the exploitation of labor should be abolished."

A telegram from Berlin announced that Philipp Scheidemann had resigned as Minister of Finance, and been succeeded by Herr Landsberg, Secretary of Publicity, Art and Literature.

On Nov. 24 a new republic of the North Sea Coast was proclaimed, with Hamburg as its capital. A resolution of the Kiel Greater Workers' and Soldiers'

Council declared that "all banks, principal industries, and great landed property should be national property. All legislation shall be in the direction of the socialization of the State, in collaboration with the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils. The bourgeois class to be excluded." At the same time the Council of the People's Commissioners issued the following welcome to returning soldiers, signed by Chancellor Ebert, Hugo Haase, Philipp Scheidemann, Dittmann, Landsberg, and Barth:

You marched into the field for the Fatherland when you had nothing to say and a handful of autocrats had the power in their hands and distributed the booty among themselves. You had to fight in silence, while hundreds of thousands at your side had to die. Today you return to your own country, where in the future only the people themselves will have anything to say.

Germany free, our Socialist public will join the League of Nations. You will find not only all the political rights you hitherto have been deprived of, but the Fatherland shall also be your property economically.

United labor and action in a Germany possessing a Government relying upon the workers and soldiers can alone help us and obtain from our former enemies peace.

FEDERAL CONFERENCE

Before an assemblage of seventy delegates representing twenty-one German States, Commissioner Ebert opened a Federal Conference on Nov. 25 to formulate the rules of the promised National Convention. In the debate Dr. Solf and Herr Erzberger were scathingly attacked by Premier Eisner of Bavaria as "unaware that a tremendous earthquake had shaken Germany." He also demanded more definite phrases from Ebert, and, for the Southern States, that the convention be not called in Berlin. Toward evening machine guns were posted in front of the palace where the delegates sat in conference as a warning to the Liebknecht wing of the Spartacus group. The main result of the conference was the selection of Frankfurt for the National Convention. Otherwise it developed indications of a political break between Berlin and Southern Germany, and the setting up of a Rhine Republic

On the heels of the conference Dr. Karl Liebknecht issued a pronunciamiento to the proletarians of all nations asserting that the only salvation for the world was socialism and demanding that peace be "concluded under the banner of the world's revolution."

INCREASING CONFUSION

Meanwhile, strikes were reported as spreading throughout German industrial regions. Factories in Berlin and Dresden threatened to run down to a standstill. The new Government was declared to be in danger of a counter-revolutionary plot, in which high military officers of the empire were involved. On Nov. 27 Kurt Eisner, the Bavarian Premier, announced that relations had been broken off with the Berlin Foreign Office, "owing to the efforts of Berlin to deceive the people by withholding the truth about conditions." In turn Eisner was denounced by Berlin as a dreamer and non-German. Baden followed in the demand for a rupture with Berlin. The Soldiers' Council of Greater Berlin, at a stormy plenary meeting, appointed a representative of each of the seven regiments in Berlin to weigh charges against the Executive Council. Ebert and Haase issued a warning that Liebknecht's Spartacus element had seized control of all wireless stations, and that they would not assume responsibility for such dispatches at home or abroad. From out the political turmoil attention mainly centred on the struggle between Chancellor Ebert and Bavarian Premier Eisner.

On Dec. 1 the German Government announced an investigation into the German crimes in Belgium, including the murders of Edith Cavell and Captain Fryatt. It named as responsible General von Sauberzweig, the former Military Governor of Brussels; General Baron Kurt von Manteuffel, Military Commander at Louvain, and Baron von der Lancken, Civil Governor of Brussels.

A military plot to restore the Kaiser was frustrated. Among the leaders were said to have been Field Marshal von Mackensen, General von Boehn, and General Sixt von Arnim, together with Lieutenant Dr. Gustav Krupp von Bohlen.

PROLETARIAN RULERS

The new Military Governor of Berlin, Otto Wels, formerly a trade union Secretary, granted an interview to an American correspondent, in which he stated that the Government counted on 10,000 republican guards to maintain order; all other troops were controlled by the Council of Soldiers and Workmen. He added that the Spartacus group did not want a National Assembly, and if they gained control it would be because the Allies had failed to send food. The correspondent estimated that 200,000 troops were returning to Berlin at the rate of 80,000 a week.

The mania for forming councils of every profession and trade spread to the Berlin Opera House. There a farcical parliament of artists, singers, ballet dancers, stage hands, musicians, and supers debated self-determination of salaries and hours of attendance. As an extreme example of the general topsyturvydom it was stated that the President of the Republic of Brunswick was formerly a mender of old clothes, the Vice President a juggler at the Café Maxim, and the Minister of Education a woman who could hardly read or write.

At a great mass meeting in Cologne on Dec. 6, definite plans were presented for the formation of a separate Westphalian Republic. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

In view of the radical political changes, recognizing the impossibility of creating a proper Government in Berlin, and convinced that the countries adjacent to the Rhine and Westphalia have in themselves sufficient political, cultural, and economic power to form a new State, this meeting expresses its firm will to uphold the unity of the German Fatherland, but at the same time to undertake the construction of a new German State to be composed of the Rhineland and Westphalia. To that end this meeting asks the recognized leaders of all parties in the Rhineland and Westphalia and other adjacent countries as soon as possible to arrange a proclamation of an independent Rhenish-Westphalian Republic as a part of Germany.

EBERT'S POPULARITY

In Berlin the Spartacides seized upon the return of the soldiers to create disturbances. While the soldiers marched

on Dec. 6 to demonstrate their loyalty to the Ebert-Haase Government, the Spartacides countered with a demand for demobilization. In the street fighting which resulted some 180 casualties were reported. Columns of underofficers marching toward the palace were at first thought to be bent on a revolution, but on the appearance of Ebert tremendous cheers dispelled any such doubt. He addressed them from a table, which had been placed on the pavement, announcing his earnest desire to maintain law and order and adding: "We are determined that nothing and nobody shall prevent us from calling a national convention at the earliest possible moment."

Ebert's personality completely won his audience. He was saluted with loud shouts of "The German Republic and her first President, Comrade Ebert!" An advance detachment of Guard regiments entered on the scene carrying immense posters reading: "We shall stand no nonsense from either the Spartacides or the Junkers." One of the body mounted the table vacated by Ebert. "We must not permit ourselves," he cried, "to be made the tools of sinister aims against the Government. Therefore we must organize ourselves." Ebert spoke again, whereupon both columns, followed by an immense crowd, moved to the War Ministry, and thence to the Prussian Building, now the headquarters of the Soldiers' Council, where more speeches were made. The attempt of the Spartacides to incite the returning soldiers to upset the Ebert Government thus failed.

THE SPARTACIDE REVOLT

About this time red bills were posted all over Berlin with the inscription: "Kill Liebknecht wherever you meet him; he is your and your country's worst enemy." Liebknecht was reported to be surrounded by bodyguards, and to be sleeping every night in a different place. Considerable liberty of speech, however, was still granted the Spartacides. A dispatch from Berlin Dec. 7 noted the disappearance of red flags, and in their place the city fluttered with red, black, and gold revolutionary emblems of 1848.

A clearer view of the conflict between the returned soldiers and the Spartacides on Dec. 6 recalled scenes in Petrograd after the revolt. Mobs of citizens apparently in doubt as to which side to support made a third party to a wild tumult. A pandemonium of rioters surged into the public offices and spread over the city. Dr. Karl Liebknecht darted hither and thither delivering violent street corner speeches. Machine-gun and rifle fire claimed numerous victims and shattered plate-glass windows in the principal streets.

A notable incident was the attempted arrest of the Executive Committee of the Soldiers' and Workers' Council by returned soldiers under the impression that it was opposed to the Government. Herr Barth of the Government, however, pleaded with the soldiers on behalf of the Council. The subsidence of the near revolt was as remarkable as its outburst. By Dec. 8 events had fallen back into a drifting state, but had left greater confusion in the Socialist ranks. An investigation of the riot was ordered by Dr. Solf. Meanwhile, the old Junker and Pan-German parties in new guises began to reassert themselves. Rumors of plot and counterplot filled the political atmosphere to the exclusion of any definite policy.

Elsewhere in Germany, Herr Auer, having been forced to resign from the Bavarian Ministry by armed soldiers, was reinstated by Kurt Eisner, the Premier. In Baden, August Thyssen and a number of other great manufacturers were arrested and ordered sent to Berlin to face charges. At Chemnitz a Uhlan regiment refused to disarm and routed adherents of the local Soldiers' and Workers' Council. In Saxony all the royal property and estates were seized by the new Government.

On Dec. 10 Berlin reported that more troops had been sent for by the Ebert Government to crush a Spartacus revolt at Potsdam. At the same time the principal merchants of the city had gathered to discuss Anglo-German trade relations. On Dec. 11 the Berliner Tageblatt announced that the Reichstag would be summoned next week to give a parliamentary basis to the new Government.

Berlin was said to be stirred by reports that the Allies intended to occupy the city. Many women thrown out of work were joining the Spartacides.

RESIGNATION OF DR. SOLF

Dr. Solf resigned from the Cabinet on Dec. 11. Efforts of the Soldiers' and Workers' Council to persuade Adolph Joffe and M. Radek of the former Bolshevik Russian Embassy at Berlin to return to take part in the forthcoming Congress of Councils on the 12th were checked by the Government. Jan. 1 was fixed as a day of general rejoicing in Berlin in honor of the revolution. A message from Berne, Dec. 12, stated that seven Baden frontier villages had passed resolutions for unity with Switzerland.

Premier Eisner of Bavaria granted an interview to an American correspondent in which he stated that he did not want to be a statesman, but to tell the truth, and that the people were in a mood to be freed from the past. Subsequently, at a meeting of the Independent Socialists, he declared himself opposed to the acts of the Berlin revolutionary Government, "because right was a better weapon than might. But," he added, "if anybody dares to disturb revolutionary accomplishments then it must be force against force." He asserted that he had driven Solf and Erzberger from office. Spartacism appeared openly in Munich, demanding the resignations of Ebert and Scheidemann and others connected with the "blood bath" of Berlin.

STRIKE IN BERLIN

Large numbers of workers went on strike in Berlin on Dec. 13 for higher wages and "famine subsidy." Foremost publishing houses, together with the great firms of Siemens & Halske and Schwarzkopf & Co., were especially affected. Various councils, having taken control of the industrial situation, ordered a suspension of operation. The employes of Schwarzkopf's paraded the streets carrying red flags bearing the inscription, "Spartacus Gesellschaft, formerly Schwarzkopf & Co."

The German armistice was extended until Jan. 17 at 5 A. M. by the allied

leaders at Treves. The Allies reserved the right, if the necessity should arise, to occupy the right bank of the Rhine north of the Cologne bridgehead and as far as the Dutch frontier, thus giving them possession of the great Krupp centre, Essen.

On Dec. 14 Konstantin Fehrenbach, President of the Reichstag, having convoked a meeting of that body on his individual initiative, announced that he reserved "further indication of the time and place of meeting." Fehrenbach's action caused much uneasiness even among those favorable to the plan. The commission appointed to make a preliminary draft of a national constitution reported completion of its deliberations. The new constitution was said to have been modeled on the American and English charters. The resignation of Dr. Solf remained, so far, unaccepted, though insisted upon by Haase and Barth, the two minority Socialist members of the Cabinet. A threat of virtually all the trained officials of the Foreign Office staff to resign if Dr. Solf went was the cause of Ebert's and Scheidemann's hesitation to face entire disorganization of the foreign work of the Government with the departure of Solf. Soldiers of the Prussian Guard removed Liebknecht's red flag from the Town Hall at Potsdam.

CLASH OF RIVAL PLANS

The Council of People's Commissioners authorized the formation of a volunteer national guard to maintain public safety. The new organization was to be under complete control of the commissioners, and pledged to defend the Socialist Democratic republic. Against this plan the Spartacus group issued the following program of immediate steps for safeguarding the revolution:

Disarmament of all police officers, non-proletariat soldiers and all members of the ruling classes.

Confiscation by the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils of arms, munitions, and armament works.

Arming of all grown up male proletarians and the formation of a Workers' Militia.

The formation of a proletariat Red Guard.

Abolition of the rank of officers and noncommissioned officers.

Removal of all military officers from the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils.

Replacement of political organs and the authorities of the former régime by representatives of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils.

Abolition of all Parliaments and municipal and other councils. The election of a General Council which was to elect and control the Executive Council of the soldiers and workmen.

Cancellation of all State and other public debts, including war loans, down to a certain fixed limit of subscription.

Expropriation of all landed estates, banks, coal mines, and large industrial works.

Confiscation of all fortunes above a certain amount.

In Munich Liberal and Centrist political leaders launched a campaign for dissolution of the Soldiers' and Workers' Council. They demanded temporary re-establishment of the former Bavarian Assembly as the only means of preventing allied occupation of Munich. Confu-

sion of ideas prevailed throughout Germany. In some parts great dissatisfaction with the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils had led to the formation of People's Councils. Again, younger men of good intentions were too apt to rely on the argument of machine guns. Opinion was divided on the subject of Bolshevik danger. While German soldiers returning from the front were anti-Bolshevik, against this was set the approach to the German frontier of a Russian Bolshevik army with the declared object of establishing a front on the Rhine.

The Central Congress of Delegates from Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils, 450 in attendance, met at Berlin Dec. 16. The Radical Socialists were overwhelmingly defeated; a resolution to invite Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, their leaders, to attend the Congress as guests was defeated five to one.

Holland and the Refugee Ex-Kaiser

The situation of the ex-Kaiser and Crown Prince as refugees in Holland became one of the main themes of political discussion in Germany. On Nov. 30 the text of the Emperor's abdication, only two days old, was issued at Berlin. It read:

By the present document I renounce forever my rights to the crown of Prussia and the rights to the German imperial crown. I release at the same time all the officials of the German Empire and Prussia and also all officers, noncommissioned officers and soldiers of the Prussian Navy and Army and of contingents from confederated States from the oath of fidelity they have taken to me, as their Emperor, King, and supreme chief.

I expect from them until a new organization of the German Empire exists that they will aid those who effectively hold the power in Germany to protect the German people against the menacing dangers of anarchy, famine, and foreign domination.

Made and executed and signed by our own hand with the imperial seal at Amerongen, Nov. 23, [1918.]

WILHELM.

On the same date the Cologne Gazette published an interview with Dr. Wegener, in which he stated that five days before the Emperor fled from Germany the

former ruler had endeavored to shift the blame for beginning the war to the shoulders of Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg; that it was Bethmann who had insisted on the Kaiser's yachting trip to Norway to "prevent war," and that the Kaiser knew only of current events from Norwegian papers. "I knew no more about it than that," Dr. Wegener quoted the Kaiser. "Against my will they sent me to Norway."

In a dispatch from Amerongen, George Renwick described the surroundings of the ex-Emperor in exile. In the two weeks following his flight from Belgium he had secluded himself more and more, but upon occasion was seen at a window writing as if against time. From villagers it was gathered that he had become greatly dejected, and even the arrival of the former Empress had failed to lighten his mood. That he was suffering no financial distress, however, was indicated by the fact that he had \$4,760,000 cash available in bank. Meanwhile, a demand for his extradition and trial for high crimes was taken under consideration by the Allies. The Dutch Government took the position that, as the

Kaiser had abdicated the crowns of Germany and Prussia, his status was that of a private citizen not subject to internment. On the other hand, his military suite were compelled to deliver their swords.

DUTCH PREMIER'S PRONOUNCEMENT

The Netherlands Government, however, showed increasing uneasiness regarding the presence of its uninvited guest. On Dec. 10 Premier Reys de Beerenbrouch delivered a speech in the lower house of the Dutch Parliament relative to the ex-Kaiser. Here is the official text of it as given out by the Netherlands Legation at Washington:

It will not be a matter of surprise to the Chamber when her Majesty's Government declare that also to them it would have been preferable if circumstances had induced the ex-Kaiser to choose his place of refuge elsewhere.

On Nov. 9 the abdication had taken place. The ex-Kaiser is shown to have fully recognized the fulfillment, by his crossing the Dutch border, of the abdication proclaimed by the German Government. He considers himself a private person.

On Sunday, Nov. 10, the Government learned that in the early morning of that day the ex-Kaiser had entered Netherlands territory. We were faced with the fact. The Government had not had the slightest knowledge of plans for a flight to Holland. All stories and suppositions to the contrary are pure fabrications. Neither directly nor indirectly has any person connected with the Netherlands Government taken any steps in the matter. This also in contradiction of the newspaper rumors about General Van Heutz.

The Government were completely surprised by the arrival of the ex-Kaiser. The Government have been well aware of the fact that the country will derive no benefit from allowing asylum in the case. They have, however, considered that a refusal of asylum was inadmissible, as such a refusal would have been in contradiction of a tradition which has been alive and in existence for centuries.

From the moment that the ex-Kaiser was within the Netherlands borders it became a matter of urgency for the Netherlands Government to decide where his abode would be. There could be no question of free choice. A place of residence was, therefore, assigned to the ex-Kaiser by the Netherlands Government.

The Government are aware of the in-

terest taken in the fate of the ex-Kaiser, both in Holland and abroad, and are now faced with the question of the future. The Government can take no other view than that of the fait accompli, combined with that of the right of asylum. The Government totally reject as contrary to the truth every supposed connection between the presence of the ex-Kaiser on Netherlands territory and any alleged unneutral views or actions on their part.

Account will have to be taken of the development of international events, as well as of the situation within the country. With a view to the latter, guarantees must be obtained that, in case of a continued presence of the ex-Kaiser, no disturbances need be feared. In contrast with the utterances of more or less prominent persons and organs of the press in foreign countries, no foreign Government has protested against the presence of the ex-Kaiser in Holland.

The feeling abroad may, however, lead to a situation in which the Netherlands Government would be faced with a formal demand for extradition. Such demand would then have to be tested in the light of the existing laws and treaties. It is also possible that foreign Governments should wish to confer with the Netherlands Government in order to assign to the ex-Kaiser a permanent place of residence. Without wishing to anticipate in the matter, the Netherlands Government state that for various reasons they might be willing to participate in such consultations, provided a solution in accordance with the honor and dignity of the country would be proposed.

The Netherlands Government, in conclusion, regard, therefore, the presence of the ex-Kaiser as provisional. A definite stand will be taken as soon as the moment for a final decision shall have arrived. The Netherlands Government are firmly resolved not to allow any infractions—for example, with a view to influence the political situation—of the simple right of asylum. The Netherlands people, as well as the foreign nations, may confidently rest assured as to this.

Though the former Kaiser received further intimations that his presence was not altogether desirable, he showed no inclination to change his place of residence.

CROWN PRINCE'S ABDICATION

The former Crown Prince, in contradicting a report that he had abdicated at the same time as his father, stated: "I have not renounced anything, and I have not signed any document whatever." He added that, should the German Government decide to form a re-

public, he would be content to return to Germany as a simple citizen, ready to do anything to assist his country—even to working as a laborer in a factory. But three days later, Dec. 6, he issued the following:

I renounce formally and definitely all rights to the crown of Prussia and the imperial crown, which would have fallen to me by the renunciation of the Emperor-King, or for other reasons.

Given by my authority and signed by my hand; done at Wieringen, Dec. 1, 1918.

FREDERICH WILHELM.

His internment on the Island of Wieringen was witnessed by a NEW YORK

TIMES correspondent. Thither he was brought on a small Government yacht to inhabit the extremely modest local parsonage. For Dutch neighbors there were none other than fisher folk. Though seemingly ill at ease he struggled hard to present a pleasant exterior, and skipped ashore with a sad effort to appear unconcerned. The correspondent was moved by this dismal plight of the former heir to the imperial throne of Germany to recall the pompous message delivered by the ex-Kaiser about six months before: "This morning William stormed the Chemin des Dames."

The Naval Mutiny at Kiel

Germany's military collapse and the beginning of the German revolution are shown, by increasing evidence, to date quite definitely from the attempt of the desperate Imperial Government to send the German fleet out for a final battle. The men of the High Seas Fleet refused to be sacrificed in that way, and the most critical moment of the mutiny came on Oct. 31, 1918, when one half of the fleet seemed about to open fire on the other half. The tense situation is described in the following letter from a German marine to his father, published in the *Bergische Arbeiterstimme*:

It is to be hoped that this letter does not get into wrong hands. Great things have happened in our Imperial Navy. All the ships of the line and armed cruisers are mutinying. Perhaps something of the matter has reached your ears, but I will here tell you about it clearly and distinctly.

We with our flotilla had been for some time in the North Sea, and had been in touch several times with the British and had observed from various signs that something was going forward. As we now wanted to put in for a few days, we saw the whole German fleet, with all the big ships and torpedo boats, lying at anchor, and we had also to lay to. Every one was amazed; no one knew anything definite. Suddenly it was said that the Fleet Commander wished to manoeuvre in the German Bight. Naturally, no one was taken in by this obvious absurdity; but imagine the stupidity of undertaking great naval manoeuvres in the middle of a crisis.

The first order to be ready for sea was fixed for Wednesday night, and then it was postponed till Thursday, [Oct. 31.] We

who were in the ships lying at a little distance away did not know what was taking place. We heard, indeed, some whispering of mutiny and uproar, but did not believe it. Yesterday the order was issued by the commander of the First Squadron that B 97 and B 112 and no other ships of our half-flotilla were to be at his disposal at 8 o'clock. At that hour we went alongside S. M. S. Ostfriesland, and the commander of the First Squadron came aboard us. We did not know what to make of the whole business, until the commander of our half-flotilla had the whole crew summoned on deck. He then delivered a speech which I shall never forget during the rest of my life.

Something deplorable had happened. The crews of various ships in all the squadrons had refused to obey. When the fleet should have put out to sea the men had used the fire-extinguishing apparatus and extinguished all the boiler fires. They had done the same at every order to make ready for sea, and consequently prevented the fleet from putting out. They were asked their reason for this conduct, and they answered that they would disobey no other order, but would in no circumstances put out to sea. They would not take part in the German fleet's battle of desperation.

Those in high quarters said to themselves, "Let us, rather than surrender the fleet, stake everything on one card; let us blow everything to smithereens rather than surrender our fine fleet to the British." As the commander of S. M. S. Thüringen said, "We will fire our last 2,000 rounds, and will go down with flying colors." The sailors said to him that he would have to go out alone, and then the smash-up started. In the First Squadron it was worst in the Thüringen and the Helgoland. The mutineers had barricaded themselves in the forepart of the ship. In

the Helgoland they took possession of three guns.

I cannot give a full report of our half-flotilla commander's speech. He told us straight that when ordered to do so by the commander of the torpedo boat appointed for that purpose, in case "duty" should demand it, we must train our guns on our own comrades. I cannot relate to any one what we were required to do. We got our machine guns, guns, and torpedoes ready, and proceeded to perhaps some 200 yards from the Thüringen. Meanwhile a steamer with 250 marine infantry had arrived to remove the rebels. Should they refuse to go aboard B 97 must intervene with her guns. Dear father, if you knew how I felt when we had aimed our guns at our comrades—what impotent rage filled me. But what were we to do? It all came so suddenly—no understanding with other ships, no one to back us up. But we still continued hoping that the matter would end up satisfactorily. Ultimately after an hour

the rebels gave in and displayed the Red Cross flag. They then quietly allowed 600 men to be brought aboard the steamer.

A weight fell from our hearts. We were within a hair's breadth of destruction, for even if we did not fire on our comrades we had trained on us three 15cm. (6in.) guns, and if only one shot had been fired from our guns there would have been not a splinter left of B 97. I shall never in my life forget Oct. 31. It was a thousand times more terrible than at Oesel and in the Channel.

In the Helgoland, and some other vessels the tumult had meanwhile somewhat abated. They had indeed attained their end. The fleet will not put to sea in the near future, and if we in any case must also suffer by it our time is nevertheless coming soon or peace must come soon—otherwise we shall make peace ourselves. The navy will take no further hand—if only the army and the people would follow soon. * * *

Berlin's Greeting to Returning Soldiers

Defeated Troops Hailed as Conquerors

The following description of the first formal entry of the defeated German troops into Berlin was sent from that city Dec. 10, 1918, by a correspondent of The New York Times and CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

PUNCTUALLY at 1 o'clock the head of the procession reached the Brandenburger Gate. It was composed of four companies of Prussian, Bavarian, Württemberg, and Baden Infantry. So dense were the masses that these companies at first found it impossible to make headway, and the first squadron or two following had to make a roundabout way to Unter den Linden. There must have been millions of patriotic sightseers about this time.

General Lequis with his staff appeared at the head of the Guards. He and his officers wore field-gray uniforms, which hardly distinguished them from the others, seeing that all wore steel helmets. The only decoration seen was the General's Order Pour le Mérite. In the centre of Pariser Platz, General Lequis was met by Mayor Wermuth and People's Commissioner Ebert. Greeting the returning troops, Wermuth emphasized the everlasting thanks which, he said, were due the troops for fighting four years to

the bitter end. The speech of Chancellor Ebert was as follows:

Your deeds and sacrifices are unexampled. No enemy overcame you. Only when the preponderance of our opponents in men and material grew ever heavier did we abandon the struggle.

You endured indescribable sufferings, accomplished incomparable deeds, and gave, year after year, proofs of your unshakable courage. You protected the homeland from invasion, sheltered your wives, children, and parents from flames and slaughter and preserved the nation's workshops and fields from devastation.

With deepest emotion the homeland thanks you. You can return with heads erect. Never have men done or suffered more than you.

The German people have shaken off the old rule. On you, above all others, rests the hope of German freedom. The hard requirements of the victors are heavy upon us, but we will not collapse. We will build a new Germany. With the strength and unshakable courage which you have proved a thousand times, see to it that Germany remains united and that the old misery of a system of small States does not overtake us again.

The unity of the German Nation is a work of religion, of socialism. We must work with all our strength if we are not to sink to the state of a beggar people. You are laying down the arms which, borne by the sons of the people, should never be a danger but only a protection for the people, whose happiness your industrious hands must build up from new foundations.

Ebert was interrupted repeatedly by roars of applause from the multitude. While he was speaking a Spartacide agitator sought to attract the attention of the masses in a corner of the square. He succeeded so well that he was rushed by the soldiers and locked in the Art Academy.

When Ebert finished the bands began to play "I Had a Comrade Once," and the procession proceeded to Unter den Linden. There were some fourteen Guard Regiments in line, some carrying parts of their trains along, notably still smoking ambulant kitchens, nicknamed goulash guns. The troops received a heartier welcome than they would have if they had come as victors with Kaiser Wilhelm at their head.

The following description of the entry was written by a Berlin correspondent of the Rotterdam Courant:

The entry of the Guard Regiments through the Brandenburger Gate was a remarkable manifestation of national sentiment. The pressure in the streets was so great as to endanger life. The march of the entering troops in regular formation was at first impossible.

Eventually men from the entering troops had to be told off to assist in making a way for their comrades. Nowhere had cordons been formed in advance, not even in front of the grand stand, from which members of the Government watched the spectacle, but the mad throng was good-humored and this was shared by the troops in spite of their violent exertions and almost hopeless efforts to keep back the crowd.

In wave after wave the soldiers struggled forward amid flags, greenery, and flowers. In front of the procession marched a row of soldiers holding high banners in the colors of the new republic, black, red, and gold. Then came detachments representing regiments of all the Federal States with their own colors in their rifle barrels. First came the Bavarians with their blue and gold, fine fellows, still well equipped, and many on horseback. Others were seated on caissons, which were also covered with flowers and greenery.

Alongside many of the infantrymen marched their wives or sweethearts. The cheering was not very loud, but ran as a murmur along Unter den Linden, where all the windows, balconies, and roofs were occupied by spectators. Neither on the houses nor among the incoming soldiers were any red flags to be seen, but from the Russian Embassy the symbol of revolution was flown. Some of the bands played "Deutschland über Alles," others played soldiers' melodies, but not a single revolutionary tune was heard.

On the grand stand in Pariser Platz one saw far above the crowd Ebert and Burgomaster Wermuth, with one General. Ebert was wearing a silk hat, like many other bourgeois spectators. No high officers were seen in the procession.

Flowers and cigarettes were thrown from the windows and balconies to the passing troops, who were also met by motor cars laden with brilliant chrysanthemums. Berlin was once more a military town, full of enthusiasm for the soldiers and their deeds.

There was nothing in the entry to call to mind the national defeat. In spite of the lack of sunshine the picture was full of color by reason of the lavish display of flags and flowers. All the afternoon the troops were passing through, coming from the west, and tens of thousands of people did not tire of watching them.

Political Confusion in Austria

Attempts at Self-Determination

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 15, 1918]

THE war left the former empire of Austria-Hungary in a condition of political and economic chaos surpassed only by that of Russia. With the abdication of Emperor Charles on Nov. 11, 1918, each nationality in the heterogeneous empire devoted its energies to creating an independent Government and seizing what it considered its share of territory and economic resources. In some cases three or four rival factions contended for control of the new Government.

In the former kingdom of Hungary the Jugoslavs, Rumanians, Ruthenians, and Czechoslovaks claimed eighty-three provinces, though there were only sixty-three in the whole kingdom; rival nationalities were claiming the same territory. The Hungarian State was practically reduced to the city of Budapest and the neighboring plain as far as the Rumanian line. Formal proclamation of the Hungarian Republic was made Nov. 17.

The collapse of the Magyar hegemony had created a serious economic situation. The Hungarian coalfields were occupied by the Czechs and Jugoslavs, and neither Budapest nor Vienna could get food or coal from the provinces that had formerly been under their control. By the end of November Vienna was in desperate need. The Czechoslovaks refused to send any food unless Austria relinquished all claim to certain mixed German and Czech districts of Bohemia.

Of the political situation in German Austria a correspondent wrote on Nov. 16:

Four political groups are striving for ascendancy. There is the German National Committee, of which some Socialists like Herr Seitz are members. This committee has raised a National Guard, wearing yellow, red, and black cockades. Against this committee there is one composed of the Viennese Democrats, who are opposed to union with Germany. They, too, have raised a National Guard, wearing white and red cockades. There is a committee of extremists, mostly workmen, with their National Guard, wearing red

cockades. Finally, there is a party working in the dark, headed by Cardinal Piffi, and aiming apparently at the restoration of the monarchy. Their plot, however, was discovered and Cardinal Piffi was placed under guard.

German Austria from the first voiced its desire to be annexed by Germany. Under Secretary of State Bauer at Vienna telegraphed to Commissioner Haase of Berlin on Nov. 15: "German Austria has given expression to its will to be united again with the other parts of the German Nation from which it was forcibly separated fifty-two years ago." He begged that negotiations for such a union might be entered upon at once.

The first and most strongly organized element of the former empire was that of the Czechoslovaks, who, on Nov. 15, proclaimed a full-fledged republic, with its capital at Prague and with Professor Thomas G. Masaryk as President. When the Czechoslovak National Assembly ratified the choice of Masaryk as President at its first session, Nov. 19, it also chose Dr. Karl Kramarz as Premier and Franz Tomasak, former member of the Reichsrat, as President of the National Assembly. Two days previously the United States Government had extended a credit of \$7,000,000 to the new republic.

Dr. Kramarz for many years had fought for the rights of the Czech people. He was arrested at Prague on July 1, 1915, and, following his trial at Vienna, was sentenced to death. King Alfonso of Spain appealed in his behalf and the death sentence was commuted to fifteen years' imprisonment. Dr. Kramarz was released under Emperor Charles's amnesty proclamation on July 14, 1917. He said to an interviewer Nov. 19:

Our chief ambition is to live peacefully and prosperously and to become a strong friend of the Entente against the Germans. We also desire to establish the frontiers of ancient Bohemia. However, we will be fairer with the Germans than they were with us. We will not oppress

those within our borders. We will give them every liberty, their own schools and language, but the Government must be ours.

Meanwhile the South Slavs had been laboring to organize the Republic of Yugoslavia, with its temporary capital at Agram, and with the ultimate aim of becoming part of a greater State headed by Serbia. An important meeting at Geneva on Nov. 7 settled the details for this union. The agreement was made between Nicholas Pashitch, Prime Minister of Serbia, and delegates from the National Council of Agram (Croatia) as representatives of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The delegates to the conference were the President of the Yugoslav Parliamentary group of the Vienna Reichsrat, Dr. Anton Koroshetz, and two other members of the Agram National Council, Dr. Chingria and Dr. Chorovitch, Premier Pashitch, and Dr. Anton Trumbitch, President of the Yugoslav Committee in London. The proceedings were thus summarized by Professor Voyslav M. Yovanovitch, Director of the Official Serbian Bureau at Washington:

In a written note presented to the conference the delegates from Agram asked the Serbian Government and the other allied Governments to recognize the National Council of Agram as the supreme power of a State newly constituted within the frontiers of the Serbo-Croato-Slovene Nation, hitherto being parts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and as Commander in Chief of the fleet of that State, until the formalities of the final union with Serbia were carried out.

They further asked that the Yugoslav troops should be recognized by the Allies

as a belligerent and friendly force, and gave Dr. Trumbitch full powers to represent the National Council of Agram before the allied Governments until a common organ was created to assure the common diplomatic representation.

The conference unanimously hailed with enthusiasm the creation of a common Ministry for the United Serbian, Croat, and Slovene State.

The conference further proclaimed that there were no longer any interior political or customs frontiers between the entire Serbian, Croat, and Slovene territory. The local administration of the Yugoslav countries will not for the time being undergo any modification. The changes to be made will be definitely settled by the Constituent Assembly.

The conference further protested against the action of the Italian authorities on Yugoslav territory.

The National Council at Agram on Nov. 26 chose Crown Prince Alexander of Serbia to be Regent of the Yugoslav State. Later Montenegro also took action toward a full union with the new State under Prince Alexander.

From the time of Austria-Hungary's collapse there were conflicting claims between Italy and Yugoslavia regarding the allotment of former Austrian territory on the eastern side of the Adriatic. The clash of interests was most marked at Fiume, whose occupation by the Italians was made the subject of strong Yugoslav protests. Similar friction ensued in Galicia between the Poles and Ukrainians, in this case with bloodshed. As the year 1918 drew to a close, indeed, the whole distracted area of the former Dual Monarchy was bristling with problems for the Paris Peace Conference to settle.



Demobilizing the War Machine

How the United States Government Entered on the New Tasks Confronting It After the Armistice

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 18, 1918]

THE energies of the United States Government in the period following the signing of the armistice were chiefly directed toward the reduction of its military and naval forces and the dismantlement of the huge war machine that it had constructed. This of necessity involved many momentous problems. The process, if too sudden, would invite economic disaster. Yet it was felt that the country should be put on a peace footing without unnecessary delay. Modifying both these points of view was the fact that, while hostilities had ended, peace had not been concluded, and that conditions in the Central Powers were restless and unsettled.

It was announced on Nov. 19 that Secretary Daniels had issued to all ships and stations of the navy an order which expressed the desire of the department that all members of the regular service and of the Naval Reserve force who had enlisted for the duration of the war should be released as soon as possible. Application for such release was to be made in writing and indorsed by officers in command who would forward them to the Bureau of Navigation. This applied to officers as well as men of the Naval Reserve Force.

DEMOBILIZING STUDENT CORPS

On Nov. 26 an order was issued from the War Department for the demobilization of the Students' Army Training Corps, which had been instituted on Oct. 1 in 500 colleges and universities throughout the country. It was estimated that this would result in the discharge in December of about 150,000 students from the United States Army.

Many of the students had been either in college or about to enter before they became members of the corps. When demobilized these continued their studies, with the exception that military drill and

instruction were dropped. Members of the corps who had been taking mathematics and other studies which form a part of the regular curriculum received credit for work done in those studies when they returned to the normal college course. Officers of the corps desiring to remain in military service, if recommended by their commanding officers, could continue in the service.

DISBANDING THE ARMY

In accordance with a statement issued by General March, United States Chief of Staff, on Nov. 16, the demobilizing of the men in camps in this country was progressing at the rate of 30,000 a day.

Troops from abroad began to arrive in large numbers on Dec. 2, when the Mauretania brought in 4,000. After that time every day witnessed the arrival of shiploads of troops. It was stated at Washington on Nov. 29 that the War Department had named October, 1919, as the time when the last regiments of the American Army would be returned from France. For the present 470,000 men were to constitute the army of occupation under Major Gen. Dickman, and the rest of the troops would be returned as rapidly as the department deemed possible or advisable. Boston, New York, Newport News, and Charleston were designated as the ports at which returning troopships would land the men, who would be debarked as near to their homes as this arrangement made possible.

WORK FOR RETURNING SOLDIERS

In his annual report, made public Dec. 11, Secretary of the Interior Lane outlined a comprehensive plan for the employment of disbanded army men. "As an immediate program," said the Secretary, "we should first offer an opportunity upon our present irrigation projects for all who wish work at clearing

"and leveling the land not now cultivated, but for which water is available. * * * As a second step I would urge an appropriation for one or more of the largest irrigation schemes for which surveys are in an advanced state." Mr. Lane continued:

After a soldier has returned to his home, if his old position is not open and he wishes to turn to an independent life, there would be laid before him a number of projects which the Government had undertaken in the different sections of the country. Let us assume no more than three—one an irrigation scheme, another a drainage project, a third the development of a body of cut-over lands. The one would need to have great dams constructed to impound and divert waters, a hydroelectric plant, miles of canal and tunnel, perhaps, thousands of acres to be cleared and leveled, fenced and broken. This would mean years of work at good wages, work in the open under housing conditions that would seem palatial to the soldier of the trench, and at the end a piece of land on which would be erected a house and barn, a farm home in a group of farm homes. For this he must pay. But already he has received wages out of which he can have saved the necessary first installment on his place of 10 or 15 per cent. The balance with interest he can pay in forty yearly installments, or earlier if he can.

Mr. Lane declared that in the United States there are more than 200,000,000 acres of waste land which can be made into farms.

HIGH MORALE OF ARMY

Not a single member of the American Army had been put to death since the beginning of the war because of the commission of a purely military offense, Major Gen. Crowder, Judge Advocate General, stated in his annual report Dec. 9. General Crowder said this fact was the outstanding feature of his report. Very few death sentences had been imposed, and none of those imposed for purely military offenses had been carried into execution.

Records of the Judge Advocate General's office showed that 12,357 officers and men were brought before general courts-martial, of whom 10,873, or 88 per cent., were convicted. More than half the charges against officers were listed under three heads: "Absent without leave, drunkenness, and conduct unbecoming an officer."

Convictions of enlisted men for desertion were actually less than in the previous years, although the strength of the army had increased many fold.

The report showed that one enlisted man was tried and convicted of "being a spy," and that 773 men were convicted of sleeping on post.

GENERAL HEALTH CONDITIONS

In his annual report, Dec. 6, Surgeon General William C. Gorgas stated that the health of the American Army both at home and abroad had been excellent, and the mortality rate from disease probably lower than in any similar body of troops in the history of warfare.

Complete statistics of deaths in army camps were not included in the report, which covered only the fiscal year to June 30, 1918. In 1917 total deaths from disease were 2,984, and the death rate per thousand 6.3. This compares with a seven-year average of 4.9 per thousand. Contrasting this record with that of previous years, General Gorgas pointed out that if the morbidity of typhoid fever had been the same as in 1898 there would have been 1,400 deaths from that disease alone, whereas there were only 23. Measles was placed at the head of the diseases causing death, although the report showed that 65 per cent. of the deaths were due to resultant pneumonia.

Between 300,000 and 350,000 deaths from influenza and pneumonia occurred among the civilian population of the United States since Sept. 15, according to estimates of the public health service made public Dec. 4. These calculations were based on reports from cities and States keeping accurate records, and public health officials believe they were conservative.

The epidemic still persisted, but deaths were much less numerous. A recrudescence of the disease was occurring in many communities throughout the country, but this was believed to be sporadic and not to indicate a general renewal of severe epidemic conditions.

Insurance companies had been hard hit by the epidemic, Government reports indicated, although there were no figures available to show total losses sustained

by these companies. The Government incurred liabilities of more than \$170,000,000 in connection with life insurance carried by soldiers in army camps, not including those in Europe. About 20,000 deaths occurred in the camps in the United States, War Department records showed.

Though the War Department had announced, on Nov. 23, that the total casualties in the American Expeditionary Forces had aggregated 236,117, the detailed casualty lists were slow in coming, and the total of these lists on Dec. 15 was only 157,605.

CUTTING DOWN EXPENSES

A report made Nov. 29 by John Burke, Treasurer of the United States, to the Secretary of the Treasury, after showing that the public debt on June 30, 1918, was \$12,396,000,000, stated that it cost \$5,645,000,000 to run the American Army during the year ended June 30, 1918; \$1,368,000,000 for the navy, and \$1,516,000,000 for the civil Government proper. The Shipping Board spent \$862,000,000, and \$181,000,000 was paid out in pensions. The grand total was \$9,572,000,000.

Representative Sherley, Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, estimated Dec. 5 that at least \$12,000,000,000 would be saved by the various executive departments of the Government through cancellation of war contracts and cessation of unnecessary work. Mr. Sherley said, after reading a statement from the Secretary of War, which was submitted to the committee, that more than \$7,000,000,000 out of the \$24,000,000,000 appropriated to the War Department would be covered into the Treasury through the cancellation of contracts and the saving in other directions.

The statement of Secretary Baker showed that the total appropriations for the army since the United States entered the war were \$24,281,000,000. Of this amount there had been disbursed up to Oct. 31, 1918, in the United States \$9,159,000,000, and in France \$1,168,000,000. The total amount disbursed and obligated in Europe and America was

\$14,753,000,000. This left a remainder of \$9,528,000,000 unobligated.

The amount obligated but not disbursed was given as \$4,250,000,000. The Secretary expressed the hope of saving \$2,600,000,000 of this sum. Estimated savings in the cancellation, termination, and reduction of contracts were:

Ordnance	\$800,000,000
Medical Department.....	82,000,000
Signal Corps.....	10,000,000
Engineer Corps.....	229,000,000
Aircraft production.....	402,000,000
Military aeronautics.....	5,000,000
Chemical Warfare Service.....	20,000,000
Quartermaster Corps.....	400,000,000

The Secretary said that he expected to effect a total saving of \$12,000,000,000. On Dec. 5 recommendations for termination of contracts aggregated approximately \$2,613,000,000. Some of the larger contracts canceled were:

Power and expenses.....	\$275,000,000
Artillery and ammunition.....	750,000,000
Rifles and machine guns.....	53,000,000
Motor vehicles.....	282,000,000
Textiles (cloth).....	264,000,000
Airplane parts.....	256,000,000
Gas defense equipment.....	130,000,000
Iron and steel products and railway materials.....	53,000,000
Construction Division material and facilities	150,000,000

More than a billion dollars had been cut from the navy's estimates of expenditures for the coming fiscal year. Secretary Daniels stated that the estimates sent to Congress were based on the war program, and that the reduction process that already had eliminated over two-fifths of the \$2,600,000,000 total was continuing.

EXPENSES OF WAR PERIOD

The annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McAdoo, issued on Dec. 4, among other striking features showed how the American people paid billions in taxes, raised four great Liberty Loans, and created a pool of credit with which the Treasury paid the bills of the army and navy, the Shipping Board, and other Government departments, lent billions to the Allies and millions to war industries, helped support the families of soldiers and sailors, and tided farmers over periods of financial stringency.

For the fifteen months ended with

June, 1918, Secretary McAdoo estimated that the actual cost of the war, with allowances for the Government's ordinary expenses in ordinary times, amounted to \$13,222,000,000. Nearly half of this, or \$6,499,000,000, went into permanent investments in the form of ships, shipyards, war vessels, army camps, buildings, and in loans to allies or to American war industries. Of the year's expenses 31.6 per cent. came from taxation.

The civil establishment of the Government during the year spent \$1,507,000,000, while the War Department spent \$5,684,000,000 and the navy \$1,368,000,000. For the support of the army alone the Government paid out \$4,412,000,000. The naval expenditures included the construction of new vessels, machinery, armament, equipment, and improvements at navy yards. Total ordinary disbursements for the year amounted to \$8,966,000,000, and ordinary receipts, excluding money received from Liberty Loans, amounted to \$4,174,000,000. Loans to allies during the year amounted to \$4,739,000,000 additional.

Mr. McAdoo forecast expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, at \$20,687,000,000 for Government purposes and \$1,375,000,000 for loans to allies and \$2,540,000,000 for redemption of outstanding certificates and other debt cancellation. Total estimated disbursements for the year were put at \$27,718,000,000.

The United States public debt June 30, 1918, was \$12,396,000,000, without taking into consideration the \$1,319,000,000 free balance in the Treasury partially to offset the debt. The public debt had been increased since then by the Fourth Liberty Loan of nearly \$7,000,000,000, and by Treasury certificates of indebtedness amounting to several hundred million dollars.

The Secretary's report disclosed for the first time the activities of the Treasury's sinking fund to buy up Liberty bonds in an effort to keep their price from falling far below par. Up to Nov. 1, it was shown, \$244,036,500 worth of bonds, face value, had been purchased in the open market for \$234,310,000, or at an average price of about 96 per cent., and subsequently held by the Treasury. Of this

sum \$172,445,000 were Second Liberty Loan bonds, of both 4 and 4½ per cent. issues, \$70,935,000 were Third Liberty Loan bonds, and \$656,000 were First Liberty Loan converted bonds.

TOTAL WAR DEBTS

The Federal Reserve Board authorized the following, Nov. 20:

The successful placing of the Fourth Liberty Loan, by far the greatest public debt operation of the kind in history, calls attention to the continuous and extensive increase of the obligations of the belligerent countries as the war proceeded. While final figures are in most cases available only up to a relatively recent date and while therefore an element of estimate must be employed in every computation which seeks to show the present status of public obligations, it may be stated in round numbers that the war indebtedness of all kinds incurred by the belligerents on both sides is probably not far from \$175,000,000,000. As compared with the total estimated wealth of the world prior to the outbreak of the European war, this figure therefore represents a very material proportion.

The close of the war leaves all the belligerent countries, our own among them, with a very difficult price and credit situation as a consequence of the inflated state of credit throughout the world. It is therefore obviously the interest of any country which can do so to avoid any aggravation of conditions by careful adjustment of its financial program to the underlying economic factors. There is nothing that can be accomplished by inflation that cannot be better accomplished in other ways less objectionable in their economic effects.

NAVAL CONSTRUCTION

Figures disclosed in the annual report of Rear Admiral Griffin, Chief of the Bureau of Steam Engineering, Dec. 12, showed that, one month before the war ended, the American Navy was operating a total of 1,959 vessels of all descriptions, of which 264 were actively participating in the war in European waters.

Admiral Griffin said the regular navy on the date of his report consisted of 570 ships, supplemented by 93 vessels from the coast guard, lighthouse service, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and fish commission. In addition, the navy was then operating 937 converted merchant craft, yachts and the like, and the naval overseas transport service, consisting of 247

Shipping Board and other supply vessels, with 112 more about to be commissioned. Construction under way for the regular navy at that time included 376 new ships of all kinds and 52 tugs.

"Since the United States became a belligerent," the report states, "the magnitude of the engineering work of the navy, both mechanical and electrical, not only in its actual amount but in the rapid development of facilities for its execution, has been without parallel for the same period of time in the history of the world's navies."

To keep up the fleet abroad, three repair bases were established in France, one in Great Britain, one at Gibraltar, and two in the Mediterranean. These were supplemented by six repair ships, which achieved remarkable results in repairing vessels at sea.

On Dec. 5 the Clyde, Mallory, Merchants and Miners, and Southern Steamship Companies were relinquished from Government control and returned to their owners. Steamship companies owned by railroads were retained under the management of the Railroad Administration. The four lines turned back to private management had been taken over by the Government on April 13 under war powers of the President and their operation consolidated with other steamship lines under the Railroad Administration.

VALUE OF DRAFT ACTS

General March, Chief of Staff, paid a tribute to the value of draft legislation in a report to Secretary Baker on Dec. 5. He said in part:

I recommended to you on July 18, 1918, the adoption, as the American program, of eighty divisions in France and eighteen at home by June 30, 1919, based on a total strength of the American Army of 4,850,000 men. This was approved by you and by the President of the United States and adopted as our formal military program. To carry this program into effect required the adoption by Congress of a change in the draft ages so as to include men between the ages of 18 and 45 years, and also created a deficiency over the enormous appropriations already made by Congress of some \$7,000,000,000. The presentation of the program to Congress, accompanied by the statement that this increase in the army, if laws were passed

by Congress which would make it effective, would lead to success in 1919, produced prompt and favorable consideration by that body. Up to the signing of the armistice troops were being transported to France monthly in accordance with that program. The results speak for themselves.

RESIGNATION OF OFFICIALS

The virtual termination of the war was followed by numerous resignations of officials who had been prominent in war activities. The most important was that of Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury and Director General of Railroads. His letter of resignation reviewed his work of the last six years and stated that he needed a long period of rest. His prime motive for resigning, however, was declared to be the necessity of recouping his personal fortune, which had been impaired by his long service in Washington. The resignation was accepted by the President on Nov. 21 in a letter which expressed deep regret and warm appreciation of the service Secretary McAdoo had rendered to the country. Carter Glass of Virginia was appointed to succeed Mr. McAdoo as Secretary of the Treasury, and entered on his duties Dec. 16.

On Nov. 21 John D. Ryan resigned as Director of Air Service and as Second Assistant Secretary of War. The resignation of Charles M. Schwab as Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation was accepted by the President on Dec. 7. On Dec. 3 Dr. Harry A. Garfield handed in his resignation as Fuel Administrator, and it was accepted the same day. Bernard M. Baruch's resignation as Chairman of the War Industries Board was accepted on Dec. 4, to go into effect Jan. 1, 1919.

By an order issued Dec. 13 Postmaster General Burleson removed Clarence H. Mackay, President of the Commercial Cable Company, George G. Ward, Vice President, and William W. Cook, General Counsel, from all connection with the operation or control of the cable lines owned by that company, and Newcomb Carlton, President of the Western Union Telegraph Company, was placed in charge of all the cable systems taken

over under the President's proclamation of Nov. 2.

AIRPLANE MOTORS

It was developed at the War Department, Nov. 27, that, when the armistice was signed, contracts had been awarded for the manufacture of 95,993 airplane motors. The original number of Liberty motors contracted for was 22,500. This was raised to 51,100 Liberty twelves. Contracts also were made for 10,000 Hispano-Suiza 300 horse power motors, 8,000 eight-cylinder Liberty motors, and other models.

The production up to the signing of the armistice was 31,814, of which 15,131 were Liberty motors. In October 5,603 motors were turned out, with a contemplated production of 8,000 in January, 1919, and 10,000 a month for the four months following. Besides the 31,814 motors, the War Department provided 12,000 airplanes and 700 kite balloons.

NATION-WIDE PROHIBITION

On Nov. 21 President Wilson signed the Emergency Agricultural Appropriation bill with its legislative rider providing for national prohibition from July 1, 1919, until the United States Army should be demobilized. The Agricultural bill including the amendment prohibiting the manufacture of beer and wine after Dec. 1 passed the Senate on Aug. 29, 1918. That was known as the "bone dry" measure. The amendment soon passed the House, and President Wilson clinched it on Sept. 18, 1918, by issuing a proclamation which included the prohibition of near-beer or other substitute beverages.

The President's proclamation stated that the use of foodstuffs and foods for brewing of malt liquors, including near-beer, for beverage purposes, after Dec. 1, was prohibited. The President called attention to the fact that the prohibition applied regardless of whether the beverage contained alcohol.

Anticipating the end of beer brewing, some of the large breweries in the country turned their activities toward the manufacture of near-beer. One of the largest breweries erected an additional

plant solely for the manufacture of a beer substitute. The Food Administration promptly followed up the President's proclamation by ordering the malting of grain stopped.

CONTINUED FOOD SHORTAGE

On Sunday, Dec. 1, a message from Mr. Hoover, United States Food Administrator, was read in churches throughout the country. It said in part:

Again in full confidence, I call upon the American people to set aside Sunday, Dec. 1, and the week following, for the consideration of America's opportunity for renewed service and sacrifice.

The change in the foreign situation necessarily alters the details of our food program, because the freeing of the seas from the submarine menace renders accessible the wheat supplies of India, Australia, and the Argentine. The total food demand upon the United States is not diminished, however. On the contrary, it is increased. In addition to the supplying of those to whom we are already pledged, we now have the splendid opportunity and obligation of meeting the needs of those millions of people in the hitherto occupied territories who are facing actual starvation. The people of Belgium, Northern France, Serbia, Rumania, Montenegro, Poland, Russia, and Armenia rely upon America for immediate aid. We must also participate in the preservation of the newly liberated nations in Austria; nor can we ignore the effect on the future world developments of a famine condition among those other people whom we have recently released from our enemies. All these considerations mean that upward of 200,000,000 people, in addition to those we are already pledged to serve, are now looking to us in their misery and famine. Our appeal today is, therefore, larger than the former appeal to the war conscience of our people. The new appeal is to the "world conscience," which must be the guiding inspiration of our future program.

The Federal Food Board furnished, Dec. 1, the following estimate of what was required from America:

We must provide food for our armed forces abroad—at present more than 2,000,000.

Help provision the big allies—France, England, and Italy, approximately 125,000,000 people.

Furnish a greater part of the food necessary for the little nations starved under the German yoke—the Belgians, Serbians, Rumanians, Greeks, Czechs,

Jugoslavs, and others, embracing some 75,000,000 people.

Send food to the 50,000,000 people in Northern Russia, many of whom are already facing famine conditions owing to the collapse of transportation facilities and lack of organized Government.

Assist the neutral States in Europe, embracing about 40,000,000 people, who are now all on short rations, and the 90,000,000 enemy people to secure for themselves the food necessary to sustain life.

Export between 18,000,000 and 20,000,000 tons of food to Europe and at the same time keep sufficient food in this country to maintain the health and strength of our own people.

ALIEN PROPERTY HELD

The following synopsis of the trust accounts of the Alien Property Custodian was rendered as of Oct. 31, 1918:

Cash deposited with Secretary of Treasury:	
Invested in Government securities	\$54,786,443.82
Uninvested	4,544,126.32
	<hr/>
Cash with depositaries.....	\$59,330,570.14
Stocks	9,545.78
Bonds (other than investments made by Secretary of Treasury)	169,366,959.65
Mortgages	
Notes receivable.....	59,365,453.15
Accounts receivable.....	11,720,995.74
Real estate.....	6,167,031.98
General businesses and estates in operation or liquidation, merchandise, miscellaneous investments, &c.....	50,648,582.18
Enemy vessels.....	7,567,987.55
	<hr/>
	\$487,649,701.56

Number of trusts reported to Alien Property Custodian....	27,755
Number of trusts opened.....	19,371

European Neutrals and the Armistice

Effects of Germany's Collapse on Holland, Scandinavia, Switzerland, and Spain

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 15, 1918]

FOR the neutral nations of the world the problems of the war, even though it was not their war, overshadowed all other political questions. So it was that the signing of the armistice on Nov. 11, 1918, was celebrated on the west coast of South America with scarcely less enthusiasm than in London, Paris, and New York.

The neutral countries near or bordering on Germany felt the harsh impact of the revolution in the Central Empires. The fall of the Kaiser and his flight was a signal for loud demands from the radical parties in all these countries. In Holland there was for a few days a real fear of an overthrow of the Government. In Switzerland a general strike began, which was to be—in the minds of Bolshevik and German leaders—the beginning of a violent revolution. Copenhagen had its syndicalist riots, and in Sweden there was a manifesto calling for the establishment of a republic. All

these revolutionary movements quickly subsided, but in all the neutral countries the days since the ending of the war have been a time of strain and stress.

The following is a brief summary of the principal events in the recently neutral European countries from the signing of the armistice to Dec. 15, 1918:

HOLLAND

The sharp crisis through which Holland passed during the middle of November was indirectly the result of the surrender of the German Army and directly the result of the German revolution. Through the four years of the war Holland had been drawn this way and that by the two great warring forces between whom she stood. The end of the struggle released pent-up streams of discontent among her masses which for a few days caused a widespread uprising and an outbreak of violence against the Government.

At the very time of the signing of the armistice speeches made by the Socialist leader Troelstra and others of his party caused the wildest excitement throughout the country. Troelstra declared openly that the time had come for the working people of Holland to take the affairs of Government into their own hands, and that they would not be content with demanding what they wanted but would take it by revolution, and at the same time he warned against anarchy and Bolshevism.

"We shall have to discuss the important question whether we shall elect a Supreme Council of Soldiers and Workmen for the whole country," he said, "and also the creation of local councils. If we decide that, then the National Council from that moment is the supreme authority in the country."

At the same time the National Revolutionary Committee issued a manifesto demanding the sweeping away of royalty and the diplomatic service, renunciation of the State debt, and many other radical changes.

At the session of the Second Chamber on Nov. 13 Troelstra renewed his attack on the Government and the Queen. He said among other things at that meeting:

We now assert that the militarist influence emanates from the Queen and her entourage, which is in contradiction at every point with the spirit of the people. The Government appeals for order because the Social Democracy sees that the moment has arrived to take over the power of the State. The workers will not abandon their rights for a mess of pottage. We do not desire anarchy or violence, but the historic events in Germany happened practically without violence, because there they understood that the moment had arrived for socialism. We should betray the workers if for fear of violence we allowed this historic moment to pass. The Government will not be able to rely upon the army because the army consists of workers who have been treated by the wealthy classes in such a manner that the army has become their worst enemy. Neither will the Government be able to rely upon two-thirds of the police force to act against the Social Democrats. We aspire to power because the Government no longer has the power or the right to Government.

At the same session of the Chamber another revolutionary Socialist, David Wynkoop, made a speech demanding the

immediate abdication of the Queen and calling for a general strike of the workmen of the country. He proposed that the demobilizing troops should not surrender their arms until they were assured of food supplies for themselves and their families.

The Government of Queen Wilhelmina took energetic steps to meet this outbreak of radical feeling and discontent. A proclamation addressed to the people on Nov. 14 urgently appealed for co-operation during the "grave crisis" that had arisen. It said that a minority was threatening to seize power in the State and announced the Government's intention to maintain its authority and keep order.

The Government proceeded to make good its word. Soldiers were put on guard at public buildings, cavalry was sent to patrol the streets of The Hague, and troops were assembled in Amsterdam, where revolutionary demonstrations had taken place. The Government recalled from London M. Colyn, the former Minister of War, as one who could wield a great influence in his country. There were a few minor clashes between the troops and the demonstrators.

The trouble in Holland subsided as quickly as it rose, and ended in enthusiastic expressions of loyalty toward the Queen, whose personal popularity was a strong influence for order. On Nov. 18 thousands of people assembled on the parade grounds at The Hague to pay homage to the Queen. Her husband, the German Prince Henry, shared in the demonstration, as well as the members of the Cabinet and the President of the lower house, all of whom were present.

At the same time Troelstra and the leaders of the radicals, realizing the failure of their attack on the Government, withdrew from their position, and by Nov. 20 an English observer in Holland could report that the revolutionary agitation had completely broken down. A great demonstration in favor of the Socialists had been arranged for that day, and there was considerable apprehension, but when the crowds came together in the various centres the orange rosette of loyalty was seen everywhere and the whole demonstration resolved

itself into an expression of fealty to the established Government. It was then clear that the German revolution had been stopped at the frontier. Holland had thus escaped the first shock of the violent catastrophe in Germany.

Discontent in Holland was further quieted by the ability of the Government to make better arrangements with the Entente Powers and America for shipping and food supplies. While Germany is still a blockaded country and there is not yet any free trade with Holland under the British blockade rules, there has been a relaxation of the most stringent rules and it has been possible for the Dutch authorities to increase food allowances in the most pressing cases.

Beside the difficult questions for Holland involved in the presence of the Kaiser on her soil, there is another matter between Holland and the Allies. That is the question of the retreat of some 68,000 men of the German Army across that part of Holland included in the Province of Limburg, forming a salient into Belgian territory. On Nov. 12 German troops from the northeastern part of Belgium presented themselves at the Dutch frontier and asked permission to pass through the narrow neck of Dutch territory into Germany. The Dutch Cabinet took up the matter on the next day and decided to grant the right of passage through Dutch territory after the Germans had laid down their arms in Holland. It was at first reported that the allied Governments had agreed to this departure from the strict letter of the law of nations. From Paris, however, the semi-official Havas Agency issued a statement saying that the allied representatives had only been informed of the decision of the Holland Government after the Germans had entered the country, and that they had expressed no opinion on the subject.

THE SCANDINAVIAN LEAGUE

The three Scandinavian countries which have acted together throughout the war have decided to continue their agreement through the Peace Conference and will act together during the

discussions of a League of Nations, according to the Official Journal of Copenhagen, which published the following statement on Dec. 3:

According to decisions at meetings of the Scandinavian Cabinet Ministers, the Governments of the three northern countries have appointed committees to prepare material for the purpose of looking after the common interests of neutral States at the Peace Conference and after the conclusion of peace. These committees have held a series of meetings in Copenhagen and agreed on a detailed proposal with a view to the possible organization of a League of Nations. This proposal embraces especially the general obligation to subject disputes between States to arbitration, the establishment of an International Council, a permanent International Court of Justice, international institutions of investigation and arbitration, and the permanent organization of peace conferences or conferences on international law at The Hague.

The question of the position of the northern States to suggest international restriction of armaments and international enforcement of such organization has been temporarily discussed by committees, and will be further considered during the continued co-operation between the three countries. In respect to this, a Danish committee has been appointed, headed by the Minister of Defense, Dr. P. Munch, and a Swedish committee headed by Hjalmar Branting, while no new member has yet been appointed for Norway.

DENMARK

With the complete defeat of Germany a very interesting and important question was raised for the little kingdom of Denmark, and the discussion of this question is filling Danish newspapers to the exclusion of most other phases of the peace settlement. It is the sudden revival of the half-century-old Schleswig-Holstein question, now raised in the belief that it will find a just settlement. But in half a century it has ceased to be a dispute over two duchies. The present Government of Denmark makes no claim to all this once bitterly fought over territory, but on the other hand, would not be willing to assume responsibility for it. The position of Denmark is that the people of Northern Schleswig should now have an opportunity to express their political wishes, whether for joining Denmark or taking their chances with a

newly organized Germany. As the district in question is overwhelmingly Danish, there is no doubt as to the result of a vote.

The Schleswig-Holstein matter was brought up prominently by the letter of President Wilson in response to an appeal addressed to him by American citizens and residents from Schleswig and Denmark. The President in his reply, addressed to a representative of the Danes, said:

The White House,
Washington, Nov. 12, 1918.

My dear Mr. Bodholdt: In addressing myself to you I wish to include not only Carl Plow of Petaluma, Cal., and Jens Jensen of Chicago, who with you have been the chief spokesmen of Slesvig in this country, but all the Slesvigers who have signed the petition directed to me, as well as the still greater number of Americans of Danish race who have indorsed that petition.

The statement you have given me, signed by former residents of Slesvig and indorsed by a still greater number of Danes, all now American citizens, voices anew an unforbidden injustice. I can but assure you that your appeal to America's sympathy and passion for justice will not go unheard, for it founds itself wisely upon the rights of men to rule themselves and to choose the manner in which that self-rule shall be exercised. I do not doubt that your voice and that of your former countrymen will be heard and heeded wherever the thought of the nations turns to the righting of old wrongs kept fresh by the lengthened oppression of the intervening years.

It is for the whole world which has borne the burdens of war to share in the adjustments of peace. Not America alone but all the peoples now quickened to a newer sense of the values of justice must join in the relief of a grievance whose continuance would traverse the principles for which more than a score of nations are now fighting.

Please accept on behalf of the Slesvigers in this country my thanks for the faith of which their petition is an evidence and on behalf of your race in the old country my earnest wish for the hastening of the day when right and justice shall prevail to deliver them from oppression. Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

The stand of the present Danish Government on this question is given by an attaché of the legation in Washington, who wrote to THE NEW YORK TIMES, under date of Nov. 26, as follows:

The petition to the President and his

answer are based on the same ideal foundation: the right of peoples to determine their own allegiance. And this means that not Schleswig-Holstein but only the northern part of Schleswig will be returned to Denmark. Holstein is more German than Prussia itself and even the southern part of Schleswig Germanized to such an extent that only by force could it be brought back under Danish rule.

North Schleswig, however, or South Jutland, as the Danes call it, is Danish in language, Danish in culture, Danish in sympathies, and has through more than fifty years unceasingly fought for its Danish nationality and its Danish mother tongue. But even so, neither the Danes nor the Schleswigers themselves would like to see North Schleswig returned to Denmark without a vote being taken to show Germany and all the world that Denmark only gets back what is hers by every moral right. * * *

It cannot be emphasized strongly enough that Denmark wishes for a solution along purely national lines, not only because this is in accord with its own real feelings and best interests, but because it conforms with the often expressed principles of the Allies and America, that the new national settlements must be just and final. The Danish Nation wants returned to Denmark the Danish parts of Schleswig in such a way as not to give cause for future misunderstandings. This stand is in fact only a continuation of Denmark's neutral policy, maintained during the war with equal loyalty to both sides.

NORWAY

Sentiment in Norway has been very strongly in favor of the Allies, and a lesser degree of industrialism in that country has furnished a less favorable soil for socialism than in Sweden, for instance; the revolution in Germany and the signing of the armistice, therefore, did not bring any strong reaction. Norway now looks to payment for her heavy loss of ships through the German submarine operations and the surrender of the raiders in British and French harbors.

While sentiment was almost solidly for the Allies in Norway, the main political question has been the redistribution of election districts, the Social Democrats, whose strength is in the towns, playing off against the Left or Agrarian Party. Price-fixing and armament were the issues of the Fall election, the Socialists

standing out for much of the former and little of the latter.

The shipping account with the United States has been taken up in Norway since the ending of hostilities. It was announced from Washington on April 22, 1918, that the Shipping Board had chartered 400,000 tons of Norwegian sailing ships for trade outside the submarine zone. Now the Norwegian press is calling for an adjustment of the payment for the use of these vessels, which has been long held up.

SWEDEN

In Sweden there was an instantaneous echo of the German revolution in demands put forward by the Independent Socialist Party for the removal of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic. A manifesto calling for the organizing everywhere of Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils on the Russian model was published. Stockholm for a few days was a centre of many flying rumors. This agitation quickly subsided with the announcement that the Government was to carry through further democratic reforms. The proposed reforms include giving the franchise to both sexes on equal terms, and placing the control of foreign affairs as well as the right to declare war and make peace in the hands of the representative assembly.

LUXEMBURG

To no neutral country did the signing of the armistice mean more than to the little Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. Occupied by the German troops in the very first days of the war, it was suddenly freed of the invader. Ten days after the signing of the armistice, General Pershing entered Luxemburg, the capital, and, standing at the side of the young Grand Duchess Marie Adelaide on the balcony of her palace, reviewed a regiment of American troops.

The military events in the Grand Duchy belong rather to the story of the American Army of Occupation, but here it may be noted that sharp political differences manifested themselves as soon as the country was free of the German Army. Before the entry of the Amer-

ican Army crowds marched through the streets chanting "Abdicate! Abdicate!" before the palace. There is a party favoring the annexation of the Duchy to France, another to Belgium, and another for the preservation of its independence. During the occupation of the American troops no forced political change is looked for.

The Grand Duchess sent an appeal to President Wilson, announced on Nov. 26, to defend the rights of Luxemburg as an independent State in the Peace Conference. The message was referred to the Supreme War Council at Versailles.

The Luxemburg Chamber in the meantime had adopted a motion demanding a referendum to decide the form of the Government. A motion in the Chamber supported by Liberals and Socialists demanding the abdication of the Grand Duchess was rejected.

SWITZERLAND

A curious effect of the ending of the war was the attempt of Bolshevik representatives in Switzerland to bring about a revolution after a general strike. THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondent at Berne, writing on Nov. 20, after the strike had been settled, said it was established that Bolshevik agents had planned to bring about a bloody revolution in Switzerland with the hope of its spreading to Italy and France. The Bolsheviks worked through Germans, and succeeded in bringing about a three-day tieup of public utilities. The Swiss Government immediately sent the First Division, composed of French Swiss, to the German Swiss cities of Berne, Zurich and Basle, where they succeeded perfectly in keeping order. The Russian Bolshevik agents were immediately arrested, and with the legation staffs were sent across the border of the country. The Swiss Government had previously, on Nov. 9, announced its intention of breaking off all relations with the Soviet Government at Moscow because of its persistent attempts to spread revolutionary propaganda through Switzerland and the neighboring countries.

The greatest benefit to Switzerland of the signing of the armistice has been the opportunity to demobilize its army,

which for four years has been a heavy strain upon the national exchequer. By the end of October the Government had reduced the frontier guards to about eight battalions, which were detailed to guard against smuggling and to carry out the economic agreements binding Switzerland not to transmit material to Germany.

General Ulrich Wille, who has been in chief command of the Swiss forces during the war, has asked to be relieved of his duties since the signing of the armistice.

SPAIN

The collapse of the Central Powers had a profound effect in Spain. This was due to the fact that, from the beginning, Spain had been the object of most serious German efforts at propaganda making, and that certain circles had shown themselves amenable to the German instruction. The political course of the country had constantly been guided by the belief that the war would end in a stalemate, with a compromise peace, or a not impossible German victory.

Toward the end the Spanish Government had taken a stronger tone with Berlin over the long-continued submarine outrages against Spanish ships, and had announced the intention of compensating itself with German interned ships for losses suffered at sea. An agreement was reached with Germany on this basis. Still there was no shaping of a course on a clear understanding of impending allied victory. So the news of the signing of the armistice was received with conflicting feelings. The Liberal press gave evidence of undivided satisfaction, and there was a new stirring of interest in a league of nations, which had not previously found great favor in the Spanish press. Important newspapers now urge the high importance of Spain's aligning herself with that movement.

King Alfonso sent to President Poincaré of France this message on the signing of the armistice:

At the moment of the signing of the armistice I must, my dear President, con-

gratulate you with all my heart on having reached the end of this glorious epic of the French Army and Nation, which have shown us all what bravery and patriotism mean.

There have been rapid shifts of Cabinet in Madrid. The Government headed by Count Romanones lasted until Nov. 17, and was succeeded by one formed by the Marquis de Alhucemas, in which Romanones remained as Foreign Minister. This Cabinet lasted until Dec. 3, when Romanones was again called upon to form a government.

The Reformist Party has begun holding meetings in behalf of sweeping reforms. Among the measures demanded by the party are the following:

Any bill rejected by the Crown to become a law without further reference to the Crown if Parliament reapproves the measure; the royal prerogatives to be exercised under responsibility to the Ministers; the entire Senate to be chosen by the electors; every province which demands autonomy and is in a position to fulfill the necessary conditions shall receive it; military service to be universal and obligatory, with any exempted person paying during the term of service required a tax proportionate to his income; State schools and technical education to be largely increased.

Another source of political unrest in Spain is the revival of the movement for an autonomous Catalonia. Señor Cambe, leader of the Catalonian autonomists, on Dec. 10 announced that, if his bill was not accepted, Catalonian deputies would have to be withdrawn. A few days later these deputies withdrew in a body. Protests were made in Madrid against the Separatist movement, and a form of boycott of the province was said to have been agreed upon by Madrid concerns.

A final chapter in its relations with the old Germany was written by the Spanish Government in the withdrawal of its Ambassador at Berlin, which was announced on Dec. 9. The Spanish Government had also withdrawn its last diplomatic representative from Russia. Spain had never recognized the Soviet Government, but had retained her diplomatic corps in Russia.

Russia's Struggle Against Chaos

Collapse of Germany Weakens the Hold of Bolshevism on the Paralyzed Nation

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 15, 1918]

AFTER the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution in the middle of November bloody clashes took place on the Archangel front. For several days the Soviet gunboats shelled the Russo-allied posts on the Dvina River and made infantry attacks against them. The Bolsheviks were repulsed with heavy losses. The attack had been intended to drive the foreign troops up the Dvina. American troops were holding the middle sector of this front. Toward the end of November the Soviet forces withdrew their gunboats from the Dvina for fear of being frozen in, and mounted big guns along the river.

Later dispatches reported an advance by a Russian-American force up the Pinega River. Marching over frozen swamps and snow-covered roads, it captured the town of Shetagorskoie, 120 miles from Pinega. According to a Helsingfors report, dated Nov. 28, Pskov and Dunaburg were captured and Narva bombarded by the Soviet troops.

Throughout the month under record the Czechs in Russia were on the defensive. In a Cheliabinsk dispatch of Nov. 25, General Syrovy, the Czechoslovak commander, was quoted as saying that the Bolsheviks had broken through on the point of the Volga front near Ufa and Birska, but that the Czechs expected to hold them. Dispatches from Siberia indicated that the Czechs were surrounded by enemies and were in a very dangerous position. At the Czech headquarters at Ekaterinburg the Soviet Army was estimated at 227,000, and it was stated that twenty-three new divisions were called for the Spring. German Generals were in command of the Soviet armies, in spite of Germany's agreement to withdraw her troops from Russia. General Blücher was Chief of the Bolshevik General Staff and General Eberhardt commander on the Samara front.

The position of the Czech forces in Russia was aggravated by the failure of the Allies to formulate a definite policy with regard to that country. After the German armistice the Czech soldiers made it clear that it was their desire to return to their homeland. Professor Masaryk, President of Czechoslovakia, stated on Nov. 30 that he wished the Czech Army to return home, but that the matter depended upon the decision of the Allies. But the Allies were busy with preparations for the Peace Conference and delayed definite action.

ADMIRAL KOLCHAK'S COUP

The month's outstanding event in the political history of non-Bolshevist Russia was the coup d'état which resulted in the establishment of Admiral Kolchak's dictatorship at Omsk. In the middle of November it seemed that the whole of non-Soviet Russia was solidly behind the All-Russian Provisional Government at Omsk, and that the political situation held no danger. On Nov. 12 the Amur Province, the only section of Siberia which had failed to recognize the Omsk Government, pledged itself to support it. At the same time the Allies were showing official interest in this Government, and Nikolai Avksentiev, its President, pleaded for allied recognition to "strengthen the new Government in the eyes of the masses" and discourage the reactionary elements.

On Nov. 18 the Directorate of Five, which headed the Omsk Government, was dissolved, and Admiral Kolchak, Minister of War and Marine, was declared dictator. General Boldirev, commander of the army of the All-Russian Government, thus described the Omsk events: "The counter-revolutionary group seized President Avksentiev, Zen-zinov, Argunov, and Gotovsky and took them to an unknown place. Then the

"Council of Ministers, headed by Premier Vologodsky, declared that it assumed all power and transferred it to "Admiral Kolchak." According to General Horvath, the coup was a counter-measure against the activities of the radical wing in the Omsk Government.

The day after the coup d'état a number of members of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly were arrested at Ekaterinburg, Victor Tchernov, Minister of Agriculture under Kerensky among them. He was arrested by the Czechoslovak General Gaida on the charge of having issued a proclamation at Omsk calling on the people to revolt. The Cossack officers who had arrested the members of the Omsk Directorate were tried and acquitted.

THE DICTATOR DEFIED

A group of members of the Constituent Assembly issued a proclamation Nov. 22 declaring that "The departments adhering to democratic principles assume 'all power to enter into negotiations with 'the Czechoslovak Council and the military commanders,'" and urging the people to maintain order. On Nov. 26 the Omsk Government informed the allied representatives that it would not support Kolchak's dictatorship. General Semenov and General Boldirev also defied Admiral Kolchak. General Semenov cut the wires between Omsk and Vladivostok, asserted his jurisdiction over the Amur, Ussuri, and Transbaikalian region, and established his headquarters at Chita. Thereupon he issued an ultimatum to the Admiral demanding that he should give up his dictatorship. In reply, Admiral Kolchak deposed Semenov from the command of the Fifth Army, named Colonel Valkov as successor, and ordered him to arrest the rebel General.

The Czechoslovak Council in Russia defined its attitude toward the crisis at Omsk in a statement which pointed out that the Czechoslovaks were fighting "for the ideals of democracy and for lawfulness," and declared that "violent changes in Government could no longer continue." "The Czechoslovak National Council in Russia hopes," the statement concluded, "that the crisis in 'the Government caused by the arrest of

"members of the All-Russian Provisional Government will be adjusted lawfully. "We regard the crisis as not yet ended." The Allies failed to define their attitude toward this crisis, but pursued a policy of waiting.

FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Shortly after the establishment of Kolchak's dictatorship, the Omsk Government issued the following statement:

The Government which is headed by Admiral Kolchak, as its supreme chief, bearing in mind that Russia has always sacredly fulfilled all its liabilities toward its own subjects as well as to other nations to which it was bound by treaties, has deemed it necessary to state in its declaration of Nov. 21 that it will not fail, as soon as Russia is reunited, to execute all liabilities of the State Treasury, i. e., payments of interests and amortization on internal and external State loans, payments on contracts and salaries of employes, pensions and all other payments arising from law, contract or other legal foundations.

The economic situation in Siberia continued to be one of utter destitution. The cities were flooded with refugees, and there was an extreme shortage of manufactured products, especially drugs and other medical supplies. The various American organizations were reported to lack co-ordination.

AN APPEAL FOR HELP

On Nov. 28, Catherine Breshkovskaya, known to the world as "the grandmother of the Russian revolution," arrived in Vladivostok on her way to the United States. After the Bolshevik revolution she had spent eight months in hiding. Then she made her way to Ufa and across Siberia. While at Omsk she addressed an appeal to America, in which she said:

With your assistance we can reconstruct the Russian State and save it from the destructive forces of the German agents and their allies, the Bolsheviks. Thanks to the Allies' heroic efforts and to the noble and disinterested sacrifices of your country, we shall rid ourselves of that plague—the Bolsheviks—which would shatter the hopes of every champion of world liberty and progress.

Russia still is full of enemy bands and agents who are continuing their treacherous work. Our peasantry and workmen are discouraged by the many falsehoods of these agents, who work to our ruin.

Our peasantry and workmen, while abashed and disheartened, still are intoxicated by misleading promises. We want material supplies and intellectual forces to set a good example to our people. If left without your aid, all the forces of the dark centuries of monarchism will upset our work. These dark forces already commence to assert themselves, but we know that your army will never help monarchists.

We know that from you will come an answer to our plea and that the instructors you will send us will teach our young generation to work. You will co-operate with us for the welfare not of Russia alone but for that of the whole world.

Alexander Kerensky, the former Russian Premier, said to an interviewer on Dec. 11: "I implore America, as a true friend of paralyzed Russia, to see that she is not exploited by her former allies."

CONTINUED TERRORISM

According to a Stockholm report of Nov. 22, 500 former officers were shot by the Bolshevik Government at Petrograd within the month. Advices that reached Washington on Dec. 12 were to the effect that the political terror continued in Soviet Russia, many priests and monks being sentenced to death by the revolutionary tribunals. At Katernito, a small town in the Government of Viatka, ten persons were executed, and at Spassk twenty-five. Generals Ruzski and Radko-Dimitriev of the Russian Army were shot by order of a local Soviet. M. Ruschlov, former Minister of State, was also reported shot, and General Seyn, former Governor General of Finland, either shot or drowned at Kronstadt.

Fugitives from Russia described Petrograd as a "city of horrors," and conditions there as unendurable. According to Swedish press reports, hunger and terrorism had reduced the population of the northern capital to half of its former size. At the close of 1917 the population of Petrograd was 2,400,000; in June, 1918, it was only 1,400,000. The commune authorities were said to be issuing food to none but partisans of the Soviet régime.

The Labor Commissariat of Moscow passed regulations fixing the minimum wage of reporters and editors in the Moscow district at 350 rubles and the maximum at 1,200. The rate at which

space writers were paid was also fixed, and a commission consisting of writers' and publishers' representatives was formed to see that the regulations were carried out.

GIRLS AS STATE PROPERTY

An issue of the *Izvestia*, the official Bolshevik organ, contained the following curious document, issued by the Soviet of the City of Vladimir:

Every girl who has reached her eighteenth year is guaranteed by the local Commissary of Surveillance the full inviolability of her person. Any offender against an eighteen-year-old girl by using insulting language or attempting to ravish her is subject to the full rigors of the Revolutionary Tribunal.

Any one who has ravished a girl who has not reached her eighteenth year is considered a State criminal and is liable to a sentence of twenty years' hard labor unless he marries the injured one. The injured, dishonored girl is given the right not to marry the ravisher if she does not so desire.

A girl having reached her eighteenth year is to be announced as the property of the State. Any girl having reached her eighteenth year and not having married is obliged, subject to the most severe penalty, to register at the Bureau of Free Love in the Commissariat of Surveillance. Having registered at the Bureau of Free Love, she has the right to choose from among men between the ages of nineteen and fifty a cohabitant husband.

Remarks: (1) The consent of the men in the said choice is unnecessary: (2) the man on whom such a choice falls has no right to make any protest whatsoever against the infringement.

The right to choose from a number of girls who have reached their eighteenth year is given also to men. The opportunity to choose a husband or a wife is to be presented once a month. The Bureau of Free Love is autonomous.

Men between the ages of nineteen and fifty have the right to choose from among the registered women, even without the consent of the latter, in the interests of the State. Children who are the issue of these unions are to become the property of the State.

The decree states that it is based on the example of similar regulations issued at Luga, Kolpino, &c. A "Project of Provisional Rights in Connection with the Socialization of Women in the City of Khvolinsk and Vicinity" was pub-

lished in the Soviet newspaper of that locality.

Sweden recalled her diplomatic and Consular representatives in Russia, as reported Dec. 8, for the reason that the Soviet envoy in Sweden had transmitted Bolshevik literature from Russia. The Swedish Government made it clear that they expected the Russian Ambassador and the other members of the Soviet Legation to leave Sweden. Several days previously the Soviet authorities had imprisoned Assad Khan, the Persian Minister to Russia. This step was apparently an act of retaliation for the arrest of the Soviet representatives in Turkestan by the British.

On Nov. 20 the Ukrainian Government headed by Hetman Skoropadski was reported overthrown and Kiev captured by Cossacks under the command of General Denikine. The Ukrainian National Assembly fled and a provisional Government was set up.

GERMAN HOLD RELAXED

On Nov. 23 a courier from General Denikine's army arrived at Saloniki, thus restoring direct communication between the Cossacks and the allied armies, which had been interrupted a year before. Three days later the British cruiser Agamemnon, accompanied by French and British torpedo boats, arrived at Odessa. French marines entered Odessa, and the fortress and city of Sebastopol were cleared of German soldiery by Dec. 13. On that day London received an official German statement to the effect that the German forces were leaving Odessa. British and Russian forces had previously occupied Baku on the western coast of the Caspian Sea.

Lithuania proclaimed itself an independent republic. The ceremony took place on No. 30 at Riga in the presence of the National Council. Karl Ullman is President of the Republic of Lithuania.

The Germans began the evacuation of the Baltic provinces in November, and the Soviet troops were reported to have crossed the Narva River and entered Esthonia between the Gulf of Finland and Lake Peipus. The Esthonians offered

resistance, and appealed for allied intervention to assist them against the invaders. Early in December British warships reached Libau and entered Reval at the request of Esthonia.

On Dec. 13 General Mannerheim was elected Premier of Finland to succeed Premier Svinhufvad, who had resigned.

AFFAIRS IN POLAND

In the middle of November Polish troops were holding Warsaw and directing the demobilization of the German Army. At the same time Polish officers took possession of Posen. A week later a great part of the Province of Posen was in Polish hands. On Nov. 22 Lemberg was won from the Ruthenians by the Poles after many days of desultory fighting, which cost more than a thousand lives. During the fighting a bloody anti-Jewish riot broke out. Pogroms also occurred in other Galician cities and in Warsaw. The Polish Government ordered an inquiry and promised compensation for all damages.

General Pilsudski formed the Cabinet of the new Polish Government. It is composed of Socialists and members of the Peasants' Party, with General Pilsudski as Minister of War, and Andreas Woraczewski, a moderate Socialist and former member of the Austrian lower house, as Premier. The Government decreed an eight-hour day and the abolition of titles, but left all other reforms to the Constituent Assembly, which was to meet in January, 1919. The first act of Pilsudski's Government was to arrest the members of a number of secret Bolshevik organizations.

Poland severed relations with Germany, as announced in a Warsaw dispatch of Dec. 16, and ordered all Germans out of the Polish Republic because of intrigues. Count Kessler, the German Minister, with his entire staff, was ordered to leave the country, and the Pilsudski Government proceeded to mobilize an army for the enforcement of the order. At the same time there were indications of a movement at Posen for the union of German Poland with the Polish Republic.

German Brutality to Prisoners

Report of the Younger Committee on the Ill-Treatment of British Captives

There was issued in London on Oct. 14, 1918, an official report dated Aug. 29, "On the Treatment by the Germans of Prisoners of War Taken During the Spring Offensive of 1918," the work of a committee headed by Justice Robert Younger. It showed that the abuses revealed in an earlier report continued to be practiced behind the German lines. Another report by the Younger Commission issued in November disclosed similar cruelties to British prisoners in the coal and salt mines of Germany. The text of the main Younger report is as follows:

THE committee has collected the statements made to its examiners by upward of seventy of our men who, taken prisoner during the German Spring offensives on the western front, have since succeeded in making good their escape.

The escapes accomplished by the men whose evidence is here reviewed were exploits which, in most instances, called for a display of quite remarkable courage and resource on the part of those concerned. Each man took his life in his hand. That risk, however, did not deter him from making his bid for freedom.

It is probably correct to say that the number of prisoners captured as an immediate result of the offensive begun on March 21 last exceeded every expectation of the enemy, as it overwhelmed every provision, if indeed any at all was made, for their reception. This fact may afford some explanation of the total failure on the part of the Germans during, in some cases, more than forty-eight hours after capture to provide any food at all for the prisoners they took; it furnishes, however, neither explanation nor excuse for the utter inadequacy of the sustenance thereafter provided for the men; for the unauthorized nature of the work many of them were set to do; for the proximity to the battlefront of the places where they were called upon to do it; for the absence in many of the cages—they were little better—of any shelter, warmth, or sanitary conveniences of any kind; for the cruelty of some of the guards, or the brutality—for it was

nothing less—of one or two of the doctors. Yet these things were the common lot of many of the men over the whole period covered by this report.

STARVING PRISONERS

At times the treatment to which the prisoners were being subjected seemed to some German officers, more sensitive than the rest, to require an explanation. The absence of sufficient food was due to the blockade; this was the excuse put forward by one. By another it was explained as being a reprisal for similar treatment of German prisoners at our hands.

The committee does not stop to deal at length with these pretexts. Let there be set against them the recorded statement of a German General at Villers on April 17, that he knew their men were being well treated in England. If any explanation is to be given of the unjustifiable treatment to which these prisoners have been required to submit, it must be looked for, the committee feels, elsewhere. Possibly it may be found in the resolve underlying a remark made in broken English by a German officer on March 22 at Marchiennes: "We will break your brave English hearts tomorrow."

Of the statements before the committee quite a large number are those of men who were captured in the first or very early days of the offensive. These men were in nearly every instance, as has already been indicated, left without food for periods varying from twenty-four hours to forty-eight hours, during

the greater part of which they were kept constantly on the march. One or two instances may be given. A man captured at Lagnicourt at 9 A. M., March 21, was marched with a band of prisoners, including a number of wounded, to Villers, arriving there at 3 in the afternoon. Thence they were taken across country to a cage "which seemed miles from anywhere," and which was reached at 9 P. M. There they spent the night in a barbed-wire inclosure, sleeping in the open without food or drink other than water from a small stream flowing near the cage. Next morning at 10 o'clock, still without food, the men were marched to Marchiennes, where they arrived at 6 P. M. No food on the journey—only some coffee. At Marchiennes they were given a small piece of bread and a little more coffee; nothing more. The men were famished.

GERMANS HAD PLENTY

Another man captured at St. Quentin about 1 o'clock in the afternoon of March 21 was, with others, marched by stages to Origny, reaching there on the 24th about the same hour. "During the march," he says, "we received no food at all, very little water, and camped all night in the open." Another captured at Ecoust on the 21st says:

On the 22d I got nothing to eat. The Germans gave us nothing. They had plenty of food themselves, because they had captured the whole of the battalion rations for the 21st. We asked for food and were told we should get some further down the line. On the evening of the 23d about forty of us were sent to Rumau-court, carrying about twenty wounded to a hospital, and here I had a cup of coffee substitute, which was very nasty, and two slices of bread and jam. Next morning the forty of us were marched to Villers-lez-Cagnicourt. We were given nothing to eat before starting, and we reached the cage about noon. We got nothing to eat till 4 P. M.

Another witness taken prisoner at Lagnicourt on the 21st of March thus describes his journey from Villers to Denain, which he reached on the 24th:

At about 11:30 A. M. on the 21st we started to march off to Villers, where we arrived the same day after two hours' march. * * * At Villers we were put in a wire compound in the open. I think by the time we got there there were about

300 British prisoners, as we kept picking them up on the way. A good many were wounded—walking cases. We remained in the cage till the evening, and were given nothing whatever to eat or drink. About 5 P. M. we were fallen in—wounded as well. These latter got no dressing or any attention to their wounds, and were forced to come along with us. Our escort consisted of mounted Uhlans. We would halt anywhere by the side of the road at night, and march all through the day. We got no food whatever during the whole time. The French peasants tried to give us food, but the escort would not allow them. The escort had food themselves. They were very rough to us, keeping us in formation of fours and not allowing us to fall out to get water when we came to it. The wounded suffered very much, and we did our best to help them along. We arrived at Denain about 2 P. M. on the 24th of March.

UNDER BRITISH FIRE

These instances are typical. It seems unnecessary to multiply them. They disclose an initial treatment which was a fitting prelude to the semi-starvation which succeeded it in the improvised camps or cages in which many thousands of the men taken during these offensives have been subsequently confined.

The evidence of that treatment even now before the committee is voluminous. It is impossible to deal with it here in full detail. Its outstanding features are the utter disregard by the German command of its obligations with reference to prisoners, whether entered into before the war or since; the abuse of the Red Cross flag; the compulsory employment of prisoners, on pain, at times, of death, in operations directly concerned with the then German offensive; the setting of their imprisonment and place of work within range of the prisoners' own guns; their consistent semi-starvation; their insanitary surroundings; the absence of every facility for keeping themselves clean; the continued refusal of either clothing or warmth to men enfeebled by want of food and weakened by excessive toil and the denial of hospital treatment to those prostrated by disease.

Villers, near Arras, is a cage or camp of which several witnesses speak. Some of the men there were billeted in a church without a roof; others in a cage, with, at first, no buildings of any kind,

so that the men had to lie in the open. After a fortnight two huts and a marquee were erected by German labor. One of the witnesses, who was at Villers from the 11th to the 23d of April, thus describes his experiences during that period:

Our work consisted of road-making, building light railways, carrying ammunition from one dump to another. The day's work was as follows: Reveille at 3 A. M., we were lined up, and as we passed the guard we were each given a drink of coffee, but no food. We were then formed up in companies of 100 each. We were then sent away to various places to work. We would start work about 8 A. M. Sometimes there would be a good distance to walk. We were given a spell from 12 to 1; then worked on to 5 P. M. We worked seven days a week. We were given no food at all until about 7 P. M. We had nothing to eat or drink from the time we received our coffee about 4 A. M. till we received our tea at 7 P. M. We were not allowed to get water on the march or at work. For tea we received some soup, made of a kind of dried fish and lentils, and one loaf to three men, but no coffee. The sanitary arrangements consisted of a hole in the ground, to which no attention was paid. The work was very hard and continuous. We dared not rest a moment. If we did, the sentries would strike us with the butt-end of their rifles. At Villers there was an order put up, printed in English, to the effect that no one was to make a noise at night, that no one was allowed firearms or a knife, that any one trying to escape would be shot without challenge, that all sentries had free use of their rifles.

The prisoners were very weak and exhausted. During the spell between 12 and 1 they used to wander round, collecting nettles, which they brought to the camp at night to eat. We were given no opportunity for washing. There was a pump at the cookhouse, but the pump handle was removed to prevent us using it. The guards would give us no water. There was no heating or warming apparatus given us, and there was no means of drying our clothes. If we got wet we had to remain wet. We never received any parcels at all. We were given no clothes by the Germans.

ABUSES OF RED CROSS

Another of the witnesses, when at Villers, was employed in carrying shells to different German batteries about twelve kilometers behind the front line.

"We were under fire," he says, "from our big guns. Near our camp at Villers,"

he adds, "there was a large dump of ammunition. It was covered with tarpaulin, and there were two or three Red Cross flags put over it. Our artillery found it and blew it up. I saw it happen. Some Germans were killed. The dump was only about fifty yards from the camp, and some of our shells at the same time dropped in the camp. I was sick that day and was in the camp. One of our shells killed four of our men and wounded one."

Another witness, who was at Villers from April 2 to 18, says: "The men were so weak from want of food they were fainting every day."

Other witnesses speak of an epidemic of dysentery at this camp at the end of March, and it may here be noted that dysentery was rife in all the camps. It was owing, as one witness says, to the bad food. The first day it broke out at Villers eighty men were affected. An average of forty a day went sick with the same complaint.

"The sick parade one day amounted to 400 men. They were marched off to Bullecourt and made to lay light railways. Most of them went sick with bad feet and dysentery; they were all in a weak condition, but still made to work. We were all sleeping in the open air. * * * The camp was in a very insanitary condition. * * * We had no beds or blankets or straw. There were 1,115 altogether in this cage. * * * We R. A. M. C. men volunteered to take over the sanitary arrangements of the camp, but this was refused."

FORCED LABOR

At Ecoust, about nine kilometers from Villers, there was another cage, about which the witnesses say a great deal. One of them, with experience of both places, gives the following account, the essential particulars of which are reiterated by other witnesses:

This was a cage, [he says,] similar to Villers, only the accommodation was worse, and also the sanitary arrangements. The guards also were more rough and brutal, and the place was constantly under shellfire from our guns, and also from our airplanes, which used to fly round to bomb the dumps and light railways round the camp. The food and work were the same, but we were closer to our

lives, and were under shellfire the whole time. The guards were Landsturm, old men too old for the trenches, or young men too young. * * * Our own N. C. O.'s had to work just the same as privates; there was no distinction made between warrant officers, N. C. O.'s and privates; all had to work alike.

On April 13, 1918, one of our big guns was shelling near the camp, and some of our men were working in a store just outside the camp and a shell burst and killed a Corporal of the West Yorks and wounded three others of our men—later in the day another shell burst and wounded one of the German guards. I think he will die.

While at Ecoust I noticed that there were some big marquees all flying the Red Cross flag, and a huge Red Cross marked on the ground for airplanes to see. In these marquees were stored all kinds of military stores and ammunition.

The state of our poor men was getting most pitiable owing to want of sleep, starvation, and ill-treatment, being forced to work whether sick or well, and the vermin was awful. We never had a chance of a wash or change of clothes the whole time I was a prisoner.

The witness was captured on March 21. He escaped on April 13. Appropriate attention, as is shown by the deposition of another witness, has since been given by our airmen to the marquees of which he spoke.

Salomé was a cage in which, early in April, there were confined 1,500 British and between 700 and 800 Portuguese. Later the British were billeted in an old church and the Portuguese were sent to Lille. The men were apparently interchanged freely between this camp and a neighboring one at Provin. The food at Salomé is accordingly usually described in the terms of that supplied at Provin. Here is a description of it by an intelligent and reliable witness:

The first thing in the morning we got a kind of oatmeal, for dinner a kind of stew of horseflesh or goat's meat; the latter was quite uneatable. Sometimes instead we got some very black kind of fish full of ammonia and salt, and uneatable. Often we got no tea; when we did we got a small piece of bologna sausage about the size of half a crown and a quarter inch thick, and sometimes, though rarely, a small teaspoonful of a kind of apple jelly.

This is what the same witness says of Salomé:

On April 20 we were all marched back

(from Provin) to Salomé. We were billeted in an old church with guards at the front and rear. The place was fearfully crowded, and we had only straw to lie on, which got filthy and verminous; but the crowd was such that many of us were unable to sit or lie down; there were about 1,300 to 1,500 of us in the church—all British—a few Sergeants and Corporals among them. The Sergeants were not made to work, but the Corporals were. The food was much the same quality as at Provin, but less of it. It was very hard to live on it, and we got into a very weak and emaciated condition. Of course, we received no parcels, and were not allowed to write any letters. * * * Working parties were told off at different times, both day and night. Sometimes they would be turned out at 2 and 3 in the morning, and they as a rule were made to carry ammunition up to the front line and on to the dumps. * * * Salomé was continually being bombed, and shells constantly fell all about; on one occasion our cookhouse was destroyed, but no one killed. I never actually saw any one killed by our shells, but I was told of about fourteen British being wounded and several killed out of a working party one day. This I was told by several of the men who had been on the working party at the time. They were going up to the line either collecting dead or carrying ammunition. I personally was employed several times on the ration dump, carrying rations and unloading at the railhead, also working on the roads behind the line. I got as near the line as four kilometers, and was often under fire.

Other witnesses speak of the terrible condition of some Italian prisoners they saw at Salomé.

We used [says one] to see Italian prisoners going up the line to work. They were in a very bad condition, some of them walking skeletons. Their clothing was in a shocking condition. They were wearing broken clogs and old rags for stockings. We heard they were sent to work on the western front as a punishment.

This witness proceeds:

We were under shellfire the whole time we were behind the German lines. The German guards "get the wind up" whenever there is any shelling, and take what cover they can and take no notice of the prisoners.

BRUTAL GUARDS

At Prowy, about twenty kilometers behind Cambrai, where as many as 1,500 were confined in a disused sugar refinery, the men suffered terribly from cold and want of food. One of the witnesses, now among the escaped himself,

fainted from starvation. "The food consisted of one-quarter loaf of bread and coffee and vegetables given very irregularly, and very little of it." Another witness says:

We slept on cement floors, no blankets, no straw, and fires were not allowed. Our bread ration sometimes failed for thirty-six hours. Lots of men fell sick and fainted from exhaustion. There was a lot of dysentery, and the only medicine we got was nettle leaves boiled in water. One man of the R. M. L. I. died here from exhaustion. * * * The guards were very offensive, and used their rifle butts on us.

On the 17th of April 200 of us were marched to the Canal du Nord, about 10 kilometers this side of Cambrai; we were not under shellfire there. There were dugouts on the canal banks to sleep in, and we worked at laying railways, loading wagons, &c. There were already 200 men there before we arrived; they were in a shocking condition. * * * ["The poor fellows coming in from work," another witness says, "could only just toddle along."] At the canal we worked from 6 A. M. to 6 P. M. on the same poor ration as in other camps. The guards were very brutal and knocked us about a lot. We (two) couldn't stand it, and managed to escape on the 19th of April, 1918.

The following account of Cantin is illuminating:

On the 12th of April 200 of us left for Cantin, (about 16 kilometers behind the line.) We slept in a barn over a stable on verminous straw. We worked here in a pioneer park, loading ammunition and other war materials. On complaining to an officer, we were told that if we refused to work the ringleaders would be shot. The guards were very brutal, kicking us, beating us with sticks, and using their rifle butts on us. The food was even worse here; we were all starving. There was a lot of dysentery among the prisoners, but the doctors made us work all the same, and stopped our pay (3d. a day) and bread ration if we refused. Some of the men were fumigated, and got a bath, but there was no soap or towel. Many of the men were covered with sores.

In this connection the following incident, near the village of Lecluse, five miles from the firing line, may be conveniently taken from the evidence of another witness:

One day we refused to load shells, and one of our men complained to a German staff officer, who spoke English, telling him it was wrong to expect us to load

shells for them, and that we wanted to make a general complaint. His only reply was to line us up in a squad and to order that the first man who refused to work should be instantly shot.

CRUELTY AT A HOSPITAL

The hospital at Valenciennes is the subject of a gruesome account by an escaped prisoner, who was there for a month—the 25th of March to the 25th of April:

All nationalities, except Germans, were mixed together—British, Italians, Russians, French, Bulgarians. Food: black bread with a very small portion of jam or butter—this was a day's ration—about 600 grams—substitute coffee. Midday: soup of macaroni, or peas or dried vegetables. Every one got this except special cases, who got rather better quality of bread and soup. At night some more coffee; the bread was of poor quality; there was a little meat in the soup. The doctor did far from his best; his conduct was a farce; he was supposed to come to the ward twice a day; he would come in and look round, and go out without attending to any one. * * * There were some very bad cases. The supplies were short, no soap at all; bandages were of paper; no toilet requisites. Sanitary accommodation very bad; urinals were right in the wards. Bedding made of sacking material, and stuffed with wood-wool. Bed sheets were issued, but these had to be in a most dreadful condition before they would be exchanged. Eggs were issued sometimes for the man with limbs off, but very few actually received any; nurse orderlies used to take them. One nurse in particular used to save up the eggs and special bread for several days and then send them away in a parcel. * * * In some cases the Germans took our clothing, and these men simply lay in bed with nothing on except the bed covering made of cotton maché. The bedclothes were very small and very thin, and very poor quality—more like cotton than wool.

A man named Private Ellis was in my ward with a bullet wound through his lung. He lay for some days unattended to, and was then taken to see the doctor. As he was in great pain, he was calling out; the doctor hit him a hard punch on the jaw and sent him back to the ward; he came back crying, and died next morning. I do not know the doctor's name. He treated the patients very roughly. He used to pull men about dreadfully. In the first week or two I was there I counted an average of fifteen deaths a day. I am positive that, with proper treatment, there would not have been anything like this mortality.

As a final instance, the committee

takes Sailly, of which the men who were there have much to say. One who reached it on April 27, and escaped on May 13, says of it:

We were put in a cage, where there were 400 of us in all. There were huts and beds being made, but we were horribly crowded, and the vermin was awful. The camp was in the middle of a pioneer dump, and was heavily shelled. Twice at night we were turned out by the sentries, who kicked and struck us, and marched down the road toward Etang to get out of the shelling. Our work was loading shells and digging ammunition pits. We protested, but were told that German prisoners were being made to do the same work at Arras. The Landsturm guards were very brutal, and knocked us about with sticks and rifle butts. The food was again starvation diet. The men were like wild animals with hunger, and scrambled for any piece of food which may be lying about, also for cigarette ends. The water we had to drink was drawn from a filthy marsh near the camp. Besides much dysentery, there was a lot of dropsy, men's legs and bodies swelling terribly. There were about sixty men permanently sick, and five or six going to hospital daily. The doctor was kind and did his best; but it was no use, as he had no authority. The Sergeant Major and Quartermaster Sergeant were horrible brutes, and made men work until they dropped. It is impossible to describe the condition of the men in this camp. It can well be imagined the horrible, filthy condition men with dysentery were in who were forced to work. Daily about half a dozen would fall down at work, utterly exhausted, and have to be carried back to the cage. It does not seem to me that any of them can live for many weeks if these conditions continue. When it was known that we were going to try and escape, two others came and prayed us "For God's sake to try and get England to do something to help them to get out of that hell!"

Similar accounts are given by the witnesses of many other camps or cages more or less near the firing line. Many of them speak of Denain, but this was apparently primarily a distributing station. At Douai, where many were confined, "all the men were weak for lack of nourishment. It was a common sight to see them fall over for lack of food." Again, "the prisoners were often under long-range fire; shells frequently fell within 200 or 300 yards of us." At Cagnicourt, again, 1,200 men were confined in a cage—an open inclosure in a field. Later two huts were erected, but

they could only hold 400 "sitting against each other with no room to lie down." Dysentery was rampant. Here, too, however, there was a "decent" German Sergeant Major. He, however, had "no powers." Bray was seven kilometers from the British lines. One witness confined there from April 11 to 13 was "under shellfire the whole time."

MEN DELIBERATELY SHOT

There are many incidents accompanying the capture of prisoners during these recent offensives referred to in the depositions. There is, for example, the experience of four Cameron Highlanders taken at Arras on March 28, who, as soon as they were made prisoner, were compelled for two hours to serve a German field gun with ammunition and dig out a position for it under British fire. And there are other cases of the same kind. The committee, however, selects two for special mention, because they each, although in different ways, illustrate the nature of the men and the organization to which our forces are now opposed.

On March 21 fifteen officers, N. C. O.'s, and men of the 1st K. S. L. I. were taken prisoner at Lagnicourt. One of these is now among the escapes. This is his account of the incident:

We were defending a trench and held out to the last, when we were surrounded and had to surrender. The Germans beckoned us to come toward them, and as the first three of us—privates—showed ourselves to obey they were deliberately shot; the rest of us were taken prisoner.

The second incident is this. On the same day five men of the Staffordshires were taken together at Bullecourt. One of them has now escaped. This is his account of his capture:

At the time of my capture a German officer was standing near the trench, and close by him there was a private with his bayonet fixed. One of the men of my battalion was scrambling out of the trench, intending, of course, to surrender. The private ran at my comrade to bayonet him. The officer ordered the private to halt, but no attention was paid to the command, and the officer without hesitation shot the private in the head with his revolver, killing him on the spot. The British soldier had not been touched. This happened close to where I was standing.

And here the committee, for the moment, leaves this subject. The latest date of escape of any of the witnesses, so far examined, was June 24. There is nothing in the depositions of these later escapes which leads the committee to conclude that any material improvement had so far been effected in the general conditions here described, which, like those

dealt with in the committee's earlier report, to which reference has already been made, may be left for the present to speak for themselves.

On behalf of the Government Committee on the Treatment by the Enemy of British Prisoners of War.

ROBERT YOUNGER, *Chairman.*

August 29, 1918.

Bulgarian Crimes in Serbia

By G. WARD PRICE

Official Press Correspondent in the Balkan War Zone

HERE is a story of coldblooded butchery without equal even in this war. It is the tale of a deliberate, systematic effort by the Bulgarians, extending over three months, to exterminate the national spirit of Serbia by killing every one in the parts of the country they occupied whom they thought capable of maintaining it.

I have gathered from many different sources information and evidence which establish the Bulgarian guilt beyond all doubting. Directly they had established themselves on Serbian soil in this region the Bulgarians began to change the Serbians by force into Bulgarians. After forbidding the use of the Serbian language, closing the Serbian schools, compelling every one to change the ending of his name from the Serbian "itch" to the Bulgarian "off," after installing Bulgarian Mayors, Bishops, tax collectors, and military police, they arrested in every town and village all the men who belonged to what may be called the intellectual class. They chose out the Parliamentary Deputies, Judges, teachers, lawyers, priests, and employers of labor, formed them into gangs and marched them away. From that time until the defeated Bulgarians evacuated Serbia the friends of these people heard nothing of their fate; but now the ghastly story is known in detail.

The men, numbering at least 3,000 from the towns and villages of the Vranja region alone, were taken in detachments of about fifty at a time to a place which the Bulgarians chose as their slaughterhouse, and there every night

one party after another, from December, 1915, to March, 1916, had their throats cut or were stabbed to death. The village whose name the Bulgarians have thus made terrible is a small place called Surdulitza, twenty miles northeast of Vranja, near the Bulgarian frontier. I went there and saw the graves and the surviving relatives of the 2,500 victims to Bulgarian savagery who there met their end. The doomed men, against whom the Bulgarians had no other charge whatever except that they were patriotic Serbians and likely to keep up the national spirit among their fellow-countrymen, would arrive almost every day at Surdulitza under strong Bulgarian guard. They were locked up in houses which I saw, and then at night marched down to a gully which I visited, where, tied four or five together with ropes, they were stabbed or bayoneted to death and buried where they lay. The peasants of Surdulitza offered to dig up the graves to let me see how the heads were severed from the bodies.

WHOLE VILLAGES EXTERMINATED

Not all the killing was carried out in this gully. On the other side of the village is a little wood. Every night the peasants of Surdulitza, who were forbidden to leave their houses after sunset, heard men's screams coming from among those trees. They knew too well what was happening, but did not dare to go near. And the following morning the fierce village dogs would bring into the streets human arms and even heads which they had torn off the bodies of

the murdered men. Two thousand five hundred is the local estimate of the number of the Serbians who at Surdulitza forfeited their lives to their nationality during the first three months of 1916. Not more than forty people were actually killed at Vranja itself, but once a fortnight all the surviving men were ordered out of the town while the Bulgarians ransacked and robbed their houses under pretext of searching for arms, and sometimes also outraged their women.

At Ushevtse, a hamlet to the north of Vranja, 120 men, women, and children, the entire population, were killed in one day. At Vladichi all the women were collected, and some of them violated. The rest were tied up and left, until two days later the Bulgarians came back and completed the work of outrage. Last year at Yelashnitsa and Krivafaja innocent peasants were stripped naked, tied down to braziers, and roasted over slow fires to make them confess that they possessed hidden arms. Lebane and Leskovatz were probably the worst martyred towns of all. At the former place twenty people were beaten to death.

Information about these last townships comes from Serbian municipal officials and the principal inhabitants of Vranja. I am personally entirely convinced of the sincerity of these men, and of the truth of the terrible charges they bring.

At Uskub I learned that outraging young girls was made a matter of routine by the Bulgarian authorities. Orders were issued for the girls to report themselves at the Bulgarian Headquarters. There they were lined up, and a General would walk down the ranks picking out the ones that pleased him. This story seems so extraordinary that I expressed doubt about it, but the Prefect maintains that the fact is established by the fullest corroboration. The girls chosen for the amusement of the Bulgarian officers were given the choice between submitting and being exiled to Bulgaria.

The Serbian prisoner of war camp on the outskirts of Sofia is terrible evidence of that hatred between Bulgarian and Serbian which runs like a poison through the whole system of the Bal-

kans. A mile from Sofia, near the main road to Radomir, is a muddy compound about three acres in extent, surrounded by barbed wire. On Oct. 23, 1918, there were in this pen 103,000 Serbians of all ages, together with 600 Greek civilians, carried off from Seres and Drama; a smaller body of Russians, and a detachment of French. The French were lodged in a few whitewashed mud huts which the compound contains. The greater majority of the Serbians had lain out in the open day and night, in wind and rain, Summer and Winter, many of them for three whole years of captivity. They had no blankets or protection of any kind, and at night packed their wretched bodies close together for warmth like a herd of animals. Their food was one pound of dark bread a day. Their so-called soup, which they were preparing while I was there, was just a caldron of hot water, with a dozen maize-pods in it. For drinking and washing water in this inclosure there was a solitary trickle from one small tap. Thirty men waited two hours to get near it.

Ten Serbians had died during the night before I went there. In the morning the Bulgarians put their bodies into a cart and carried them away. An hour later the same cart returned, bringing the day's bread ration. When a man could no longer stand, his friends carried him into one of the verminous little huts. There he lay until dead, and next morning the bread cart carried his carcass away. Three fresh bodies were on the ground when I reached the camp at 10 o'clock, and I was taken to see the little earth-floored cabin which with grim irony was called the "hospital." There were five Serbians in it—four just frames of skin and bone. The fifth man lay stretched on his back on the bare ground. His eyes were glazed and fixed, his breath came in quick spasms, and flies were crawling over his face. He looked as if he had but a few more hours of suffering to live. "Does no one come to do anything for these people? Have you never seen a Bulgarian medical officer here?" I asked. "Never," was the emphatic reply of a Serbian and a Greek prisoner who spoke French.

Greek Protests Against Bulgar Brutality

On Oct. 19, 1918, the Rector of the University of Athens sent the following telegram to leading universities in England, France, America, and Italy.

It is not the first time that the University of Athens sends a protest to the universities of Europe and America against heinous and unparalleled crimes. Exactly five years ago the Rector of the university, voicing the feelings of the nation, addressed in the name of civilization and humanity an appeal to all the universities and denounced the abominable atrocities committed during the Summer of 1913 by the Bulgars against the inoffensive and unarmed population of Macedonia and Thrace. Today, again, the University of Athens, relying on the scientific and moral solidarity which unites all universities, those wells of truth and culture, utters a cry of indignation against the horrors committed by the Bulgars in Eastern Macedonia, a land surrendered to them without fighting. Ruin and desolation mark the passage of the barbarians and are met everywhere by the advancing Greek Army and its gallant allies.

Incendiarism, slavery, wholesale deportations, torments, and excesses of all sorts—these are the means used by the Bulgars in order to exterminate Hellenism. The University of Athens, the representative of Hellenism in its noblest form, protests with all its might against these shameful Bulgarian atrocities. It feels confident that when, thanks to the effort of the great leaders and the heroic soldiers of the democratic nations of the Old and New World, the time arrives for justice to redress the wrong, and freedom to fill with joy the oppressed peoples, the crimes of the Bulgars will appear more than ever heinous, and a just and proper punishment will be inflicted on their perpetrators.

PRIEST BURNED ALIVE

An officer of the Greek Department of Justice, after visiting Seres in Macedonia, reported Nov. 20, 1918, as follows:

In September, 1917, the inhabitants of Seres were 23,693, of which 14,938 were Greeks, 7,925 Turks, and 730 Israelites. In September, 1918, after the Bulgarian occupation, the inhabitants were 5,793, of which half were Bulgarians transported from the interior of Bulgaria; there were

only 2,293 Greeks, the half of which were under 10 years of age. In Drama there were found twelve bodies of Greeks thrown in wells by the Bulgarians.

A commission of the Red Cross, upon request of Mr. Venizelos, visited Eastern Macedonia and witnessed the destruction of towns and villages as well as other horrible crimes. English prisoners arriving from Bulgaria in Saloniki relate the martyrdoms suffered during their captivity. An English officer tells how he saw a Greek priest hanged by the feet and roasted in a small fire.

The Archbishop of London, who arrived in Athens after a visit to Macedonia, communicates that he was told much of the Bulgarian atrocities and the destruction of the property of the Greek population, and was a witness himself of inhuman acts. Sub-Lieutenant Manthrakis, a prisoner of war, relates that he was interned, together with English and French officers, in a cage, naked and without food. The Bulgarians stole from the English officer his gold artificial teeth.

CORROBORATIVE BRIEF

The correspondent of The London Times wrote from Sofia on Nov. 6:

Today I am semi-officially informed that out of 100,000 interned Serbs only 53,000 survive. Out of 8,000 in the Serbian prisoners' camp at Haskovo no fewer than 5,000 have died. At the Rumanian prisoners' camp at Rustchuk typhus broke out, but no Bulgarian doctor would tend the sick. A Rumanian doctor was compelled to perform this duty, but caught the infection and died. The sick were then shut up in a building by themselves and left to their horrible fate. Three hundred out of 450 perished miserably before the epidemic ceased.

Two hundred and fifty British prisoners captured seven weeks ago near Doiran were deprived of their boots, puttees, and tunics, and forced to march to Sofia, a distance of nearly 150 miles, barefoot, with no other clothing than their shirts and Summer shorts, and no other food than what they could pick up in the fields by the roadside, consisting of onions and roots and a few grains of raw maize. Bread they got only once, when, at Radomir, a small loaf was handed to each man. The journey lasted for sixteen days. These particulars were given me by five men of this unfortunate band whom I questioned separately.

Turkish Cruelty to Prisoners

Fatal Sufferings of Britons Who Fell Into Ottoman Hands at Kut-el-Amara

AN official report on the treatment of British prisoners of war in Turkey, issued in November, 1918, disclosed the fact that out of a total of 16,583 officers and men captured by the Turks, 3,290 had been reported dead, while 2,222 remained untraced, and, it is believed, have all perished. These figures, says the report, "give the exact measure of the meaning of captivity in Turkey." The most tragic fate befell the garrison which surrendered at Kut, to whom all the untraced belong—they perished in the dreadful march the Turks forced them to undertake across the Syrian Desert. Of 2,680 British noncommissioned officers and privates taken at Kut 1,306 died and 449 are untraced; that is, over 65 per cent. perished. Of 10,486 Indians, 1,290 died and 1,773 remain untraced.

After the surrender of General Townshend at Kut-el-Amara, April 29, 1916, the troops were plundered of all their valuables and then kept for a week, unsheltered in sun and rain, at Shamran—and during that week nearly 300 died. Then when the columns set out to cover the 100 miles to Bagdad the officers were forcibly separated and sent on independently by boat. As for the men:

They were herded like sheep by mounted Arab troopers, who freely used sticks and whips to flog forward the stragglers. Food was very short, the heat was intense, the clouds of dust perpetual, and a great number of the men had now neither boots nor water bottles. Their escort stripped them still further; by the time of their arrival at Bagdad most of the Arab guard were dressed in odds and ends of the British uniforms, stolen during the march. There was little or no control by the Turkish officers, who usually rode at the head of the column. The only mitigating influence was that of the Turkish doctor who accompanied the march; his name—which was Ila—deserves to be recorded, for he was untrifling in his ministrations to the men; but he could, of course, do little among the thousands who needed him. One day—the fourth of the march—had abso-

lutely to be given over to rest; this was at Azizle, where some 350 sick, British and Indian, were left behind in a sort of cowshed, densely crowded and filthily verminous, to follow later by river. The rest struggled on, many of them now half naked, all so near the limit of exhaustion that there were daily deaths by the roadside. So, after nine days' march, the column arrived at Bagdad on May 15, and were marched for three or four hours through crowded streets before being taken to the place where they were to encamp.

At Bagdad most of the men remained three months, and through the unceasing efforts of the American Consul, Mr. Brissell, they at length obtained a sufficiency of food.

The main body of the prisoners was sent across the Syrian Desert from Bagdad to Asia Minor; it was this journey which proved so fatal. The report continues:

Officers who followed in their trace found parties of men lying exhausted under any shelter they could find, in all stages of dysentery and starvation; some dying, some dead; half clothed, without boots, having sold everything they could to buy a little milk. Only here and there had an attendant of some kind been left to look after them; generally there was no one but the Arab villagers, who mercilessly robbed them, or the under officer of the local police post, who stared indifferently, and protested that he had no authority to give help. The dead lay unburied, plundered, and stripped of their last clothing.

All across the desert, at one place after another, these sights were repeated: starving and dying men, in tens and twenties, lay in any scrap of shade or mud-hovel that might be allowed them, and waited their end. Some had to wait long. Many weeks later, at a desert village about three days' journey from Aleppo, there was found a group of six British soldiers and about a dozen Indians, who for three months had lain on the bare ground of a mud-walled inclosure, subsisting solely on a few scraps thrown to them by Arabs or passing caravans. The Englishmen had been fourteen; eight had died; and of the survivors only one was still able to crawl two or three hundred

yards to a place where there was water. It begins to be evident how it came about that of the men who surrendered at Kut more than 3,000, British and Indian, have never been heard of at all.

The last part of the march, over the mountain ranges of the Amanus, had been the worst of all, and here too the same terrible vestiges had been left in many places. In the future it will be possible to throw further light on the whole of

this crime of two years ago, even though much of it will remain beyond the reach of any investigation. For the present a brief and imperfect summary has to suffice. It is at least enough to insure that the march of the Kut prisoners will never be forgotten in this country. Their own silent and stoical endurance of the worst made a deep impression, we are told, on those who saw them emerge from this experience.

Constantinople Occupied

Landing of the British at Gallipoli and the Golden Horn

By H. COLLINSON OWEN

Lemnos, Nov. 10, 1918.

THE final act to one of the greatest dramas of the war was enacted yesterday (Nov. 9) when, in accordance with the terms of the armistice with Turkey, British troops landed unopposed to occupy the Gallipoli Peninsula.

We left Mudros in a destroyer at 4 in the morning to see the landing, and arrived off Cape Helles about 9. The first outward sign that we were in such historic waters was the sight of a mast sticking up off the rocky coast of Imbros. This marked the spot where the big monitor Raglan and the smaller one, M-28, went down when standing up hopelessly against the Goeben and the Breslau at the time of their ill-starred sortie last year.

Later in the day, up toward the Narrows, we saw the remains of submarine E-15, which ran ashore when trying to ascend the strait and was torpedoed from a launch by our own men under heavy fire, and a little further up the rusty bottom of the Turkish battleship Messudiyeh, looking like an immense turtle, marked one of our submarine successes. We passed over deep waters that concealed the remains of sunken British and French battleships, the Ocean, Irresistible, Majestic, Goliath, Triumph, and Bouvet. We anchored just off V beach, where the River Clyde was run ashore.

The Turkish troops occupying the peninsula had been removed some days before, and for the time being not a

single Turk was to be seen. V Beach along to Cape Helles and so to W Beach is as unlovely and barren a strip of coastline as can be imagined. Above us to our right were the remains of the old fort of Sedd el Bahr, which the fleet knocked to pieces in the first bombardment. We walked up steep ground, passed over old trenches, both our own and the enemy's, and saw new ones constructed in case of the further attack which for months past the Turks had been expecting. Everywhere, too, were elaborate telephone connections. Here, on the ground which we had won and given up again, the Turks were expecting to fight us once more. The two heavy guns which we captured and blew up were still lying there, not far from a modern heavy battery with deep ammunition dugouts cut in rocky soil and a plentiful supply of six-inch shells neatly arranged in galleries.

IN THE DARDANELLES

We embarked again near the River Clyde in a patrol launch, and proceeded up the strait. Intelligence officers on board, maps in hand, were marking down various points of information and verifying the positions of batteries. Altogether, on both sides of the strait, there are about fifty batteries containing guns ranging from 6-inch to 14-inch, a considerable portion of which are modern. We passed within five yards of an ugly Turkish mine floating on the surface. We went ashore at Chanak and

British fleet. But as we drew near to the quay one saw that the houses and windows were thronged with people. The crowd had an unusual tone of red about it, derived from all the crimson fezzes bobbing to and fro as their wearers strained for a glimpse. And a few waved handkerchiefs. A German officer stood on the quay close to where the destroyer gradually came alongside. He was more interested than any one, but affected indifference and yawned with care from time to time. A little group of German soldiers and sailors gradually formed behind him as if for mutual moral support. For years they had been the self-ordained military gods of this place, but now their altars are overthrown and they see Turkish naval officers of high rank hurrying past them to pay respects to the representative of a nation they once thought they could despise. We are, indeed, much surrounded by an unwelcome neighborhood of Germans. Germans look down on us from their office windows opposite the quay. Here in my bedroom at the Pera Palace Hotel there are Germans talking in the rooms on either side of me as I write. I gather from fragments overheard that they are packing up. One is pleased to think that their compatriots throughout Turkey are doing the same. As we drove up from the quay, too, there seemed a considerable number of Germans, and also Austrians, in the streets. The Austrians saluted the party of British officers. The Germans swaggered by with a stare, the noncommissioned officers and men smoking cigars, which give them to English eyes a peculiar appearance of pretentiousness.

ARRIVAL OF WARSHIPS

An Associated Press correspondent at Constantinople cabled on Nov. 13:

For the fourth time in a century British battleships have passed through the Dardanelles and arrived at Constantinople on a mission of war. It was at 1:30 o'clock this morning that the flagship *Superb* was sighted in the Sea of Marmora, steaming slowly toward the entrance of the Bosphorus. Behind her came the *Temeraire*, bearing General Sir Henry Wilson, who will command the

garrisons of allied troops in the forts of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. The Lord Nelson and the *Agamemnon* were next, and then followed, in the imposing procession of the line ahead, cruisers, destroyers, and other craft, making up the British squadron. Behind them came the French squadron in similar formation. Then followed Italian and Greek warships.

At the entrance of the Bosphorus the fleet was divided into two parts. The *Superb* and *Temeraire*, followed by two French battleships, came on. As the silent line of great gray ships anchored close to the European shore of the strait, within near view of the Sultan's palace and the Turkish Chamber of Deputies, the two French battleships dropped anchor astern of them, and then followed the battleships of Italy and Greece.

But the rest of the allied fleet is lying around the corner of the Bosphorus in the Sea of Marmora, and at noon today the whole fleet will weigh anchor again and go to its prepared base in the Gulf of Ismidt.

General Wilson has just landed on the quay. He was received by Djavad Pasha, Turkish Chief of Staff, and on the quay were drawn up as a guard of honor several hundred British and Indian prisoners of war in their light-colored clothes of blanket cloth. Massed everywhere as near as the Turkish police would let them come were dense crowds of Constantinople inhabitants. Most of these onlookers were Greeks who had been excited by the arrival of the Greek warships at the Turkish capital.

The Turks themselves watched the arrival of the allied ships with apparently complete indifference. Germans and Austrians who were abroad in Constantinople showed an inquisitiveness about this morning's events which one would have thought their own private feelings would have excluded. There were even Austrian soldiers down at the quay to photograph the ceremony.

Sultan Mohammed VI., in a statement issued Dec. 6, expressed great sorrow at the treatment of the Armenians by "certain political committees of Turkey," and added:

Such misdeeds and the mutual slaughter of sons of the same fatherland have broken my heart. I ordered an inquiry as soon as I came to the throne so that the fomenters might be severely punished, but various fac-

tors prevented my orders from being promptly carried out. The matter is now being thoroughly investigated. Justice will soon be done and we will never have a repetition of these ugly events.

The Dawn of a New Era

By FREDERIC HARRISON

[Published by Arrangement With The London Chronicle]

DO we realize the enormous changes in all forms of life which this Earth-War has brought about? Do we feel into what a new world we are entering—what a new epoch of civilization we have to make? As a very old man who has long been a student of history, whose business it once was to teach the principles that should govern the comity of nations, I see that these years of war, without example in range and in horror, have caused a new, let us trust a loftier, civilization to appear, in which militarism and national hostility may be transformed into an age of Industry and Peace.

Not that these four years of fighting alone have done this. The great evolution of enlarged Humanity has been moving on by stormy stages ever since the first Republic of France, and the successive waves mark the revolutionary growth in Europe. Onward it went, with the final overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy in 1830, England's Reform act and all that it caused in 1832, then the European revolutions of 1848-9, the establishment of the third and final republic in France by Gambetta in 1879, the British reforms in a long series during half a century—all these led up to the vast transformation that this colossal war has made manifest.

Take it in all its aspects and all its consequences, this New Era of which we see the dawn is greater and more blessed than the epoch when Europe began to settle after barbarism, more pure than the advent of the New Learning and the New Thought, more wise than the spasmodic revolutions in the times of Danton or Napoleon.

I look back with amazement on the progress of civilization even within my own lifetime. At my birth in 1831 slave-holding was legal within the dominions of the British Crown; in a Parliament of rotten boroughs Birmingham had no member, but Grampound had. Until 1834 there was no public grant for education, and then it was only £20,000. Exclusive State Churches dominated in Ireland, Scotland, and England. Food was cruelly taxed by tariff. Labor was oppressed, for no factories acts existed. The savage laws of felony and death had only just been partly redressed. Transportation of convicts to the colonies was in full course. Down to my time, about fifty to sixty criminals were hanged each year.

What a march of popular progress I have lived to witness: Reform in Parliament, in education, in free trade, in law, in Church. In these eighty-seven years the change has been as great as in 700 years since Magna Charta.

When I was a schoolboy the only republic was in America. Russia, it was thought, might overwhelm Europe. China and Japan were closed to Europeans. India was ruled by a trading company, and was constantly invaded by the northern races. The United States had a total population of little more than 12,000,000, one-tenth of whom were slaves. England's colonies were small primitive settlements, having constant difficulties with the colored aborigines.

Italy was parceled out among retrograde sovereigns, of whom the most arbitrary was the Vatican heir of St. Peter. Austria was a vast military empire holding the finest parts of Italy, and imposing its will and its practices upon a

network of German dukeries. There were no railroads, no ocean steamships, no telegraph, no cheap post, no free press, no public education, no pure water, no main drainage, no free commerce. Trade unions were criminal societies. Dissenters were possible rebels.

And now this Armageddon has opened an era in which the old order seems dissolved as in a cataclysm. Empires in China, in Russia, in Austria, in Germany are dissolving like storm clouds. Nearly half the human race have passed from despotism to republics. The terrific machinery of war that for two generations had been organized at Berlin has been pulverized, never to darken this earth again.

New republics have emerged out of the wreckage. Asia has been freed from the cruel desolation where the Turk had planted his foot. Africa has been freed from the murderous greed of the Hun. Japan is entering and in due time China will enter into the civilized community of nations. Some twenty different peoples have joined in arms to resist the menace of domination by one. The common cause of civilization in peril has roused free men from Newfoundland and the Mississippi to the Ganges, from the Cape of Good Hope to Australia, New Zealand, and Japan.

Miracle, above all, after nearly a century and a half, Britons and American citizens of various races have fought side by side, as brothers in arms, and almost again as one people with a common fatherland. Nothing so deep-seated as this, so potent in possible enlargement as this, has ever happened in the civilized world since the Catholic and feudal settlement in the age of the Crusades, when Europe had at least the bond of a common faith, and of a common spirit of chivalry, loyalty, and honor.

With all its vices and its limitations, mediaeval Europe had some common ideal, even if it misused and abused it. Our common ideal, we trust, is far grander and wider, more wise and more humane. 'Tis a weighty task that lies

on us; to keep to it steadfastly, to make it live and grow to Peace among Men.

This awful time of bloodshed, ranging from the Arctic Circle to the furthest Pacific, has given new meaning to all the forces that have been gathering up for a century, and it has discovered many new forces and brought together former enemies. Only twenty years ago Britain and America, Britain and France, were at arm's length. Can Britain, France, the United States, Italy, ever be parted again? Will not the races of Russia, Turkey, of the Central Empires, owe their free life to us—now together the vanguard of civilization?

Four years of superhuman strain have transformed the face of the world. East and west, north and south, have come together as brothers, in ways that they never knew. Humanity has come into its own in Peace and Union! Inventions to use and control the material earth, which were dreamed of for generations, have suddenly become mighty realities.

The Roman poet said: "Wings were not given to man." Man has developed wings! There is no limit now to what air transit may do for human intercourse. Express service, postal service, will soon be by air, even if we do not scrap our railroads altogether. Submarine navigation has recast the whole condition of naval construction, even if we do not scrap our dreadnoughts altogether. At any rate, there never again shall be the old race of armaments, no huge standing armies, no dominion of the seas so as to menace the rest of the world.

The barbarous blood tax must cease. Nevermore shall the nations have to offer up their sons to Moloch. The hideous waste of labor in engines of destruction—more than half the entire cost of government—must cease. And with the waste of labor for destruction there must be ended also the waste of labor in debasing luxuries and wanton extravagance.

It will be a new world in this twentieth century. Shall we be new men, new women, worthy to use it rightly?

Women in War Industries

By EMILY NEWELL BLAIR

[NOVEMBER, 1918]

THE close of the war finds women employed in practically every industry. In agriculture they do everything, from raising bees to testing milk, not omitting the harvesting of crops. In construction and building trades they are employed in shipyards and airplane factories, and are qualified as skilled riveters, calkers, chippers, reamers and carpenters, electricians, painters, pipe fitters, plumbers, roofers, sheet metal and brickyard workers. There are woodswomen as well. There are women log inspectors and women miners. In munition and other industries incident to the war they follow such tasks as burring, tracing, chopping, assembling meters and coils, drafting, molding, cylindrical grinding, copper tipping, power dispatching, repairing and testing valves, straightening razor parts, diamond die drilling, machine burnishing, and wire bending. In the work of transportation they are taking their places as ticket agents at railroad stations and acting as street-car conductors and motormen, teamsters, chauffeurs, auto truck, taxi and ambulance drivers.

In view of this influx of women into branches of industry hitherto closed to them, a general and desirable curiosity is manifested as to the actual degree to which women have replaced men, how they are trained to fill these positions, the effect on industrial production, and the means taken to protect the health of women and standards of industry.

Although figures on the employment of American women since the beginning of the world war and since our entry into the war must necessarily be suggestive rather than authoritative, several surveys, taken under conditions making for accuracy, indicate the trend of the women-in-industry movement. In 1910 the number of women engaged in gainful occupations, according to the United States census, was 8,750,772. Today, according to the estimates compiled

by the American Association for Labor Legislation, approximately 11,000,000 women are so engaged. These figures include clerks, stenographers, and professional women, as well as the skilled and unskilled workers. A survey made in 1914 authorized by the National Industrial Conference Board gives 1,649,687 women workers engaged in manufacturing industries alone. An investigation conducted by Marie Obernauer, now Chief of Examiners for the War Labor Board, and published by the Committee on Public Information in April, 1918, gives the size of the "Woman's Industrial Army of Defense," as she calls it, as 1,500,000. More recent figures, compiled from other sources, place the number of women employed in essential industries as 2,000,000.

Except in such cases as those in which industries have supplied the needs of soldiers instead of civilians, the Government instead of individuals, these workers must either have been transferred from the nonessential industries to the essential or recruited from the untrained women of the hitherto unproductive class.

SUPPLYING GOVERNMENT NEEDS

As the demand in the early days of the war was for trained women, naturally the larger number of women were found in those industries which had already employed them. According to Miss Obernauer's report, 900,000 women were engaged in five industries supplying the Government. Of this number, 80,000 were in canneries; 125,000 in the food, spice, condiment, drug and tobacco factories; 275,000 in textile occupations, 212,000 running machines in clothing factories, 130,000 in knitting and hosiery mills; 95,000 were shoe workers. In many cases these factories had merely changed their markets. Neither their output nor their number of employes had increased. But the report further calls at-

tention to the fact that it takes 300,000,-000 yards of cloth to clothe, bed, and shelter an army of a million and a half in the field, that a million and a half men at the front require 15,000,000 knit undershirts, nearly 20,000,000 pairs of underdrawers, and 27,000,000 pairs of socks during the year; that the War Department had placed orders for 21,000,-000 pairs of shoes to be delivered by June 1, 1918. It is fairly evident that to meet these demands there had to be an increased output and calls for more workers. This conclusion is further supported by Miss Obernauer's statement:

Within a few months after Congress declared the existence of a state of war, calls for nearly 10,000 factory and mill trained women were made. The most insistent calls, and those hardest to fill, were not for women to make bandages and bullets, but to do woman's world-old job, to spin, to weave, to knit, to sew, and to conserve food—not in the old-time kitchen fashion, which produces in dozens, but in the new factory and mill way, under which the productive power of women labor is raised a hundred and a thousand fold.

In some cases it was necessary to bring the utterly unskilled into these trades. For instance, in the little town of Manchester, N. H., where war orders for shoes and leggings placed a problem before the McElwain Shoe Company, which would have created a serious housing problem if workers had been brought in large numbers from other communities, a special publicity campaign was organized by the United States Employment Office, urging women of the community to enter the factory as a patriotic duty. Many college women and others who had not previously been employed were induced to take up this work. So far as reports have been received, they have proved satisfactory.

IN MUNITION FACTORIES

Miss Obernauer's report, while emphasizing the importance of woman's world-old work, notes the readiness with which women went into munition factories. She lists 600,000 women as furnishing the scores of things that come under the category of equipment; 100,000 in establishments not recognized as munition plants, yet doing work essential to the

waging of the war, such as the making of bolts and screws to be used on ships, wireless and other electrical appliances, spark plugs and parts of airplanes, submarines and army trucks; and 100,000 in private munition plants and Government-owned arsenals.

This readiness, she thinks, was not only the result of the higher wages paid in these new establishments, but was part of the war psychology of the women public, which fails to appreciate its own singular importance and consequent responsibility in the winning of the war by work on essential industries other than munition making. It may be, however, that this attitude is due partly to the fact that, except in cases of munition workers, there has been no credit, no glory, not even relief from monotony in the work of these war industries. The report says:

To the work of other women the war has at least lent the attraction of newness and variety. For the factory and mill trained women in the older industries the war has only intensified the monotony of repetition work. It has meant less cloth of variegated colors and textures for a heterogeneous civilian market and enormously more of uniform color and texture for the army and navy. It has meant fewer metal novelties and more standardized parts for the instruments of war. But the drill in monotony which has been the portion of these women in peace time has seasoned them for the more intensified monotony of war-time work.

The desirability of transferring women from nonessential to essential industries was at first strongly urged. Just one instance will suffice to note the nature of those transfers, which reports to the United States Employment Service indicate have been very large, particularly since the War Industries Board and the War Trade Board have been actively controlling the supply of raw materials, domestic and imported, of all manufacturers. The Government's gas-mask factory in Long Island City secured through the United States Employment Service of New York a corps of 1,000 skilled power-machine operators who had formerly been employed in the manufacture of collars and corsets to stitch their gas masks.

GOVERNMENT FIGURES

To the end, presumably, that information as to the need for such transfer, also for substitution, might be available, in January of 1918 the United States Employment Service published a report of a survey of industries engaged in war work, made to ascertain facts about the labor supply. The survey was made of war industries in forty-four cities in New York State and formed a basis of judging labor conditions in the manufacturing centres.

The 500 factories which were visited in the course of the survey employed 216,117 persons. About 176 of these factories called for additional labor before June, 1918. Woman labor was requested in only a little more than one-tenth of the total number. The women workers required were only 300. They were confined practically to the industries engaged in the manufacture of instruments and tools, and in many cases the manufacturers asked for "either men or women." It is notable in this connection that one firm which was investigated, although on its schedule it made no request for women to take the place of men, had already substituted 400 women and acknowledged its intention of substituting many more. Its action called forth vigorous protests from organized labor because it was said that lower wages were being paid to women in this plant than to men. The report continues: "It should be pointed out here that until steps have been taken to use 'all available skilled male labor in war industries there can be no intelligent 'control of women in industry.'"

Other reports, issued by the Merchants Association of New York in November, 1917, and by the National Association of Corporation Schools, Bulletin of October, 1917, and a compilation made by the New York State Industrial Commission on the basis of answers to a questionnaire sent in August, 1917, to 1,600 employers of labor in the State, show a relatively small number of women substituted for men. At the same time, the proportionate increase in employment of women appears to have been particularly marked in the war indus-

tries, especially in the metal and machine trades.

During April and May, 1918, an investigation of 600 selected establishments where it seemed probable that women might be employed on metal manufacturing processes was made by the National Industrial Conference Board, representing seventeen large manufacturing associations in the United States. The results of this inquiry were published in July, 1918, in a report entitled "War Time Employment of Women in the Metal Trades." This is apparently the latest report on women in industry to be made on anything like a large scale from direct investigation. A compilation made by this board from the abstract of the census of manufacturers of 1914 shows that women comprise only 4.6 per cent. of the total labor force in those metal trades in which they were employed, or 98,112 from a total of 2,140,789 employes. For ninety-six establishments which furnished the board definite figures on the substituting of women employes since August, 1914, the women substituted were 10,801 out of a total of 34,667 female employes, or 31.2 per cent.; 5,107, or nearly 50 per cent., have been added or substituted in ten munition establishments. Of the 330 manufacturers replying to the questionnaire, only 131 employed female labor in manufacturing processes. Out of a total labor force of 384,709, in these 131 establishments, 49,831 were women, making the proportion of women 12.9 per cent.

SPECIAL TRAINING FOR WOMEN

As the Government continued to induct men into military service, the demand for women workers necessarily increased. With this increased demand came increased interest in the problem of giving training to those women who were unskilled. The position of the Section on Industrial Training for War Emergency was that women should not do heavy manual labor or enter men's trades, except as necessary for the prosecution of the war; but when women had to do so in order to make up our industrial quota they must receive training. This section of the Committee on Labor, Council of

National Defense, was ultimately merged in the Training and Dilution Service of the Department of Labor.

The Federal Board for Vocational Education was also concerned with promoting industrial training, and disbursed a considerable sum upon a half-and-half plan for salaries of vocational instructors employed by the States. This board in August, 1918, emphasized the need of training for the following classes of women:

Those who have not hitherto been employed and have entered industry because of economic pressure or a desire for patriotic service; those who have been partially or casually employed and desire permanent employment; those who seek in the diverse opportunities at present offered a change from congenial employment to desirable work.

The board described the training that had been instituted to meet the needs of these classes of workers to meet the war emergency. Experiments were made in industrial plants in connection with their employment departments. Private schools and other institutions were stimulated to inaugurate new classes. Public schools in many cases adopted day, part-time, and evening classes to meet these new needs.

VESTIBULE SCHOOLS

But in most cases this problem of training women for industrial service has been handled by individual employers. At the present time the consensus of opinion among them seems to favor the "Vestibule Schools" as the method giving the quickest result in training unskilled workers. The vestibule school is so named because it is actually the entrance to the factory. Many plants are willing to employ unskilled women to operate machines under instructional supervision. These machines are duplicates of those used in the main factory, and the finished product of the vestibule school goes, after inspection, into the same channels as the factory product. As soon as the worker has shown ability to work without instruction, she is given regular employment. In some cases production from the vestibule schools equals the records set by the regular workers.

The apprentice workers are paid a stipulated rate while learning, and when promoted to regular work they are advanced to pay by the hour or piece according to custom of that particular factory. In the Curtiss airplane plant at Buffalo, F. L. Glynn, who was formerly State Director of Vocational Education in Wisconsin, is, with assistants, in charge of a vestibule school occupying a balcony 50 by 600 feet, running down the centre of a great shop.

Ninety-seven industrial plants engaged in war orders introduced the vestibule school and were listed by the Training and Dilution Service. The form of training even under this system varies. The Bethlehem Steel Company has two different types of schools for women workers in operation. School No. 1 is in a separate building equipped with the necessary machines and tools. The new workers are here assigned to skilled mechanics as instructors, who teach the proper method of doing bench work and of operating any of the following types of machines: Drill presses, gun boring lathes, turret lathes, shapers, milling machines. As soon as they develop a certain degree of skill in the training school they are placed in the production shops. All these women learners have been paid at the rate of 25 cents an hour while in training. This was increased to 29 cents as soon as they could handle production work. The nature of the work in these shops made it necessary for workers to become all-around operators or bench hands—that is, they had to be given a broad training, including blueprint reading and the use of precision-measuring instruments.

Still another type of school is maintained by the Packard Company, which employs 1,000 women in its plant in operations requiring varying degrees of intelligence and skill, the lowest wage being 35 cents an hour for greasers and packers. A miniature factory, in which the learners are segregated from the experienced workers, is equipped for a school. The teachers are chosen from the regular workers, and instruct about 200 women at a time. The newcomer is set to work upon series of exercises

which are based upon the requirements of production work. With the help of eight blueprints and the materials which accompany them, the learners become sufficiently familiar with the terms and tools and simple processes to understand the language of the instructor when he teaches the machine. When she passes on to the machine she may choose the special kind on which she prefers training—the lathe, the turret lathe, milling machine, planer, shaper, or the drill. She may become more or less familiar with several. She must also become experienced in inspecting and assembling parts, and altogether spends three weeks before being sent into the plant.

EFFICIENCY OF WOMEN

As to efficiency maintained by women workers, the report of the National Industrial Conference Board referred to before includes a comparison of output which indicates that the output of women compares favorably with that of men.

It appears that in 30 establishments out of 99 the output of women is greater than that of men in all operations in which both were engaged; in 6 it was greater in some, equal in others; in 30 it was equal to that of men. In other words, in 66 establishments, or two-thirds of those furnishing definite information as to output, women's production was equal to or greater than that of men in the operations where both were employed. In only 15 establishments was it found that women produced less than men in all operations in which they were engaged. In the remaining 18 establishments, although less on some operations, their production was equal or greater on others. Further investigation discloses the fact that among those operations in which some employers reported women to be less efficient than men, there were very few which were not being carried on with much success by women in other establishments. For instance, in one automobile factory women were found inferior to men in light bench and machine work, yet in other factories doing similar work their output on the same processes was equal to or greater than that of the men.

As to the attitude of women, of 111 manufacturing establishments reporting on this subject 103 stated that the attitude of women toward their work was as good or better than that of men; 8 that it was worse. It should be taken into consideration that most of the factory

work which women perform requires little initiative or self-reliance.

Comparisons of the wage rate of women with those of men is complicated by the fact that operations done by women have been modified, sometimes so that the work done is not identical with that done before by men, and that one class of workers might be paid by piece rate, others on time work. Excluding the 21 establishments for which there was no basis for comparison, in the 53 of the remaining 106 women received the same rates of pay as men, whether on time or on piece work; in 29, women's piece work was the same as men's, but their time rates were lower. In 24 both piece and time rates were lower.

The principle of equal wages for equal work found specially marked recognition among employers in those industries where the employment is a comparatively new feature. For example, eighteen establishments manufacturing foundry and machine shop products pay women equal rates where they do the same work as men, while eight pay them equal piece rates. In the munition industry five establishments pay equal rates, six pay equal piece rates but lower time rates. The relatively large number of cases where women receive lower rates in electrical manufacturing is due to the fact that women have been employed in this industry for a much longer period, and that certain occupations came to be regarded as women's work at a time when the principle of equal wages was seldom accepted.

A considerable number of employers * * * indicated no changes in equipment following the introduction of women workers, or changes only in the direction of increasing the safety provisions. * * * In several cases where increased war demands led to the employment of women on a considerable scale that additional equipment was chosen with the idea of its adaptability to female workers. * * * That is, making the machinery easier to operate, arranging for delivering materials, furnishing specially designed tools, providing well-lighted workrooms, and proper seating arrangement, which applies to the men as well as the women, these tend to reduce fatigue and increase efficiency.

ACCIDENTS TO WOMEN

It was reported that in a majority of cases the accident rate was lower for women than for men, but no accurate figures or even estimates were given. Many manufacturers attributed this to the fact that women were engaged in work of a less hazardous character than were the men. A Government report, based on an

investigation in 1908, showed the number of accidents to women at that time about one-third greater than to men. A significant feature of this tabulation was "that, of the accidents to women, practically 60 per cent. occurred during the "first week of employment and over 30 "per cent. on the first day of employment, as compared with approximately "35 per cent. and 19 per cent. respectively "in the case of men. The latter figures "indicate clearly that the learning period "is peculiarly dangerous for women "workers and emphasizes the desirability "of a thorough training, which appears "to be more necessary for women than "for men, as many women have little or "no previous mechanical experience."

In order that the health of women should be conserved and the proper protection thrown around them, early in the war the Ordnance Department established in its Industrial Service Section a woman's division, which has a supervisor in each ordnance district. It is her duty to co-operate with other officials of the Ordnance Department in keeping production at the top notch of efficiency by the upkeep of proper working standards among women employes and at the same time to see that the women are properly safeguarded. As an additional protection to the health of the workers special attention has been given to the training and recruiting of women health supervisors to be situated in Government-owned plants.

Since then the Department of Labor has created a Women in Industry Service to exercise the same function with regard to all women in industries controlled directly or having contracts with the Federal Government. These standards are set forth briefly in a resolution that recommends the standards as to hours, night work, wages, and conditions of labor, previously set forth by the Government in such orders as No. 13, issued by General Crozier. Order No. 13, addressed to arsenal commanders and manufacturers, suggests that efforts be made to restrict the work of women to eight hours even where the law permits

a nine or ten hour day, asks that the employment of women on night shifts should be avoided, that rest periods every four and a half hours be arranged, that at least thirty minutes for meals, which are not to be eaten in workrooms, be allowed; that a Saturday half holiday be given, and that no woman be required to lift repeatedly more than 25 pounds in any single load. While it states that care should be taken to make sure that, when it becomes necessary to employ women on work hitherto done by men, the task be adapted to the strength of women, it strongly advocates equal wages for equal service.

OCCUPATIONS DIFFERENTIATED

This resolution of the War Labor Policies Board further sets forth its opinion that the shortage in labor should be met in part by introducing women into those occupations easily filled by them, and that they should not be employed in places or occupations clearly unfit for them, either because of physical or moral conditions or youth. The placing of women in hazardous employments and new occupations is to be regulated by standards especially applicable to these occupations, as set forth, from time to time, either by the Federal Government or by the State Labor Departments. The recruiting of mothers of young children for war industries is to be discouraged.

While the movement of women into industry must naturally create special problems, these same problems are themselves factors in the problems created by the conditions and necessities of industry itself. The introduction to the first orders issued officially as standards of industry may be quoted as indicating the Government's point of view: "In view of "the urgent necessity for a prompt increase in the volume of production of "practically every article required for "the conduct of the war, vigilance is demanded of all those in any way associated with industry, lest the safeguards "with which people of this country have "sought to protect labor should be unwisely and unnecessarily broken down."

Women's War Work in Three Nations

By CAROLINE RUNTZ REES

THE first intimation that the British authorities set a practical value upon the services of women came in March, 1915, when the Board of Trade issued an appeal to them to volunteer for war service, opened a register for them, and frankly stated that women's work was needed. Women showed their readiness; in the course of the first week 20,000 registered, but employers were not yet ready to call upon them, and the registration was followed by disappointment.

The war register was very slowly drawn upon, but meanwhile women were being drafted into service by less official channels. They began acting as commissionaires, messenger boys, lift women, as doers, in fact, of all the miscellaneous work that meets the public eye. They pushed milk carts and cleaned ships in the docks; they took the places everywhere of men in domestic service; they replaced them in secondary boys' schools and in the banks; but even such occupations, easily attracting casual attention, were not really indicative of any vital change in the national life. Yet eighteen months later the War Office, officially compiling a book on "Woman's War Work" to show what categories of men might be released for military service by the substitution of women, listed under the head of "Munition Work Successfully Undertaken by Women" 20 trades, 205 processes, some of these with 18 subdivisions. Under "Manufactured Articles or Parts" 300 articles were named, with such broad headings as "Scientific Instruments." For the more exact work named in this publication women were trained in more than 60 technical schools and colleges; had, in fact, already in 1917 been so trained to the number of 32,000.

BRITISH MUNITION WORKERS

Whether scientifically or empirically trained, all Englishwomen could ultimately find some kind of war work to do. And their country looked to them not for

efficiency merely, but for heroism. Danger was ever present in the munition factories, no less because of the nature of the material used than because the factory was one of the first objectives of the air raiders. A vivid account of the behavior of the girl operators in a factory at Woolwich Arsenal is given by one of the "principal overlookers" in a book called "Munition Lassies." The night shift was gathered for dinner in the canteen when the lights switched out suddenly; yet, the first confusion over, no one attempted to move. The workers rested quietly and 2,000 of them sang through the long night, while others, wearied out, fell calmly asleep through the cannonading, "which could be heard all around us and in the midst of us." After such a night the overlooker found "all operations in hand." One girl spoke the mind of the factory: "We must work our very hardest to make an end of those Zepps."

The conditions of the work in munition factories were unusually good. Wages were high and, from the first, the Government followed the principle of equal pay for equal work, at least so far as piecework was concerned. Good housing, good canteens, good superintendence were provided; the crowded tenements and poor food supplies of the early days of the war were things of the past. Special tribunals dealt with wages, and justice was in the main the result of their findings. Government or private employer also provided welfare workers, whose activities undoubtedly added to the comfort and well-being of the workers, even though regarded in some quarters—the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations, for example—as "open to very serious objections." So established, so important, was the Englishwoman's share in her country's effort to supply the field forces with ammunition.

Hardly less vital to the success of the Allies' arms was woman's part in the

production of food. It was largely in her hands; indeed, the increase in the number of women in agriculture between 1911 and July, 1916, was estimated by the Board of Trade at 66,000, and under the "List of Occupations in Which Women Are Successfully Employed in Agriculture" the War Office brochure counted, apart from miscellaneous work, thirty-seven "particulars of occupation." These women were so successful that it could be officially stated that, before America came into the war, England, alone of the Allies, had in the course of it materially increased her food supply.

The War Office compilation already referred to gives a list of sixty-six other trades in which women are "maintaining the industries and export trade of the United Kingdom," and this list is followed by seventy-two photographs of women at work, twenty-two of them starred as illustrating "heavy physical work," such as is performed by coal workers, shipyard workers, stokers, &c. These photographs portray employments so various as grooming horses, harrowing, making airplanes and motor cycles, setting type, electric spot welding, baking, handling and hanging leather. Skill and strength are obviously there, without detriment to feminine seductiveness, if one may judge by the two Pierrots in white caps, blouses, and leggings, barrowing in a flour mill, or the stoker in trousers and close cap, her shovel, full of coal, swinging to the furnace mouth, a towel over her shoulders and its end between her teeth. Dedicated as it is to a purely practical purpose, the War Office publication is yet, in the introductory note offered by the Adjutant General, a tribute to the "effective contribution of women to the empire in its hour of need."

SERVICES OF FRENCHWOMEN

Frenchwomen not only, like Englishwomen, showed readiness and ability to serve, but these from the first easily found the right paths to service. Mrs. Atherton quotes a moving tale of farmers' wives and daughters who did not allow the break of a single day to interrupt the procession of great trucks of produce from the outlying gardens and

orchards to the markets of Paris, and this was but an earnest of the help Frenchwomen were to render in agriculture—*instant, steady, and ennobled by the tonic incentive of its imperative necessity to their country.* In work on the land they apparently outstripped their English sisters.

In munition work they almost equaled them. In the early Summer of 1915 there were some 14,000 Frenchwomen engaged in Government munition factories, for the most part in subsidiary processes. Private factories occupied some 30,000. In 1916 Government and Government-controlled factories gave work to no less than 109,000, and in the same period the processes on which women were working doubled in number. In other trades also, not immediately connected with national defense, there was, according to the Government reports, a similar striking increase. For example, in chemical industries the number of processes undertaken by women rose in ten months from six to twenty-two; in food production, from eleven to twenty; in metal work, from thirteen to seventy-eight; in textiles, from thirteen to thirty.

When the war had been going on for two years the Government opened the way for Frenchwomen to serve the army in an official capacity. In May, 1916, the Under Secretary of State for the Commissariat Department, recommending their extensive employment in the military sphere, took pains to brush aside objections to the employment of women even in the most confidential capacities. "It is perfectly possible," he writes, "to find women of irreproachable morality quite as trustworthy as any military secretary." In July, 1916, the Secretary for War indorsed and emphasized his colleague's recommendation, ordering that no soldier should be used for what women could do in any part of the army except in the active ranks; finally, at the year's end, the War Ministry, formulating rules for women in military camps, depots, and services, listed their occupations from that of chief employes of bureaus to that of cooks and washerwomen.

The conditions of service were good;

women's wages, maximum and minimum, were settled by the commandant of the district and yearly revised, and 10 per cent. was allowed for overtime by day, 40 per cent. by night. The question of paying women frankly for their work, without condescension or discrimination, needed consideration in France as elsewhere. The Under Secretary of State for Munitions, anticipating the fears of those who simply think that, with equal pay, the wages of women are too strangely out of the ordinary, the fear, moreover, that the manufacturer's dread of high wages might check output, decided, (Feb. 28, 1916,) that, in estimating women's wages, the expense of the modifications necessitated by their employment must be taken into account, as also the actual quality and quantity of their work. "If this is not enough," he was quaintly ready with the suggestion that soldiers' family allowances should be lessened for workers, so as to reduce the amount in those feminine pockets, yet—aye, there's the rub—not sufficiently to "remove the incentive to new and increasing effort." Equal pay for equal work became, however, the general rule for the Government employment.

As to the success of Frenchwomen at their new undertakings, official opinion is convinced. According to one report the women in factories have shown a "satisfactory aptitude, at times even remarkable and superior to that of men." In sawmills, except for the heaviest work, employers assure the Government that women are as good as men, and from Dijon comes the striking testimony that employers do not think as well of the Greeks, Moroccans, Kabyles, and Chinese in the workshops as of women. In whatever form they receive the acknowledgment of their usefulness, Frenchwomen may justly feel that their work has in truth attained "that status which it needs and deserves," which it was the specified object of a Government committee to procure for it.

AMERICAN WOMAN'S STATUS

In spite of much talk, the same could not, at the end of the war, be said of the status of our own countrywomen. Of unpaid women workers the Red Cross, the

Food Administration, the Liberty Loan Committee utilized a veritable army, yet a large margin would still have remained unco-ordinated had not a Government committee, the Council of National Defense, attempted to give official status, at least to the volunteer efforts of women, by the formation of its Woman's Committee. Definitely formed for war purposes, the creation of this body was prompted, according to the Secretary of War, "by an appreciation of the very "valuable service that the women of the "country can and are anxious to render "in the national defense and the desire to "establish some common medium through "which the council might be brought "into closest touch with them and into "the fullest utilization of their services." It was, however, to be purely advisory, and, although a notable record of work stands to its account, it so remained to the end.

The committee's country-wide organization, carried down to village and city wards, has nevertheless proved a telling contribution to national efficiency. The organized women of every town and village, eager helpers in the Liberty Loan, War Savings, Food Conservation, Red Cross, and lesser "campaigns," have also, at a request from Washington, carried out much other work, from forming branches of the Traveler's Aid Society or recruiting nurses and stenographers, to urging the passage of desirable bills through Congress, or investigating the observance of enacted laws.

VOLUNTARY REGISTRATION

The Woman's Committee, moreover, inaugurated in October, 1917, a national voluntary registration of women. In some instances, notably Illinois, it had a triumphant success; in others the results were less encouraging. The usefulness of the task lay chiefly in uncovering a great source of volunteer work. In the City of New Haven, for example, the committee was able, in the course of seventeen weeks, to supply to various patriotic and municipal associations 4,746 hours of volunteer service. On the other hand, the registration also revealed a certain reserve of paid labor. In the same city, where out of 18,000

registrations the 2,000 for paid labor brought about the engagement of only seventy-nine operatives, the educative effect of the registration was later felt by the manufacturers when they recruited among their own townswomen in order to avoid importation from without.

Even at the close of the war, however, when women were flowing into factories in response to the demands of an ever-increasing volume of work, they seemed to be taking the places of men in comparatively small measure. In the opinion of one woman director of the United States Employment Service, women were not, even then, really needed to take up men's work in factories; and this view is supported—or was six months earlier—by so competent an authority as Pauline Goldmark. One munition factory in Connecticut in 1918 increased for a time by 50 per cent. its weekly hire of women; women, however, supplementing, not supplanting, men. In a town where the Federal Employment Service had announced that three or four hundred jobs were waiting for women to fill them, another factory had, at the beginning of 1918, over fifteen hundred women employed, where in 1914 they had less than nine hundred. In another, on the other hand, war orders actually diminished the number of women and augmented the number of men needed for the increasingly heavy war work.

TAKING OVER MEN'S WORK

Although the increase of women operatives in a given factory seems, as a rule, not to have indicated that they took the place of men, there were signs of coming change in this regard. F. E. Weakly, for instance, writing in *System*, gave an interesting account of a factory engaged, the reader may gather, in munitions work, which was frankly planning to give men's places to women. On the entrance of the United States into the war the employer at once associated with him in employment work two women who, judging every task by the reach and body position required, the weight to be lifted and the fatigue involved, discovered several kinds of work new to women that could be done by

them. The opening of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps enticing away from this factory "promising young executives hand-picked to take over departments in years to come," women were put in training to take even their alluring posts. Other manufacturing companies testified to the same effect, one even reporting ten university graduates in charge of the bonus and costs department.

So far as undertaken, the experiment of substituting women for men appears to have met with success. Various employers testify that women learn quickly, are more attentive to their work than men, do it accurately, and keep at it steadily. Excelling the men in perseverance, they are neater and prompter and observe factory regulations better; but, on the other hand, their record of absence is 20 per cent. greater. One firm even maintains that "after a short intensive instruction" women can accomplish tasks previously only given to apprentices of two or three years' standing. One otherwise enthusiastic employer was compelled, indeed, to admit that few women can appreciate the difference between a sharp and dull cutting tool or have any conception of the importance of dimensions or any judgment as to mechanical strength or requirements. But the latter shortcoming is really a blessing in disguise, for "they will not use that judgment which is frequently so disastrous on the part of men employees," nor "do things" with machinery on their own initiative in the masculine manner. The chorus of praise seems to be almost unanimous, pointed, in one instance, by the statement of an employer that, through the efforts of women, his output of rifles rose from 300 to 5,000 a day. As an antidote, the sex may digest the testimony of a factory manager who, admitting the "greater efficiency" of women, feels it more than offset by the difficulty of managing them.

Praise is, moreover, generally tempered with surprise. A manufacturer of small tools was astonished to find that women, whom he employed in an emergency, turned out more work and better work than men. His astonish-

ment is typical and sheds an instructive light upon the common estimate of women's intelligence and persistence.

The railroads still lead in the employment of women instead of men. In all forms of unskilled labor they are here liberally employed, and they have proved equally or even more successful in untrained work. Railroadng is even beginning to offer women something in the nature of a career. One woman, an employe of the Western Union, has risen to be Tri-City Passenger Agent of the Burlington Railway in Iowa; another, a

teacher and university graduate, holds a responsible position in the offices of the General Superintendent of Motor Power, and there are other such examples here and there.

To meet women on equal wage terms is much to ask of men even yet, even of American men. But until that simple solution of the problem is arrived at, as it has been in England, we must not expect our women to equal European women in effective contribution to the country's resources, whether in war or in peace industries.

Examples of Women's War Work

Women composed nearly 70 per cent. of the workers who shocked grain in the harvest fields around Fargo, N. D., in the Autumn of 1918. This war service was brought about through the local office of the United States Employment Service, Department of Labor.

Owing to the scarcity of agricultural labor in the community, the various farm-labor reserves, enlisted in Fargo by the Employment Service, were called out to shock large quantities of grain. Two thousand volunteers were employed throughout the season. At the close of the harvest the Fargo employment office, the Fargo Commercial Club, and the Fargo Rotary Club arranged a parade to commemorate the success of the season's work. Business was suspended in Fargo on the day that the procession, composed of the various groups that had performed faithful service in the harvest fields, marched through the streets. A tally by the Marshals of the parade revealed the fact that almost 70 per cent. of the emergency farm workers were women. The "shock troops," men and women, were dressed in their ordinary working clothes.

An experimental Woman's Agricultural Camp was established in the Summer of 1917 at Bedford, N. Y. This group of women, mostly inexperienced but all of sound health, of years varying from 16 to 45 and drawn from numerous professions—the colleges, trades, (mostly sewing,) and the teaching profession contributing the largest number—were

convinced that owners of existing farms should be helped before new land was put under cultivation. They therefore established themselves in a central camp and, going by automobile to the farms which needed them, worked there in squads of six or eight, proving their own argument that all kinds of agricultural work could be done by women. From the farmer's point of view and that of the worker's health there is ample testimony that the experiment was a success. The camp was not, however, self-sustaining, although the wage which was considered normal in peace time was asked for the women's work.

According to information received from the Department of Labor, practically all the work incident to the issue of \$6,000,000,000 worth of bonds for the Fourth Liberty Loan, with the exception of the two press divisions, was the work of women. James L. Wilmeth, Director of the United States Bureau of Printing and Engraving, reported that all the counting and examining of the bonds and much assistance in printing requiring accuracy and skill devolved upon the 2,000 women employes.

The large scope of women's war work in England is illustrated by an achievement "somewhere on the northeast coast," where a tract of waste land that lay below high-water level was rapidly converted into a shipyard of eight berths, largely by feminine labor. The work began in March, 1918, and the first ship was launched in November.

The President's Address to Congress

Delivered December 2, 1918

President Wilson delivered verbally his annual message to Congress on Dec. 2, 1918, in which he announced his intention of going abroad to attend the Peace Conference at Paris. The portions of the address relating to the war are here reproduced:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

THE year that has elapsed since I last stood before you to fulfill my constitutional duty to give to the Congress from time to time information on the state of the Union has been so crowded with great events, great processes, and great results that I cannot hope to give you an adequate picture of its transactions or of the far-reaching changes which have been wrought in the life of our nation and of the world. You have yourselves witnessed these things, as I have. It is too soon to assess them; and we who stand in the midst of them and are part of them are less qualified than men of another generation will be to say what they mean, or even what they have been. But some great outstanding facts are unmistakable and constitute, in a sense, part of the public business with which it is our duty to deal. To state them is to set the stage for the legislative and executive action which must grow out of them and which we have yet to shape and determine.

A year ago we had sent 145,918 men overseas. Since then we have sent 1,950,513, an average of 162,542 each month, the number in fact rising, in May last to 245,951, in June to 278,760, in July to 307,182, and continuing to reach similar figures in August and September—in August 289,570 and in September 257,438. No such movement of troops ever took place before, across three thousand miles of sea, followed by adequate equipment and supplies, and carried safely through extraordinary dangers of attack—dangers which were alike strange and infinitely difficult to guard against. In all this movement only 758 men were lost by enemy attack—630 of whom were upon a single English transport which was sunk near the Orkney Islands.

I need not tell you what lay back of this great movement of men and material. It is not invidious to say that back of it lay a supporting organization of the industries of the country and of all its productive activities more complete, more thorough in method and effective in result, more spirited and unanimous in purpose and effort than any other great belligerent had been able to effect. We profited greatly by the experience of the nations which had already been engaged for nearly three years in the exigent and exacting business, their every resource and every executive proficiency taxed to the utmost. We were their pupils. But we learned quickly and acted with a promptness and a readiness of co-operation that justify our great pride that we were able to serve the world with unparalleled energy and quick accomplishment.

PRAISE FOR THE SOLDIERS

But it is not the physical scale and executive efficiency of preparation, supply, equipment, and dispatch that I would dwell upon, but the mettle and quality of the officers and men we sent over and of the sailors who kept the seas, and the spirit of the nation that stood behind them. No soldiers or sailors ever proved themselves more quickly ready for the test of battle or acquitted themselves with more splendid courage and achievement when put to the test. Those of us who played some part in directing the great processes by which the war was pushed irresistibly forward to the final triumph may now forget all that and delight our thoughts with the story of what our men did. Their officers understood the grim and exacting task they had undertaken and performed it with an audacity, efficiency, and unhesitating courage that touch the story of convoy

and battle with imperishable distinction at every turn, whether the enterprise were great or small—from their great chiefs, Pershing and Sims, down to the youngest Lieutenant; and their men were worthy of them—such men as hardly need to be commanded, and go to their terrible adventure blithely and with the quick intelligence of those who know just what it is they would accomplish. I am proud to be the fellow-countryman of men of such stuff and valor. Those of us who stayed at home did our duty; the war could not have been won or the gallant men who fought it given their opportunity to win it otherwise; but for many a long day we shall think ourselves “accurs’d we were not there, and hold our manhoods cheap while any speaks that fought” with these at St. Mihiel or Thierry. The memory of those days of triumphant battle will go with these fortunate men to their graves; and each will have his favorite memory. “Old men forget; yet all shall be forgot, but he’ll remember with advantages what feats he did that day.”

What we all thank God for with deepest gratitude is that our men went in force into the line of battle just at the critical moment when the whole fate of the world seemed to hang in the balance and threw their fresh strength into the ranks of freedom in time to turn the whole tide and sweep of the fateful struggle—turn it once for all, so that thenceforth it was back, back, back for their enemies, always back, never again forward! After that it was only a scant four months before the commanders of the Central Empires knew themselves beaten; and now their very empires are in liquidation!

SPIRIT OF THE NATION

And throughout it all how fine the spirit of the nation was; what unity of purpose, what untiring zeal! What elevation of purpose ran through all its splendid display of strength, its untiring accomplishment. I have said that those of us who stayed at home to do the work of organization and supply will always wish that we had been with the men whom we sustained by our labor; but we

can never be ashamed. It has been an inspiring thing to be here in the midst of fine men who had turned aside from every private interest of their own and devoted the whole of their trained capacity to the tasks that supplied the sinews of the whole great undertaking! The patriotism, the unselfishness, the thoroughgoing devotion and distinguished capacity that marked their toilsome labors day after day, month after month, have made them fit mates and comrades of the men in the trenches and on the sea. And not the men here in Washington only. They have but directed the vast achievement. Throughout innumerable factories, upon innumerable farms, in the depths of coal mines and iron mines and copper mines, wherever the stuffs of industry were to be obtained and prepared, in the shipyards, on the railways, at the docks, on the sea, in every labor that was needed to sustain the battlelines, men have vied with each other to do their part and do it well. They can look any man-at-arms in the face, and say, We also strove to win and gave the best that was in us to make our fleets and armies sure of their triumph!

And what shall we say of the women—of their instant intelligence, quickening every task that they touched; their capacity for organization and co-operation, which gave their action discipline and enhanced the effectiveness of everything they attempted; their aptitude at tasks to which they had never before set their hands; their utter self-sacrifice alike in what they did and in what they gave? Their contribution to the great result is beyond appraisal. They have added a new lustre to the annals of American womanhood.

The least tribute we can pay them is to make them the equals of men in political rights as they have proved themselves their equals in every field of practical work they have entered, whether for themselves or for their country. These great days of completed achievement would be sadly marred were we to omit that act of justice. Besides the immense practical services they have rendered, the women of the country have been the moving spirits in the systematic

economies by which our people have voluntarily assisted to supply the suffering peoples of the world and the armies upon every front with food and everything else that we had that might serve the common cause. The details of such a story can never be fully written, but we carry them at our hearts and thank God that we can say that we are the kinsmen of such.

COMPLETE TRIUMPH

And now we are sure of the great triumph for which every sacrifice was made. It has come, come in its completeness, and with the pride and inspiration of these days of achievement quick within us we turn to the tasks of peace again—a peace secure against the violence of irresponsible monarchs and ambitious military coteries and madê ready for a new order, for new foundations of justice and fair dealing.

We are about to give order and organization to this peace not only for ourselves but for the other peoples of the world as well, so far as they will suffer us to serve them. It is international justice that we seek, not domestic safety merely. Our thoughts have dwelt of late upon Europe, upon Asia, upon the Near and the Far East, very little upon the acts of peace and accommodation that wait to be performed at our own doors. While we are adjusting our relations with the rest of the world is it not of capital importance that we should clear away all grounds of misunderstanding with our immediate neighbors and give proof of the friendship we really feel? I hope that the members of the Senate will permit me to speak once more of the unratified treaty of friendship and adjustment with the Republic of Colombia. I very earnestly urge upon them an early and favorable action upon that vital matter. I believe that they will feel, with me, that the stage of affairs is now set for such action as will be not only just but generous and in the spirit of the new age upon which we have so happily entered.

So far as our domestic affairs are concerned, the problem of our return to peace is a problem of economic and industrial readjustment. That problem is

less serious for us than it may turn out to be for the nations which have suffered the disarrangements and the losses of war longer than we. Our people, moreover, do not wait to be coached and led. They know their own business, are quick and resourceful at every readjustment, definite in purpose, and self-reliant in action. Any leading strings we might seek to put them in would speedily become hopelessly tangled because they would pay no attention to them and go their own way. All that we can do as their legislative and executive servants is to mediate the process of change here, there, and elsewhere as we may. I have heard much counsel as to the plans that should be formed and personally conducted to a happy consummation, but from no quarter have I seen any general scheme of "reconstruction" emerge which I thought it likely we could force our spirited business men and self-reliant laborers to accept with due pliancy and obedience.

RELEASE OF INDUSTRIES

While the war lasted we set up many agencies by which to direct the industries of the country in the services it was necessary for them to render, by which to make sure of an abundant supply of the materials needed, by which to check undertakings that could for the time be dispensed with and stimulate those that were most serviceable in war, by which to gain for the purchasing departments of the Government a certain control over the prices of essential articles and materials, by which to restrain trade with alien enemies, make the most of the available shipping, and systematize financial transactions, both public and private, so that there would be no unnecessary conflict or confusion—by which, in short, to put every material energy of the country in harness to draw the common load and make of us one team in the accomplishment of a great task. But the moment we knew the armistice to have been signed we took the harness off. Raw materials upon which the Government had kept its hand for fear there should not be enough for the industries that supplied the armies have been released and put into the general market

again. Great industrial plants whose whole output and machinery had been taken over for the uses of the Government have been set free to return to the uses to which they were put before the war. It has not been possible to remove so readily or so quickly the control of foodstuffs and of shipping, because the world has still to be fed from our granaries and the ships are still needed to send supplies to our men overseas and to bring the men back as fast as the disturbed conditions on the other side of the water permit; but even these restraints are being relaxed as much as possible, and more and more as the weeks go by.

AID FOR WAR SUFFERERS

After discussing matters of labor and trade at home, and recommending the plans of the Secretary of the Interior for reclaiming waste or arid lands, President Wilson continued:

I have spoken of the control which must yet for a while, perhaps for a long while, be exercised over shipping because of priority of service to which our forces overseas are entitled and which should also be accorded the shipments which are to save recently liberated peoples from starvation and many devastated regions from permanent ruin. May I not say a special word about the needs of Belgium and Northern France? No sums of money paid by way of indemnity will serve of themselves to save them from hopeless disadvantage for years to come. Something more must be done than merely find the money.

If they had money and raw materials in abundance tomorrow they could not resume their place in the industry of the world tomorrow—the very important place they held before the flame of war swept across them. Many of their factories are razed to the ground. Much of their machinery is destroyed or has been taken away. Their people are scattered, and many of their best workmen are dead. Their markets will be taken by others, if they are not in some special way assisted to rebuild their factories and replace their lost instruments of manufacture. They should not be left to the vicissitudes of the sharp competition

for materials and for industrial facilities which is now to set in.

I hope, therefore, that the Congress will not be unwilling, if it should become necessary, to grant to some such agency as the War Trade Board the right to establish priorities of export and supply for the benefit of these people whom we have been so happy to assist in saving from the German terror and whom we must not now thoughtlessly leave to shift for themselves in a pitiless competitive market.

DUTY TO GO TO PARIS

The President recommended the reducing of the coming year's taxation from \$8,000,000,000 to \$6,000,000,000, the completion of the naval program adopted at the beginning of the war, and the serious consideration by Congress of the policy to be adopted regarding the railroads. He said it would be a disservice to the country and the railroads to permit a return to old conditions under private management, without modifications; but unless a satisfactory plan of readjustment could be worked out at an early date he would release the roads from Government control. He ended his address with these words:

I welcome this occasion to announce to the Congress my purpose to join in Paris the representatives of the Governments with which we have been associated in the war against the Central Empires for the purpose of discussing with them the main features of the treaty of peace. I realize the great inconveniences that will attend my leaving the country, particularly at this time, but the conclusion that it was my paramount duty to go has been forced upon me by considerations which I hope will seem as conclusive to you as they have seemed to me.

The allied Governments have accepted the bases of peace which I outlined to the Congress on the 8th of January last, as the Central Empires also have, and very reasonably desire my personal counsel in their interpretation and application, and it is highly desirable that I should give it in order that the sincere desire of our Government to contribute without selfish purposes of any kind to settlements that will be of common benefit to all the na-

tions concerned may be made fully manifest. The peace settlements which are now to be agreed upon are of transcendent importance both to us and to the rest of the world, and I know of no business or interest which should take precedence of them.' The gallant men of our armed forces on land and sea have consciously fought for the ideals which they knew to be the ideals of their country; I have sought to express those ideals; they have accepted my statements of them as the substance of their own thought and purpose, as the associated Governments have accepted them; I owe it to them to see to it, so far as in me lies, that no false or mistaken interpretation is put upon them, and no possible effort omitted to realize them. It is now my duty to play my full part in making good what they offered their life's blood to obtain. I can think of no call to service which could transcend this.

I shall be in close touch with you and with affairs on this side the water, and you will know all that I do. At my request the French and English Governments have absolutely removed the censorship of cable news which until within a fortnight they had maintained, and there is now no censorship whatever exercised at this end except upon attempted trade communications with enemy countries. It has been necessary to keep an open wire constantly available between Paris and the Department of State and another between France and the Department of War. In order that this might be done with the least possible interference with the other uses of the cables, I have temporarily taken over the

control of both cables in order that they may be used as a single system. I did so at the advice of the most experienced cable officials, and I hope that the results will justify my hope that the news of the next few months may pass with the utmost freedom and with the least possible delay from each side of the sea to the other.

May I not hope, Gentlemen of the Congress, that in the delicate tasks I shall have to perform on the other side of the sea, in my efforts truly and faithfully to interpret the principles and purposes of the country we love, I may have the encouragement and the added strength of your united support? I realize the magnitude and difficulty of the duty I am undertaking; I am poignantly aware of its grave responsibilities. I am the servant of the nation. I can have no private thought or purpose of my own in performing such an errand. I go to give the best that is in me to the common settlements which I must now assist in arriving at in conference with the other working heads of the associated Governments. I shall count upon your friendly countenance and encouragement. I shall not be inaccessible. The cables and the wireless will render me available for any counsel or service you may desire of me, and I shall be happy in the thought that I am constantly in touch with the weighty matters of domestic policy with which we shall have to deal. I shall make my absence as brief as possible and shall hope to return with the happy assurance that it has been possible to translate into action the great ideals for which America has striven.

America the Deciding Factor

Marshal Joffre said in a conversation with Dr. H. S. Krans of New York: "It was the weight of America, her moral and material resources, and surely not the least her very considerable army, thrown into the balance at the crucial moment, that turned the scales and won the victory. And the Americans showed themselves true soldiers and a military power that counted tremendously in the decisive conflict."

The United States Navy in the War

Secretary Daniels' Story of Its Achievements in Nineteen Months of Unprecedented Activity

Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, issued an official report on Dec. 8, 1918, in which he presented the following full account of the work of the navy during the war:

THE operations of our navy during the world war have covered the widest scope in its history. Our naval forces have operated in European waters from the Mediterranean to the White Sea. At Corfu, Gibraltar, along the French Bay of Biscay ports, at the English Channel ports, on the Irish Coast, in the North Sea, at Murmansk and Archangel our naval forces have been stationed and have done creditable work. Their performance will probably form the most interesting and exciting portion of the naval history of this war, and it is the duty which has been most eagerly sought by all of the personnel, but owing to the character of the operations which our navy has been called upon to take part in it has not been possible for all of our naval forces, much as they desired it, to engage in operations at the front, and a large part of our work has been conducted quietly, but none the less effectively, in other areas. This service, while not so brilliant, has still been necessary, and without it our forces at the front could not have carried on the successful campaign that they did.

Naval men have served on nearly 2,000 craft that plied the waters, on submarines, and in aviation, where men of vision and courage prevent surprise attacks and fight with new-found weapons. On the land, marines and sailors have helped to hold strategic points, regiments of marines have shared with the army their part of the hard-won victory, and a wonderfully trained gun crew of sailors has manned the monster 14-inch guns which marked a new departure in land warfare.

In diplomacy, in investigation at home

and in all parts of the world by naval officers and civilian agents, in protecting plants and labor from spies and enemies, in promoting new industrial organizations and enlarging older ones to meet war needs, in stimulating production of needed naval craft—these are some of the outstanding operations which mark the heroic year of accomplishment.

FIGHTING CRAFT

The employment of the fighting craft of the navy may be summed up as follows:

1. Escorting troop and cargo convoys and other special vessels.
2. Carrying out offensive and defensive measures against enemy submarines in the Western Atlantic.
3. Assignment to duty and the dispatch abroad of naval vessels for operations in the war zone in conjunction with the naval forces of our allies.
4. Assignment to duty and operation of naval vessels to increase the force in home waters. Dispatch abroad of miscellaneous craft for the army.
5. Protection of these craft en route.
6. Protection of vessels engaged in coast-wise trade.
7. Salvaging and assisting vessels in distress, whether from maritime causes or from the operations of the enemy.
8. Protection of oil supplies from the Gulf.

In order to carry out successfully and speedily all these duties large increases in personnel, in ships of all classes and in the instrumentalities needed for their production and service were demanded. Briefly, then, it may be stated that on the day war was declared the enlistment and enrollment of the navy numbered 65,777 men. On the day Germany signed the armistice it had increased to 497,030 men and women, for it became necessary to enroll capable and patriotic women as yeomen to meet the sudden expansion

and enlarged duties imposed by war conditions. This expansion has been progressive. In 1912 there were 3,094 officers and 47,515 enlisted men; by July 1, 1916, the number had grown to 4,293 officers and 54,234 enlisted men, and again in that year to 68,700 in all. In granting the increase Congress authorized the President in his discretion to augment that force to 87,800. Immediately on the outbreak of the war the navy was recruited to that strength, but it was found that under the provisions of our laws there were not sufficient officers in the upper grades of the navy to do the war work. At the same time the lessons of the war showed it was impossible to have the combatant ships of the navy ready for instant war service unless the ships had their full personnel on board and that personnel was highly trained.

In addition to this permanent strength recourse was had to the development of the existing reserves and to the creation of a new force.

NAVAL VOLUNTEERS

Up to 1913 the only organization that made any pretense of training men for the navy was the Naval Militia, and that was under State control, with practically no Federal supervision. As the militia seemed to offer the only means of producing a trained reserve, steps were at once taken to put it on a sound basis, and on Feb. 16, 1914, a real Naval Militia under Federal control was created, provision being made for its organization and training in peace, as well as its utilization in war. As with all organized militia, the Naval Militia, even with the law of 1914, could not, under the Constitution, be called into service as such except for limited duties, such as to repel invasion. It could not be used outside the territorial limits of the United States. It is evident then that with such restrictions militia could hardly meet the requirements of the navy in a foreign war, and to overcome this difficulty the "National Naval Volunteers" were created in August, 1916.

Under this act members of Naval Militia organizations were authorized to volunteer for "any emergency," of which emergency the President was to be the

judge. Other laws included the same measure, provided for a reserve force, for the automatic increase of officer personnel in each corps to correspond with increases in enlisted men, and for the Naval Flying Corps, special engineering officers, and the Naval Dental and Dental Reserve Corps. It also provided for taking over the lighthouse and other departmental divisions by the navy in time of war. Briefly, then, on July 1, 1917, three months after the declaration of war, the number of officers had increased to 8,038—4,694 regulars, 3,344 reserves—and the number of enlisted men to 171,133—128,666 regulars, 32,379 reserves, 10,088 National Naval Volunteers. The increase since that time is as follows:

April 1, 1918:—			
Regular Navy—		Officers.	Men.
Permanent	5,441	198,224	
Temporary	2,519	.....
Reserves	10,625	85,475	
Total	18,585	283,717	
Nov. 9, 1918:—			
Regular Navy—			
Permanent	5,656	206,684	
Temporary	4,833	.....
Reserves	21,985	290,346	
Total	32,474	497,030	

THE NAVY THAT FLIES

The expansion of aviation in the navy has been of gratifying proportions and effectiveness. On July 1, 1917, naval aviation was still in its infancy. At that time there were only 45 naval aviators. There were officers of the navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard who had been given special training in and were attached to aviation. There were approximately 200 student officers under training, and about 1,250 enlisted men attached to the Aviation Service. These enlisted men were assigned to the three naval air stations in this country then in commission. Pensacola, Fla., had about 1,000 men, Bay Shore, Long Island, N. Y., had about 100, and Squantum, Mass., which was abandoned in the Fall of 1917, had about 150 men. On July 1, 1918, there were 823 naval aviators, approximately 2,052 student officers, and 400 ground officers attached to naval aviation. In addition, there were more

than 7,300 trained mechanics, and more than 5,400 mechanics in training. The total enlisted and commissioned personnel at this time was about 30,000.

THE SHIPS

On the day war was declared 197 ships were in commission. Today there are 2,003. In addition to furnishing all these ships with trained officers and men, the duty of supplying crews and officers of the growing merchant marine was undertaken by the navy. There has not been a day when the demand for men for these ships has not been supplied—how fit they were all the world attests—and after manning the merchant ships there has not been a time when provision was not made for the constantly increasing number of ships taken over by the navy.

During the year the energy available for new construction was concentrated mainly upon vessels to deal with the submarine menace. Three hundred and fifty-five of the 110-foot wooden submarine chasers were completed during the year. Fifty of these were taken over by France and fifty more for France were ordered during the year and have been completed since July 1, 1918. Forty-two more were ordered about the end of the fiscal year, delivery to begin in November and be completed in January.

Extraordinary measures were taken with reference to destroyers. By the Summer of 1917 destroyer orders had been placed which not only absorbed all available capacity for more than a year, but required a material expansion of existing facilities. There were under construction, or on order, in round figures, 100 of the thirty-five-knot type.

During the year, including orders placed at navy yards, the following have been contracted for: Four battleships, 1 battle cruiser, 2 fuel ships, 1 transport, 1 gunboat, 1 ammunition ship, 223 destroyers, 58 submarines, 112 fabricated patrol vessels, (including 12 for the Italian Government,) 92 submarine chasers, (including 50 for the French Government,) 51 mine sweepers, 25 seagoing tugs and 46 harbor tugs, besides a large number of lighters, barges, and other auxiliary harbor craft.

In addition to this, contracts have been placed for twelve large fuel ships in conjunction with the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

Ships launched during the year and up to Oct. 1, 1918, include 1 gunboat, 93 destroyers, 29 submarines, 26 mine sweepers, 4 fabricated patrol vessels, and 2 seagoing tugs. It is noteworthy that in the first nine months of 1918 there were launched no less than 83 destroyers of 98,281 tons aggregate normal displacement, as compared with 62 destroyers of 58,285 tons during the entire nine years next preceding Jan. 1, 1918.

There have been added to the navy during the fiscal year and including the three months up to Oct. 1, 1918, 2 battleships, 36 destroyers, 28 submarines, 355 submarine chasers, 13 mine sweepers and two seagoing tugs. There have also been added to the operating naval forces by purchase, charter, &c., many hundred vessels of commercial type, including all classes from former German transatlantic liners to harbor tugboats and motor boats for auxiliary purposes.

Last year the construction of capital ships and large vessels generally had been to some extent suspended. Work continued upon vessels which had already made material progress toward completion, but was practically suspended upon those which had just been begun, or whose keels had not yet been laid. The act of July 1, 1918, required work to be actually begun upon the remaining vessels of the three-year program within a year. This has all been planned and no difficulty in complying with the requirements of the act and pushing rapidly the construction of the vessels in question is anticipated. Advantage has been taken of the delay to introduce into the designs of the vessels which had not been laid down numerous improvements based upon war experience.

WORK OVERSEAS

War was declared on April 6, 1917. On the 4th of May a division of destroyers was in European waters. By Jan. 1, 1918, there were 113 United States naval ships across, and in October, 1918,

the total had reached 338 ships of all classes. At the present time there are 5,000 officers and 70,000 enlisted men of the navy serving in Europe, this total being greater than the full strength of the navy when the United States entered the war. The destroyers upon their first arrival were based on Queens-town, which has been the base of the operations of these best fighters of the submarines during the war. Every facility possible was provided for the comfort and recreation of the officers and men engaged in this most rigorous service.

During July and August, 1918, 3,444,012 tons of shipping were escorted to and from France by American escort vessels; of the above amount 1,577,735 tons were escorted in and 1,864,677 tons were escorted out of French ports. Of the tonnage escorted into French ports during this time only 16,988 tons, or .009 per cent., were lost through enemy action, and of the tonnage escorted out from French ports only 27,858, or .013 per cent., were lost through the same cause. During the same period, July and August of this year, 259,604 American troops were escorted to France by United States escort vessels without the loss of a single man through enemy action. The particulars in the above paragraph refer to United States naval forces operating in the war zone from French ports.

During the same time—July and August—destroyers based on British ports supplied 75 per cent. of the escorts for 318 ships, totaling 2,752,908 tons, and including the escort of vessels carrying 137,283 United States troops. The destroyers on this duty were at sea an average of 67 per cent. of the time, and were under way for a period of about 16,000 hours, steaming approximately an aggregate of 260,000 miles. There were no losses due to enemy action.

The history of the convoy operations in which our naval forces have taken part, due to which we have been able so successfully to transport such a large number of our military forces abroad, and so many supplies for the army, is a chapter in itself. It is probably our major operation in this war, and will in the

future stand as a monument to both the army and the navy as the greatest and most difficult troop transporting effort which has ever been conducted across seas.

[The Secretary says the convoy system was "suggested by President Wilson." He continues:]

This entire force, under command of Rear Admiral Albert Gleaves, whose ability and resource have been tested and established in this great service in co-operation with the destroyer flotilla operating abroad, has developed an anti-submarine convoy and escort system the results of which have surpassed even the most sanguine expectations.

TROOPS CARRIED OVERSEAS

American and British ships have carried over two million American troops overseas. The United States did not possess enough ships to carry over our troops as rapidly as they were ready to sail or as quickly as they were needed in France. Great Britain furnished, under contract with the War Department, many ships and safely transported many American troops, the numbers having increased greatly in the Spring and Summer. A few troops were carried over by other allied ships. The actual number transported in British ships was more than a million.

Up to Nov. 1, 1918, of the total number of United States troops in Europe, 924,578 made passage in United States naval convoys under escort of United States cruisers and destroyers. Since Nov. 1, 1917, there have been 289 sailings of naval transports from American ports. In these operations of the cruiser and transport force of the Atlantic fleet not one eastbound American transport has been torpedoed or damaged by the enemy and only three were sunk on the return voyage.

Our destroyers and patrol vessels, in addition to convoy duty, have waged an unceasing offensive warfare against the submarines. In spite of all this, our naval losses have been gratifyingly small. Only three American troopships—the Antilles, the President Lincoln, and the Covington—were sunk on the return voyage. Only three fighting

ships have been lost as a result of enemy action—the patrol ship *Alcedo*, a converted yacht, sunk off the coast of France Nov. 5, 1917; the torpedo boat destroyer *Jacob Jones*, sunk off the British coast Dec. 6, 1917, and the cruiser *San Diego*, sunk near Fire Island, off the New York coast, on July 19, 1918, by striking a mine supposedly set adrift by a German submarine. The transport *Finland* and the destroyer *Cassin*, which were torpedoed, reached port and were soon repaired and placed back in service. The transport *Mount Vernon*, struck by a torpedo on Sept. 5 last, proceeded to port under its own steam and was repaired.

The most serious loss of life due to enemy activity was the loss of the Coast Guard cutter *Tampa*, with all on board, in Bristol Channel, England, on the night of Sept. 26, 1918. The *Tampa*, which was doing escort duty, had gone ahead of the convoy. Vessels following heard an explosion, but when they reached the vicinity there were only bits of floating wreckage to show where the ship had gone down. Not one of the 111 officers and men of her crew was rescued, and, though it is believed she was sunk by a torpedo from an enemy submarine, the exact manner in which the vessel met its fate may never be known.

OTHER POINTS SUMMARIZED

Secretary Daniels records many other achievements of ships and personnel, including those of the naval overseas transportation service. Of the latter he says in substance:

In ten months the transportation service grew from 10 ships to a fleet of 321 cargo-carrying ships, aggregating a deadweight tonnage of 2,800,000, and numerically equaling the combined Cunard, Hamburg-American, and North German Lloyd lines at the outbreak of the war. Of this number 227 ships were mainly in operation.

From the Emergency Fleet Corporation the navy has taken over for operation ninety-four new vessels, aggregating 700,000 deadweight tons. On March 21, 1918, by order of the President 101 Dutch merchant vessels were taken over

by the Navy Department pending their allocation to the various vital trades of this country, and twenty-six of these vessels are now a part of the naval overseas fleet. This vast fleet of cargo vessels has been officered and manned through enrollment of the seagoing personnel of the American merchant marine, officers and men of the United States Navy, and the assignment after training of graduates of technical schools and training schools, developed by the navy since the United States entered the war.

There are required for the operation of this fleet at the present time 5,000 officers and 29,000 enlisted men, and adequate arrangements for future needs of personnel have been provided. The navy has risen to the exacting demands imposed upon it by the war, and it will certainly be a source of pride to the American people to know that within ten months of the time that this new force was created, in spite of the many obstacles in the way of its accomplishment, an American naval vessel, manned by an American naval crew, left an American port on the average of every five hours, carrying subsistence and equipment so vital to the American Expeditionary Force.

One of the agencies adopted during the war for more efficient naval administration is the organization and development of naval districts.

Secretary Daniels, in other passages of the foregoing report, declares that the record made abroad by the United States Navy, in co-operation with the navies of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, is without precedent in allied warfare. He pays a high tribute to the efficiency of Admiral Sims, Commander in Chief of American naval forces in European waters; of Rear Admiral Rodman, in command of the American battleships with the British fleet; of Vice Admiral Wilson, in France; Rear Admiral Niblack, in the Mediterranean; of Rear Admiral Dunn, in the Azores; of Rear Admiral Strauss, in charge of mining operations, and other officers in charge of various special activities.

The report tells of notable achievements in ordnance, especially the work

of the 14-inch naval guns on railway mounts on the western front, which hurled shells far behind the German lines, these mounts being designed and completed in four months. The land battery of these naval guns was manned exclusively by bluejackets under command of Rear Admiral C. P. Plunkett. The work of the Bureau of Ordnance is praised, and Admiral Earle, the Chief of the bureau, is declared "one of the ablest and fittest officers."

An account is given of the mine barge in the North Sea, one of the outstanding anti-submarine offensive projects of the year, thus closing the North Sea, and for which 100,000 mines were manufactured and 85,000 shipped abroad. A special mine loading plant, with a capacity of more than 1,000 mines a day, was established by the Navy Department.

A star shell was developed which, when fired in the vicinity of an enemy fleet, would light it up, make ships visible, and render them easy targets with-

out disclosing the position of our own ships at night.

The Bureau of Ordnance, under the direction of Rear Admiral Earle, is stated to have met and conquered the critical shortage of high explosives which threatened to prolong the time of preparation necessary for America to smash the German military forces; this was done by the invention of TNX, a high explosive, to take the place of TNT, the change being sufficient to increase the available supply of explosives in this country to some 30,000,000 pounds.

In the future, it is stated, American dreadnoughts and battle cruisers will be armed with 16-inch guns, making these the heaviest armed vessels in the world.

Depth charges are stated to be the most effective anti-submarine weapons. American vessels were adequately armed with this new weapon.

A new type was developed and a new gun, known as the "Y" gun, was designed and built especially for firing depth charges.

[OFFICIAL]

The Brave Deeds of the Marine Corps

By JOSEPHUS DANIELS

Secretary of the Navy

THE United States Marine Corps, the efficient fighting, building, and landing force of the navy, has won imperishable glory in the fulfillment of its latest duties upon the battlefields of France, where the marines, fighting for the time under General Pershing as a part of the victorious American Army, have written a story of valor and sacrifice that will live in the brightest annals of the war. With heroism that nothing could daunt, the Marine Corps played a vital rôle in stemming the German rush on Paris, and in later days aided in the beginning of the great offensive, the freeing of Rheims, and participated in the hard fighting in Champagne, which had as its object the throwing back of the Prussian armies in the vicinity of Cambrai and St. Quentin.

With only 8,000 men engaged in the fiercest battles, the Marine Corps casualties numbered 69 officers and 1,531 enlisted men dead and 78 officers and 2,435 enlisted men wounded seriously enough to be officially reported by cablegram, to which number should be added not a few whose wounds did not incapacitate them for further fighting. However, with a casualty list that numbers nearly half the original 8,000 men who entered battle, the official reports account for only 57 United States marines who have been captured by the enemy. This includes those who were wounded far in advance of their lines and who fell into the hands of Germans while unable to resist.

Memorial Day shall henceforth have a greater, deeper significance for Amer-

ica, for it was on that day, May 30, 1918, that our country really received its first call to battle—the battle in which American troops had the honor of stopping the German drive on Paris, throwing back the Prussian hordes in attack after attack, and beginning the retreat which lasted until imperial Germany was beaten to its knees and its emissaries appealing for an armistice under the flag of truce. And to the United States marines, fighting side by side with equally brave and equally courageous men in the American Army, to that faithful sea and land force of the navy, fell the honor of taking over the lines where the blow of the Prussian would strike the hardest, the line that was nearest Paris and where, should a breach occur, all would be lost.

The world knows today that the United States marines held that line; that they blocked the advance that was rolling on toward Paris at a rate of six or seven miles a day; that they met the attack in American fashion and with American heroism; that marines and soldiers of the American Army threw back the crack guard divisions of Germany, broke their advance, and then, attacking, drove them back in the beginning of a retreat that was not to end until the "cease firing" signal sounded for the end of the world's greatest war.

ADVANCING TO BATTLE

Having reached their destination early on the morning of June 2, they disembarked, stiff and tired after a journey of more than seventy-two miles, but as they formed their lines and marched onward in the direction of the line they were to hold they were determined and cheerful. That evening the first field message from the 4th Brigade to Major Gen. Omar Bundy, commanding the 2d Division, went forward:

Second Battalion, 6th Marines, in line from Le Thiolet through Clarembauts Woods to Triangle to Lucy. Instructed to hold line. First Battalion, 6th Marines, going into line from Lucy through Hill 142. Third Battalion in support at La Voie du Chatel, which is also the post command of the 6th Marines. Sixth Machine Gun Battalion distributed at line.

Meanwhile the 5th Regiment was mov-

ing into line, machine guns were advancing, and the artillery taking its position. That night the men and officers of the marines slept in the open, many of them in a field that was green with unharvested wheat, awaiting the time when they should be summoned to battle. The next day at 5 o'clock, the afternoon of June 2, began the battle of Château-Thierry, with the Americans holding the line against the most vicious wedge of the German advance.

BATTLE OF CHATEAU-THIERRY

The advance of the Germans was across a wheat field, driving at Hill 165 and advancing in smooth columns. The United States marines, trained to keen observation upon the rifle range, nearly every one of them wearing a marksman's medal or, better, that of the sharpshooter or expert rifleman, did not wait for those gray-clad hordes to advance nearer.

Calmly they set their sights and aimed with the same precision that they had shown upon the rifle ranges at Paris Island, Mare Island, and Quantico. Incessantly their rifles cracked, and with their fire came the support of the artillery. The machine-gun fire, incessant also, began to make its inroads upon the advancing forces. Closer and closer the shrapnel burst to its targets. Caught in a seething wave of machine-gun fire, of scattering shrapnel, of accurate rifle fire, the Germans found themselves in a position in which further advance could only mean absolute suicide. The lines hesitated. They stopped. They broke for cover, while the marines raked the woods and ravines in which they had taken refuge with machine gun and rifle to prevent their making another attempt to advance by infiltrating through.

Above, a French airplane was checking up on the artillery fire. Surprised by the fact that men should deliberately set their sights, adjust their range, and then fire deliberately at an advancing foe, each man picking his target, instead of firing merely in the direction of the enemy, the aviator signaled below "Bravo!" In the rear that word was echoed again and again. The German drive on Paris had been stopped.

IN BELLEAU WOOD

For the next few days the fighting took on the character of pushing forth outposts and determining the strength of the enemy. Now, the fighting had changed. The Germans, mystified that they should have run against a stone wall of defense just when they believed that their advance would be easiest, had halted, amazed; then prepared to defend the positions they had won with all the stubbornness possible. In the black recesses of Belleau Wood the Germans had established nest after nest of machine guns. There in the jungle of matted underbrush, of vines, of heavy foliage, they had placed themselves in positions they believed impregnable. And this meant that unless they could be routed, unless they could be thrown back, the breaking of the attack of June 2 would mean nothing. There would come another drive and another. The battle of Château-Thierry was therefore not won and could not be won until Belleau Wood had been cleared of the enemy.

It was June 6 that the attack of the American troops began against that wood and its adjacent surroundings, with the wood itself and the towns of Torcy and Bouresches forming the objectives. At 5 o'clock the attack came, and there began the tremendous sacrifices which the Marine Corps gladly suffered that the German fighters might be thrown back.

FOUGHT IN AMERICAN FASHION

The marines fought strictly according to American methods—a rush, a halt, a rush again, in four-wave formation, the rear waves taking over the work of those who had fallen before them, passing over the bodies of their dead comrades and plunging ahead, until they, too, should be torn to bits. But behind those waves were more waves, and the attack went on.

"Men fell like flies," the expression is that of an officer writing from the field. Companies that had entered the battle 250 strong dwindled to 50 and 60, with a Sergeant in command; but the attack did not falter. At 9:45 o'clock that night Bouresches was taken by Lieutenant James F. Robertson and twenty-odd

men of his platoon; these soon were joined by two reinforcing platoons. Then came the enemy counterattacks, but the marines held.

In Belleau Wood the fighting had been literally from tree to tree, stronghold to stronghold; and it was a fight which must last for weeks before its accomplishment in victory. Belleau Wood was a jungle, its every rocky formation containing a German machine-gun nest, almost impossible to reach by artillery or grenade fire. There was only one way to wipe out these nests—by the bayonet. And by this method were they wiped out, for United States marines, bare chested, shouting their battle cry of "E-e-e-e-e y-a-a-h-h-h yip!" charged straight into the murderous fire from those guns, and won!

Out of the number that charged, in more than one instance, only one would reach the stronghold. There, with his bayonet as his only weapon, he would either kill or capture the defenders of the nest, and then swinging the gun about in its position, turn it against the remaining German positions in the forest. Such was the character of the fighting in Belleau Wood; fighting which continued until July 6, when after a short relief the invincible Americans finally were taken back to the rest billet for recuperation.

HELD THE LINE FOR DAYS

In all the history of the Marine Corps there is no such battle as that one in Belleau Wood. Fighting day and night without relief, without sleep, often without water, and for days without hot rations, the marines met and defeated the best divisions that Germany could throw into the line.

The heroism and doggedness of that battle are unparalleled. Time after time officers seeing their lines cut to pieces, seeing their men so dog tired that they even fell asleep under shellfire, hearing their wounded calling for the water they were unable to supply, seeing men fight on after they had been wounded and until they dropped unconscious; time after time officers seeing these things, believing that the very limit of human endurance had been reached, would send

back messages to their post command that their men were exhausted. But in answer to this would come the word that the line must hold, and, if possible, those lines must attack. And the lines obeyed. Without water, without food, without rest, they went forward—and forward every time to victory. Companies had been so torn and lacerated by losses that they were hardly platoons, but they held their lines and advanced them. In more than one case companies lost every officer, leaving a Sergeant and sometimes a Corporal to command, and the advance continued.

After thirteen days in this inferno of fire a captured German officer told with his dying breath of a fresh division of Germans that was about to be thrown into the battle to attempt to wrest from the marines that part of the wood they had gained. The marines, who for days had been fighting only on their sheer nerve, who had been worn out from nights of sleeplessness, from lack of rations, from terrific shell and machine-gun fire, straightened their lines and prepared for the attack. It came—as the dying German officer had predicted.

At 2 o'clock on the morning of June 13 it was launched by the Germans along the whole front. Without regard for men, the enemy hurled his forces against Boursches and the Bois de Belleau, and sought to win back what had been taken from Germany by the Americans. The orders were that these positions must be taken at all costs; that the utmost losses in men must be endured that the Bois de Belleau and Boursches might fall again into German hands. But the depleted lines of the marines held; the men who had fought on their nerve alone for days once more showed the mettle of which they were made. With their backs to the trees and boulders of the Bois de Belleau, with their sole shelter the scattered ruins of Boursches, the thinning lines of the marines repelled the attack and crashed back the new division which had sought to wrest the position from them.

And so it went. Day after day, night after night, while time after time messages like the following traveled to the post command:

Losses heavy. Difficult to get runners through. Some have never returned. Morale excellent, but troops about all in. Men exhausted.

Exhausted, but holding on. And they continued to hold on in spite of every difficulty. Advancing their lines slowly day by day, the marines finally prepared their positions to such an extent that the last rush for the possession of the wood could be made. Then, on June 24, following a tremendous barrage, the struggle began.

The barrage literally tore the woods to pieces, but even its immensity could not wipe out all the nests that remained, the emplacements that were behind almost every clump of bushes, every jagged, rough group of boulders. But those that remained were wiped out by the American method of the rush and the bayonet, and in the days that followed every foot of Belleau Wood was cleared of the enemy and held by the frayed lines of the Americans.

It was, therefore, with the feeling of work well done that the depleted lines of the marines were relieved in July, that they might be filled with replacements and made ready for a grand offensive in the vicinity of Soissons, July 18. And in recognition of their sacrifice and bravery this praise was forthcoming from the French:

Army Headquarters, June 30, 1918.

In view of the brilliant conduct of the Fourth Brigade of the Second United States Division, which in a spirited fight took Boursches and the important strong point of Bois de Belleau, stubbornly defended by a large enemy force, the General commanding the Sixth Army orders that henceforth, in all official papers, the Bois de Belleau shall be named "Bois de la Brigade de Marine."

DIVISION GENERAL DEGOUTTE,
Commanding Sixth Army.

On July 18 the marines were again called into action in the vicinity of Soissons, near Tigny and Vierzy. In the face of a murderous fire from concentrated machine guns, which contested every foot of their advance, the United States marines moved forward until the severity of their casualties necessitated that they dig in and hold the positions they had gained. Here, again, their valor called forth official praise.

Then came the battle for the St. Mihiel salient. On the night of Sept. 11 the 2d Division took over a line running from Remenauville to Limey, and on the night of Sept. 14 and the morning of Sept. 15 attacked, with two days' objectives ahead of them. Overcoming the enemy resistance, they romped through to the Rupt de Mad, a small river, crossed it on stone bridges, occupied Thiaucourt, the first day's objective, scaled the heights just beyond it, pushed on to a line running from the Zammes-Joulney Ridges to the Binvaux Forest, and there rested, with the second day's objectives occupied by 2:50 o'clock of the first day. The casualties of the division were about 1,000, of which 134 were killed. Of these, about half were marines. The captures in which the marines participated were 80 German officers, 3,200 men, ninety-odd cannon, and vast stores.

But even further honors were to befall the fighting, landing, and building force, of which the navy is justly proud. In the early part of October it became necessary for the Allies to capture the bald, jagged ridge twenty miles due east of Rheims, known as Blanc Mont Ridge. Here the armies of Germany and the Allies had clashed more than once, and attempt after attempt had been made to wrest it from German hands. It was a keystone of the German defense, the fall of which would have a far-reaching effect upon the enemy armies. To the glory of the United States marines, let it be said that they were again a part of that splendid 2d Division which swept forward in the attack which freed Blanc Mont Ridge from German hands, pushed its way down the slopes, and occupied the level around just beyond, thus assuring a victory, the full import of which can best be judged by the order of General Lejeune, following the battle:

France, Oct. 11, 1918.

Officers and Men of the 2d Division:

It is beyond my power of expression to describe fitly my admiration for your heroism. You attacked magnificently and you seized Blanc Mont Ridge, the keystone of the arch constituting the enemy's main position. You advanced beyond the ridge, breaking the enemy's lines, and you held the ground gained

with a tenacity which is unsurpassed in the annals of war.

As a direct result of your victory, the German armies east and west of Rheims are in full retreat, and by drawing on yourselves several German divisions from other parts of the front you greatly assisted the victorious advance of the allied armies between Cambrai and St. Quentin.

Your heroism and the heroism of our comrades who died on the battlefield will live in history forever, and will be emulated by the young men of our country for generations to come.

To be able to say when this war is finished, "I belonged to the 2d Division; I fought with it at the battle of Blanc Mont Ridge," will be the highest honor that can come to any man.

JOHN A. LEJEUNE,

Major General, United States Marine Corps, Commanding.

Thus it is that the United States marines have fulfilled the glorious traditions of their corps in this their latest duty as the "soldiers who go to sea." Their sharpshooting—and in one regiment 93 per cent. of the men wear the medal of a marksman, a sharpshooter, or an expert rifleman—has amazed soldiers of European armies, accustomed merely to shooting in the general direction of the enemy. Under the fiercest fire they have calmly adjusted their sights, aimed for their man, and killed him, and in bayonet attacks their advance on machine-gun nests has been irresistible.

In the official citation lists more than one American marine is credited with taking an enemy machine gun single handed, bayoneting its crew, and then turning the gun against the foe. In one battle alone, that of Belleau Wood, the citation lists bear the names of fully 500 United States marines who so distinguished themselves in battle as to call forth the official commendation of their superior officers.

More than faithful in every emergency, accepting hardships with admirable morale, proud of the honor of taking their place as shock troops for the American legions, they have fulfilled every glorious tradition of their corps, and they have given to the world a list of heroes whose names will go down to all history.

To Secretary Daniels's narrative may be added a brief account of the terms in

which the French official journal cited the 4th American Brigade under Brig. Gen. Harbord on Dec. 8.

The brigade comprised the 5th Regiment of marines, under Colonel (now Brigadier General) Wendel C. Veille; the 6th marines, under Colonel (now Brigadier General) Albertus A. Catlin, and the 6th Machine Gun Battalion, under Major Edward B. Cole. The citation says the brigade, in full battle array, was thrown on a front which the enemy was attacking violently and at once proved itself a unit of the finest quality. It crushed the enemy attack on an important point of the position, and then undertook a series of offensive operations.

"During these operations," says the citation, "thanks to the brilliant courage, vigor, dash, and tenacity of its men, who refused to be disheartened by fatigue or losses; thanks to the activity and energy of the officers, and thanks to the personal action of Brig. Gen. Harbord, the efforts of the brigade were crowned with success, realizing after

twelve days of incessant struggle an important advance over the most difficult of terrain and the capture of two support points of the highest importance, Bouresches village and the fortified wood of Belleau."

The 30th Regiment, American Infantry, under Colonel E. L. Butts, is cited as showing itself "worthy its traditions on July 15 in sustaining the chief shock of the German attack." The 38th Regiment is cited for "unshakable tenacity" the same day. Other American citations include Max Staub, Hospital Section; Lewis Kenneth of the 372d Regiment, Aviator Thomas Hitchcock of New York, and Ambulance Sections 546, 525, 626, 539, and 629.

The American Lafayette Escadrille was commended for work in Flanders. Citations also were given to Battery H, 2d Battalion of the 53d Regiment of garrison artillery, under Captain Gardner; the platoon under Lieutenant John H. Shenwel, Company B, 111th Infantry, and the platoon under Lieutenant Cedric C. Benz, Company A, 111th Infantry.

Secretary Baker on the Army's Record

Abstract of War Department Report

NEWTON D. BAKER, Secretary of War, issued his annual report on Dec. 4, 1918. He selected the battle of the Meuse as "from the viewpoint of military strategy America's greatest contribution to the successful outcome of the war," since by that attack of the American armies the Sedan-Mézières railway, the main artery of the German supply system, was cut. The entire available strength of the American Army in France, twenty-eight divisions, was in line in the second week of October, he said, making yard by yard progress against desperate enemy resistance, which finally was worn out, "and on Nov. 1 the American troops broke through." The object of the drive, the strategic conception of which included the British drive at the northern end of the railway system and the French advance in the centre, was accomplished on

Nov. 7, when the Americans entered the outskirts of Sedan, to be joined there the next day by the French.

In sketching the building up of the war army, Mr. Baker selects a few striking figures as illustrations of what each step meant and what has been accomplished. On the day the armistice was signed, he declares, more than 25 per cent. of the entire male population of the country between the ages of 18 and 31 was in the military service, the army having reached a total of 3,664,000 men, more than 2,000,000 of whom were in Europe, as compared with a strength of 189,674 in March, 1917, a week before war was declared.

To illustrate the speed of this expansion, the report cites the fact that the British Army in France had reached its high mark in the Summer of 1917, three years after the beginning of the war,

and that figure was "slightly more than 2,000,000 men." It took nineteen months for the United States to reach the same strength there, but Mr. Baker points out that during those years of battle British man power had been heavily called upon to replace casualties, while for many months the flow of American troops all went to augment the force being assembled.

UNEQUALED IN HISTORY

"No troop movement such as that of the last Summer had ever been contemplated," says the Secretary, "and no movement of any such number of persons by water such a distance and in such a time had ever occurred. The performance stands unique in the world's history. Furthermore, this performance wrought a decisive effect upon the world's history at one of its great critical junctures."

Recapitulating the total American Army casualties, 236,108 men, Mr. Baker said the deaths due to battle alone were 36,000, and that half of the wounded reported "probably suffered slight injury."

Under the heading of "Fighting Equipment for the Army," Mr. Baker gave a summary of what was accomplished in providing ordnance for the army. When the armistice was signed 30,881 complete units had been contracted for. On Nov. 1, 10,634 had been delivered, divided as follows: Trench, 5,000; light, (field guns,) 3,850; medium, 1,070; heavy, 695; railway, 19. The contracts were divided as follows: Trench, 11,700; light, 10,118; medium, 5,385; heavy, 3,472; railway, 211.

As to rifles, Mr. Baker showed that 2,137,025 of the modified Enfields had been accepted prior to Nov. 1. Browning machine-gun production was as follows: Light, 47,019; heavy, 39,546. The following cablegram was quoted to show the performance of the Browning guns in action:

Experience of 79th Division in offensive operations Sept. 25 to Oct. 21, Browning machine guns. Thirteen machine-gun companies engaged, weather conditions continuous rain and mud. * * * There was not one instance where the guns

failed to operate due to muddy and wet belts. * * * On the whole it may be said that the performance of the Browning machine gun and automatic rifle in active operation has been so satisfactory as to create an insistent demand for these weapons from machine-gun units and from division commanders.

AIRCRAFT PRODUCTION

Regarding aircraft production the Secretary showed that 3,180 De Haviland and 101 Handley-Page machines were produced in this country and 1,900 planes had been shipped to France before the armistice was signed. On the other side, 2,676 planes of service types had been provided for the American squadrons by the French Government. On Sept. 30 General Pershing had thirty-two air squadrons at the front, the first of them to be equipped with American planes having reached the battle areas in July.

Air service casualties, the report says, have been higher than in the artillery and infantry, and reports to Oct. 24 showed 128 battle fatalities and 224 by accident overseas. A total of 262 men had lost their lives in this service while in training in the United States.

The general health of the army was surprisingly good, the report shows, the death rate for all forces at home and abroad up to Aug. 30 having been at the rate of 5.9 per 1,000 per year, or little more than the civilian rate for men of the same age groups. It compares with a rate of 65 per 1,000 per year during the civil war and 26 during the Spanish war. Pneumonia caused 56 per cent. of the deaths.

There were 316,000 cases of influenza among the troops in the United States during the late Summer and Fall, and of the 20,500 deaths between Sept. 14 and Nov. 8 19,800 are ascribed to the epidemic.

In closing his report Mr. Baker paid a high tribute to the heroic achievements of our soldiers abroad, and also to the men who had given their services at home at great sacrifice without opportunity to participate in the great adventure.

The English King's Address of Thanks

Grateful Recognition for All Those Who Helped to Save the British Empire

[ADDRESS OF KING GEORGE V. NOV. 20, 1918, TO PARLIAMENT, THE COLONIES, AND DOMINIONS]

AFTER a struggle longer and far more terrible than any one could have foretold, the soil of Britain remains inviolate. Our navy has everywhere held the seas, and wherever the enemy could be brought to battle it has renewed the glories of Drake and Nelson. The incessant work it has accomplished in overcoming the hidden menace of the enemy submarines and guarding the ships that have brought food and munitions to our shores has been less conspicuous but equally essential to success. Without that work Britain might have starved, and those valiant soldiers of America, who have so much contributed to our victory, could not have found their way hither across the foam of perilous seas.

The fleet has enabled us to win the war. In fact, without the fleet the struggle could not have been maintained, for upon the command of the sea the very existence and maintenance of our land forces have from the first depended.

That we should have to wage this war on land had scarcely entered our thoughts until the storm actually broke upon us. But Belgium and France were suddenly invaded and the nation rose to the emergency. Within a year an army more than ten times the strength of that which was ready for action in August, 1914, was raised by voluntary enlistment, largely owing to the organizing genius and personal influence of Lord Kitchener, and the number of that army was afterward far more than doubled.

These new soldiers drawn from the civil population have displayed a valor equal to that of their ancestors, who have carried the flag of Britain to victory in so many lands in bygone times. Short as was their training, they have imitated and rivaled the prowess of the small but ever-famous force which, in the early weeks of the war, from Mons to the Marne fought its magnificent retreat against vastly superior numbers. Not

less prompt was the response, not less admirable the devotion to the common cause, of those splendid troops which eagerly hastened to us from the Dominions overseas, men who showed themselves more than ever to be bone of our bone, inheriting all the courage and tenacity that have made Britain great. A hundred battlefields in all parts of the world have witnessed their heroism, have been soaked with their blood, and are forever hallowed by their graves.

I shall ever remember how the Princes of India rallied to the cause, and with what ardor her soldiers sustained in many theatres of war, and under conditions the most diverse and exacting, the martial traditions of their race. Neither can I forget how the men from the crown colonies and protectorates of Great Britain, also fighting amid novel and perilous scenes, exhibited a constancy and devotion second to none.

To all these and to their commanders who, in fields so scattered and against enemies so different in Europe, Asia, and Africa, have for four years confronted the hazards, overcome the perils, and finally decided the issues of war our gratitude is most justly due. They have combined the highest military skill with unsurpassed resolution, and amid the heat of the battlefield have never been deaf to the calls of chivalry and humanity.

Particularly would I mention the names of Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, whose patient and indomitable leadership, ably seconded by his fellow-commanders, has been rewarded by the final rout of the enemy on the field of so much sacrifice and glory; of General Sir Edmund Allenby, who, in a campaign unique in military history, has won back for Christendom the soil for which centuries had fought and bled in vain; and of General Sir Stanley Maude and his successor, who gained, in a scene

of no less romance, the first resounding victory of the war for the allied cause.

While I mention those who have served their country till the end of the struggle, let us not forget the incomparable services of the leaders who, in the early days of the war, before fortune had begun to smile, upheld the best traditions of British arms by land and sea; of Field Marshal Lord French of Ypres, whose title recalls the scene of his undying renown, and of Admirals Lord Jellicoe and Sir David Beatty, who have for four years been the spirit and soul, as they were the successive commanders, of the fighting fleet of the empire.

Let us remember also those who belong to the most recent military arm, the keen-eyed and swift-winged knights of the air, who have given to the world a new type of daring and resourceful heroism.

So must we further acknowledge the dauntless spirit of the men of the Mercantile Marine and the fishermen who patrolled our coasts, braving all the dangers of mine and torpedo in the discharge of duty.

Let our thanks also be given to those who have toiled incessantly at home, women no less than men, in producing munitions of war, and to those who have rendered essential war service in many other ways. * * *

In this great struggle which we hope will determine for good the future of the world, it is a matter of ceaseless pride to us that we have been associated with allies whose spirit has been identical with our own, and who, amid sufferings that have in so many cases greatly exceeded ours, have devoted their united strength to the vindication of righteousness and freedom. France, whose final deliverance, achieved by one of the greatest of commanders, Marshal Foch, has been the reward of a sacrifice and endurance almost beyond compare; Belgium, devastated and held in bondage for nigh upon five years, but now restored to her liberty and her King; Italy, whose lofty spirit has at length found its national fulfillment; and our remaining allies, upon whose horizon, till lately so dark, the light of emancipation already dawns.

During the last one and a half years we are also proud to have been directly associated with the great sister Commonwealth across the ocean, the United States of America, whose resources and valor have exercised so powerful an influence in the attainment of those high ideals which were her single aim.

Now that the clouds of war are being swept from the sky, new tasks arise before us. We see more clearly some duties that have been neglected, some weaknesses that may retard our onward march. Liberal provision must be made for those whose exertions by land and sea have saved us. We have to create a better Britain, to bestow more care on the health and well-being of the people, and to ameliorate further the conditions of labor. * * *

In what spirit shall we approach these great problems? How shall we seek to achieve the victories of peace? Can we do better than remember the lessons which the years of war have taught and retain the spirit which they instilled? In these years Britain and her traditions have come to mean more to us than they had ever meant before. It became a privilege to serve her in whatever way we could; and we were all drawn by the sacredness of the cause into a comradeship which fired our zeal and nerved our efforts. This is the spirit we must try to preserve. It is on a sense of brotherhood and mutual good-will, on a common devotion to the common interests of the nation as a whole, that its future prosperity and strength must be built up. The sacrifices made, the sufferings endured, the memory of the heroes who have died that Britain may live, ought surely to ennoble our thoughts and attune our hearts to a higher sense of individual and national duty, and to a fuller realization of what the English-speaking race, dwelling upon the shores of all the oceans, may yet accomplish for mankind.

For centuries past Britain has led the world along the path of ordered freedom. Leadership may still be hers among the peoples who are seeking to follow that path. God grant to their efforts such wisdom and perseverance as shall ensure stability for the days to come.

May good-will and concord at home

strengthen our influence for concord abroad. May the morning star of peace which is now rising over a war-worn world be here and everywhere the herald

of a better day, in which the storms of strife shall have died down, and the rays of an enduring peace be shed upon all the nations.

America's Most Terrible Weapon

The Greatest Poison Gas Plant in the World Ready for Action When the War Ended

By RICHARD BARRY

[WRITTEN IN DECEMBER, 1918, FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES AND CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

TWENTY-SIX miles from Baltimore, on the edge of the Government's vast Aberdeen ordnance proving grounds, is a 300-acre tract, fenced off even from the comparative publicity of the conventional big guns, guarded from prying eyes along every rod by soldiers with drawn bayonets. Twelve months ago it was a Maryland farm. In December, 1918, it is the largest poison gas factory on earth. It can produce, probably three or four times over, more mustard gas, phosgene, chlorine, and other noxious fumes than the intensified war output of England, France, and Germany combined. It was just completed and ready to function for the \$60,000,000 invested there when the armistice was signed on Nov. 11. Now it lies silent and idle like the great cannon along the Lorraine border, but ready to operate at a moment's notice.

The Director of the United States Chemical Warfare Service is Major Gen. William L. Sibert. The commanding officer, Colonel William H. Walker, and one of his assistants, Lieut. Col. George Cahoon, took me over the plant and initiated me into its mysteries, explained the processes of production, outlined some of the little known features of gas warfare, and indicated what an essential element in the prospective allied attack next Spring this product was to be. Formerly Colonel Walker was Professor of Chemical Engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

"It is not apparent that the Germans started the war with the intention of

using poison gas," said Colonel Walker, "for they did not use it until April, 1915, and then, despite their boasted efficiency, they did not understand the effectiveness of the fiendish stuff they were using. Had they done so history might make different reading today. For instance, when they first used gas, (it was chlorine with which they started on April 22, 1915,) they waited twenty-four hours before following up with a bayonet attack, evidently fearful that the gas had not dissipated. As a matter of fact the gas dissipated within thirty-five or forty minutes after its release, though in that time it annihilated 80 per cent. of the Canadians, Turcos, and French opposing it. If the Germans had attacked within an hour they would have taken Calais that day. There was nothing to stop them.

"Another thing that makes me think they did not intend using poison gas when they began the war is that they had no proper meteorological charts of Northern France. If they had had these necessary charts they would not have wasted so much time and so much gas as they did waste. It is a fact that the prevailing winds in Northern France are about 75 per cent. from a southerly or southeasterly direction. This left the Germans only 25 per cent. of the time in which they could use gas as they did to begin with, relying on the wind to carry it across the line. Later they devised guns and mortars, but if they had begun with these methods and had made gas in sufficient quantity there can be no doubt that the war would have ended

in their favor very early. There is no doubt in my mind that their inability to make gas in sufficient quantity accounts for their halt in their last great drive last Summer.

ADOPTED BY ALLIES

"The French and English were reluctant to use gas, deeming it inhumanitarian. Our Government suffered from the same indecision in the early months of our part in the war. However, we came to it in time, just as did the French and English. But, although the English finally utilized every available facility they could command in the manufacture of toxic gases, their total production at its highest point never went above an average of thirty tons a day. The best the French could do was much less than this. Our American capacity for September and October was on an average of two hundred tons a day. These figures are not in pounds, as powder figures are usually given, but in tons. And a drop of gas, properly placed, kills or incapacitates."

"What was the German production?" I asked.

"We do not know," replied Colonel Walker, "but from available data and the estimates of military observers on the ground we do not think it was over thirty tons a day. It may have been fifty tons a day, but certainly no more."

"It was last October [1917] before the American Government decided to manufacture poison gas on a scale commensurate with the rest of our military preparations. It was November when ground was broken here, so that what you see is the work of less than a twelve-month."

CREATING A GREAT FACTORY

What I saw was a city of brick kilns, high chimneys, correlated vats in innumerable series, repeated shot towers, miles of railway, miles of elevated pipe lines, machinery of the finest type, and the most perfect installation, housed in concrete and sheet iron, built apparently for permanence. It was all only a few miles from Gunpowder Creek, where were concrete piers built in the midst of the once fine duck hunting preserves.

Gunpowder Creek runs into Chesapeake Bay, so that vessels loaded with the gases direct from the factory sailed to Havre without a stop. The Government's investment here is \$60,000,000. Elsewhere there has been spent, at various subsidiary plants, about \$12,000,000. Thus all told the United States has spent about \$72,000,000 in the manufacture of toxic gases, practically none of which have any commercial value. The basic elements are salt, sulphur, and alcohol, which, broken into component parts and chemically reunited, in some cases by means of heat, in others by means of cold, again by force of gravity, are caused to form the mustard gas, the phosgene and the phosphorus, the chlorine, &c., which have been found efficacious in warfare. For the cold processes vast refrigerators were built. These cover acres. Half a mile away were enormous boilers and hot rooms for fusing. Then curious towers of spindle steel looking like miniature Eiffel Towers, scattered about the grounds, support pipes down which, in a different process, are dropped two chemical elements which thus are forced to fuse by gravity.

Chiefly impressive, once one became accustomed to the thought that all this ingenious, crstly mechanism was built to generate poison for the sole purpose of horribly maiming and frightfully killing, was the orderliness, the immensity, and the stability of the plant. The Bethlehem Steel Mills or the Bridgeport Rifle Works are no better built.

"The most remarkable thing about this plant may not be apparent as you look at it," said Colonel Cahoon. "It is the fact that when the Government started to build it there were no existing models for some of the machinery needed. That is where Colonel Walker came in. He literally invented this factory while it was in process of being built. There is nothing like it anywhere else in the world, and it had to be created and operated as we went along. The French and the British both sent their best experts to assist us, but they stayed to get pointers to take back to their own Governments. Major Auld, the chief British expert on war gas, said frankly, 'I came to teach, but I stay to learn.'"

SOLDIER HEROES

When the armistice was signed there were 7,000 drafted American soldiers at work at \$30 a month; at one time they numbered 14,000. After examining the casualty records I went through the hospitals and saw the men who had been struck down by the fiendish gases while at work; some with arms and legs and trunks shriveled and scarred as by a horrible fire, some with the deep suppurations still oozing after weeks of careful nursing.

In one case a drop of mustard oil had fallen from a conduit pipe under which a soldier had walked, hitting his shoe. He wiped it off, thinking that made him safe. The next day his flesh began to peel. Now, five weeks later, his foot looks like a charred ember. Another had accidentally kicked over what he thought was an empty pipe. It contained phosphorus, which flew over his face and upper body. Now, weeks later, he is still a mass of horrible burns. Another case (one of the fatalities) was that of an officer who came in from the works to the office. He wore rubber gloves, as they all do when near the gases, but did not know he had been near enough to pick up the mustard oil. He picked up a chair and placed it in front of his desk, intending to seat himself. At that moment the telephone rang and he stepped to the wall to answer. A friend, another officer, entered and took the seat by the desk. Forty-eight hours later the second officer was dead. The first officer had accidentally rubbed mustard oil on the back of the chair. It went through the clothes and into the spine of the second.

WORKING AMID PERILS

When the figures are all finally published it may appear that no division in France has a higher percentage of casualty than was developed at the Edgewater arsenal in Baltimore (the official name of the poison gas plant) in August, 1918. That was the month of excessive heat when the gases were most volatile and when the weather made the soldiers somewhat relaxed in their vigilance to avoid accident.

During that month the hospitals were filled at the rate of three and a half per cent. of the entire force in the mustard gas plant per day, or one hundred per cent. casualty per month.

If that is the casualty which must be endured in making the stuff, can one imagine the casualty of the enemy who receives it? As to what the enemy had in prospect Colonel Walker said:

"We had been working for some time on a device whereby mustard could be transported in large containers by airplane and released over fortresses of the Metz type, and at last it was perfected, fully sixty days before the armistice was signed. Mustard has been found, for all-around purposes, to be the most effective gas used in warfare, because it advances comparatively easily and also because it is the most difficult to protect against. People used to think prussic acid was terrible. Well, the Germans discarded the use of prussic acid because it was too mild and used mustard gas instead.

COULD ANNIHILATE FORTRESSES

"Our idea was to have containers that would hold a ton of mustard gas carried over fortresses like Metz and Coblenz by plane, and released with a time fuse arranged for explosion several hundred feet above the forts. The mustard gas, being heavier than air, would then slowly settle while it also dispersed. A one-ton container could thus be made to account for perhaps an acre or more of territory, and not one living thing, not even a rat, would live through it. The planes were made and successfully demonstrated, the containers were made, and we were turning out the mustard gas in the requisite quantities in September.

"However, there were obstacles besides the physical to overcome. The allied Governments were not in favor of such wholesale gas attack by air. England was the first to accede to it, but France hesitated because of her fear of reprisals. Finally, the French Government consented, but only with the proviso that the attack would not be made until our line had advanced so that there was no chance of the gas being blown

back into French territory and until the allied command was in complete command of the air so as to insure safety from possible reprisals. These two conditions could not have been met before next Spring. It was then that we planned to release the one-ton containers over the German cities which were fortified and so became subject to attack under the laws of war.

"We would have had ready in France for such an attack thousands of tons of mustard gas. There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that we could have wiped out any German city we pleased to single out, and probably several of them, within a few hours of giving the release signal.

"It was not to be. They capitulated, and I am sure that a very big factor in that capitulation was the knowledge they certainly possessed of our gas preparations. What we were doing here was known to the German Government. They knew that when this plant got into full blast their last hope was gone. They knew that if they had been able to make gas in even half the quantity we could produce here they would have swept over

all France long ago. If there was any final argument to help them make up their minds it was our gas production.

"We closed down the day the armistice was signed. We had more than 2,500 tons waiting on the piers ready for shipment. Somehow we had been cheated of our prey, but we were content. We felt sure the gas had done its work even though most of it still lay idle in our dooryard."

Already the Baltimore plant is being dismantled. The machinery is being carefully taken apart, oiled, and wrapped and stored away—ready for the next war, should there ever be one. The parts which have come in actual contact with the gas are taken by means of tongs to the fields and buried. The gas itself will perhaps be taken to sea some day and dropped overboard. Being heavier than water, it will settle to the bottom, and if the fishes do not like it they can move elsewhere; the sea is wide. There is nothing else to do with the gas. It has no commercial value and there is enough of it, if properly liberated, to kill every human being on the American Continent—on both of them.

[OFFICIAL]

Germany's Use of Poison Gas

A British Declaration Fixing the Responsibility for Its Introduction Into the War

The first use of poison gas in modern warfare was made by the German forces near Ypres on April 22, 1915, and they used it increasingly through the following years until the Allies began to outdo them with the same weapon, toward the end of the war. On July 17, 1918, the German Wireless Bureau issued a statement that the Allies were the first of the belligerents to employ poison gas in the war and referred to "historical facts" to prove that "the idea of using poison gas originated with the British Admiral Dundonald." The British War Office issued a reply in substance as follows:

IT may be true that Dundonald, who was born in 1775 and died in 1860, and was an expert chemist as well as a great sailor, warned the British Government in the early part of the nineteenth century that it was technically possible to produce an asphyxiating gas which could be employed in military opera-

tions. Its employment by the British Government was never seriously considered, as such a method of warfare was condemned as too inhuman. The fact that The Hague Convention of 1899, to which Germany was a party, expressly forbade the use of asphyxiating gas is sufficient evidence that the possibilities

of gas as a weapon of offense were known to all the war offices. The point is that the Allies obeyed the dictates of humanity and the rules of The Hague Convention by refraining from its use, whereas the Germans deliberately added this new horror to warfare.

The German wireless message referred to says: "It is a point of fact that poison gases were first used in the war on March 1, 1915, by the British and French, whereas the French and British Army communiqués could not announce a German attack with poison gas until April 22, 1915." The first portion of this statement is a deliberate falsehood, for which there is not the slightest vestige of justification. If it were accepted it would obviously imply that between March 1, when we are expected to believe that the mind of the German General Staff was innocent of any intention to use poison gas, and April 22, when they used it on the battlefield, the whole elaborate preparation required for the projection of gas upon a large scale was completed. The gas was invented and accumulated, the cylinders in which it was stored were manufactured and tested, the large number of men employed in projection were trained and instructed in the technicalities of the business, all within a period of eight weeks. But on April 22, at the second battle of Ypres, when the yellow-green clouds of chlorine crept slowly over from the German lines, the British and French troops were caught absolutely unprepared. They stared uncomprehendingly, and without protection, at this strange phenomenon, until they fell, choking and gasping, with blackened, agonized faces, to die without knowledge of the plague which brought them death.

In Germany, at the time, the news of this surprise, with the atrocious sufferings inflicted by it on the French and British soldiers, was greeted with delight as a new triumph for Teutonic adroitness and military science. But why, it may be asked, does the German wireless now give the specific date of March 1, 1915, as that on which the gas had already been employed by the Allies? The answer is best given in the words of Lord

French. In his report of May 3, 1915, ten days after gas was first used by the Germans, he said: "A week before the Germans used this method they announced in their official communiqué that we were making use of asphyxiating gases.

"At the time there appeared to be no reason for this astounding falsehood; but now, of course, it is obvious that it was part of the scheme. It shows they recognized its illegality and were anxious to forestall neutral, and possibly domestic, criticism." In his dispatch of June 15, 1915, Lord French said: "The brain power and thought which have evidently been at work before this unworthy method of making war reached the pitch of efficiency which has been demonstrated in its practice show that the Germans must have harbored these designs for a long time."

Since those early days the Germans have learned to their sorrow that gas is a weapon which two can use. Forced to employ it in self-defense, the Allies have done so with such effect that the Germans have had reason to regret exceedingly their departure from the rules of civilized warfare. And they have discovered that this outrage against humanity was a moral and political as well as a military blunder.

Later in the Summer of 1918 the Geneva Red Cross issued an appeal for the discontinuance of the use of asphyxiating gas by all the belligerents. The German Government replied that it had not begun making gas attacks "until long after its adversaries had been using this method of warfare." The Paris correspondent of The London Telegraph on Sept. 25 commented as follows:

A well-known French chemist has an intimate Dutch friend who is a distinguished Professor at Leyden and a staunch friend of the Allies. This Dutch professor, toward the end of 1914, wrote to the French chemist stating that the Germans were making active experiments with poisonous gases in Belgium, near the Dutch frontier. The chemist at once reported the matter to the French War Office, which refused to believe him. Every one whom he saw

scouted the idea as a mere fable. The chemist, however, worked at the subject on his own in order to discover what gases the Germans might be using. While he was experimenting, and while the military authorities were so deriding his information, the Germans suddenly began the use of poisonous gases, with, as every one knows, terrible effects.

At that moment neither in France nor in England had the question of gas as a weapon even been considered. It was, indeed, months after the Germans began the use of gas that commissions were appointed in England and France to commence the study of the question, and

more months again elapsed before we had prepared any gas at all. Finally, when we did start using gas, all we had were tear bombs, with which we tried to reply to much more dangerous gases sent over by the Germans.

The German reply to the Geneva Red Cross is thus the most cynical lie even the German Government has ever been guilty of. It is satisfactory, by the way, to learn from those who know that for a considerable time past the enemy is being paid back in his own coin, and that though late in this field of scientific barbarism we now have gases that are worse than any German gases,

The East African Campaign

Surrender of the German Forces on November 14, 1918, Marked the End of the Long Campaign

The German forces under General von Lettow-Vorbeck, operating in German East Africa, surrendered on the Chambezi River, South of Kasama, Northern Rhodesia, Nov. 14, 1918, thus ending the last phase of German control in Africa. The London Times of Nov. 21 thus reviewed the record of the four years' struggle:

THE most notable incidents in the earlier phases of the war had been an unsuccessful attempt, in November, 1914, by an Anglo-Indian force to seize Tanga from the sea, and the occupation by the Germans of a considerable area of British territory in the Kilimanjaro region. For the defense of German East Africa, a territory about twice the size of Germany, von Lettow-Vorbeck had fully 25,000 native troops and 4,000 whites.

The local forces in British East Africa—the King's African Rifles (native troops)—had been strengthened by British and Indian regiments from India and by volunteers. General Michael Tighe was in command. After the conquest of Southwest Africa by General Botha, the Union, Rhodesia co-operating, raised a force which ultimately reached 20,000 for service in East Africa, and thus eighteen months after the war began it was at last possible to undertake a British offensive. General Smuts, who on the failure of Sir H. Smith-Dorrien's health had consented to take command of the Expeditionary

Force, reached Mombasa on Feb. 19, 1916.

General Smuts adopted with little alteration the plans of General Tighe for the conquest of Kilimanjaro; their chief feature was wide turning movements, one from the north, the other from the south. The main movement began on March 7. Taveta was occupied by the southern column on March 9, and on March 11 the enemy was encountered in force in the densely forested mountain district of Latema Nek. The fight was stubborn, and lasted all through the night, but in the end the enemy was forced to retreat. In the Kahe hills, which defend the northern approach to Usambara, the enemy, on March 21, again offered determined opposition. The assailants failed to carry the position, but in the night the Germans retired. The conquest of Kilimanjaro was thus completed.

After their defeat at Kahe the main enemy force retired to Usambara, "leaving open and undefended" the road to the interior. Instead of attacking the



GERMAN EAST AFRICA, LAST OF THE GERMAN COLONIES TO SURRENDER

enemy on his own chosen ground, "which nature and art had prepared admirably for defensive purposes," General Smuts decided to strike inland toward the Central Railway, the line which runs from Dar-es-Salaam to Lake Tanganyika. General Smuts sent the Second Division, under Major General Van Deventer, southwest to cut communications between the German main force and the enemy troops in the lake region. Van Deventer reached Kondoa-Irangi, forty miles north of the railway, on April 19. Here he was held up for nearly two months, his division at one time, owing to the in-

cessant rains, being almost entirely isolated. This delay enabled von Lettow-Vorbeck to withdraw most of his troops from Usambara and concentrate 4,000 men against Van Deventer, whom he unsuccessfully attacked in May. On June 24 Van Deventer, having been reinforced, and the rains having abated, resumed his advance, and, having defeated the enemy, seized the middle section of the Central Railway.

While these operations were in progress Usambara was gradually occupied. Wilhelmstal, the capital of Usambara, was entered on June 13 and Tanga

was seized on July 7. Without waiting for the complete clearing of Usambara, General Smuts directed his main force southward on a line east of and parallel to General Van Deventer's route, his endeavor being to surround General von Lettow-Vorbeck and force a decision. In this endeavor he was unsuccessful, notwithstanding repeated efforts and a good deal of fighting. Von Lettow retreated first to Mrogoro, on the Central Railway, and then by a road the existence of which was unknown to the British, into the Uluguru Hills.

Mrogoro was occupied by General Smuts on Aug. 26. Meanwhile, General Van Deventer had turned eastward, pursuing the enemy along the railway line, eventually joining hands with Smuts. Dar-es-Salaam, the capital and chief port of the protectorate, surrendered to a naval force on Sept. 4. Its occupation enabled General Smuts by the end of October to shorten his lines of communication by over 1,000 miles. But General Smuts's troops were exhausted by six months of continuous marching and fighting, and were suffering from the ravage of dysentery, so that a pause in the operations was essential. General Smuts reconstituted his force. By the beginning of 1917 over 12,000 white troops had been sent back, their place being taken by newly raised battalions of King's African Rifles and by the Nigerian Brigade under General Cunliffe. Meantime much had been accomplished in other regions of German East Africa.

In April, 1916, Belgian columns under General Tombeur invaded the northwest portion of the German protectorate, and by the end of June Usumburu, at the north end of Tanganyika, and the whole district between that lake and Victoria Nyanza had been conquered, chiefly by the Northern Brigade, under Colonel Molitor. Tabora, the chief town in the western section of the Central Railway, was captured by the Belgians on Sept. 19. The fall of Tabora was preceded by heavy fighting, which lasted for ten days.

From the southwest German East Africa was invaded on May 25, 1916, by a force under Brig. Gen. Northey, com-

posed of Union troops, Rhodesians, and King's African Rifles. A Rhodesian column seized Bismarckburg, on Lake Tanganyika, and worked north till it joined hands with the Belgian right. General Northey's main force struck northeast along the road leading from Lake Nyasa to Iringa, a town 270 miles southeast of Tabora. General Northey defeated the chief force opposed to him on July 24 and occupied Iringa on Aug. 29. Thus, with the occupation of the southern ports of the protectorate, over two-thirds of German East Africa had been conquered by the combined operations of Generals Smuts and Northey, and the Belgians, after a most strenuous seven months' campaign.

The great distances to be covered by comparatively small bodies of troops and the enormous difficulties of supply and transport in roadless and mountainous regions, mostly covered with dense bush and traversed by many large rivers, were the chief causes of the repeated failures to corner the enemy, and of the prolongation of the campaign through 1917 and 1918. General Smuts in January, 1917, had begun a new campaign when he was called to London to attend the War Cabinet. General Hoskins then held command until May, when he was succeeded by General Van Deventer. By this time the enemy had been confined to the southeast part of the protectorate and the south central plateau of Mahenge.

A new offensive was begun in June, 1917, and was carried on relentlessly. The enemy fought desperately, and the casualties on both sides were severe. In the west General Northey's columns were aided by the Belgians, who captured Mahenge in October. On Nov. 27 one of the two enemy forces remaining in the field was caught near the Portuguese frontier and compelled to surrender, but von Lettow himself and his party succeeded (Nov. 30) in getting away into Portuguese East Africa. Here, during this year, incessantly chased, he made his way south nearly as far as the Zambezi; then, retracing his steps, he came again in September into the German protectorate, whence he made his way into Northern Rhodesia, where he surrendered.

Total Damage Caused by U-Boats

Fifteen Million Gross Tons of Shipping, With Cargoes, on the Debit Side of the Account

THE depredations of the German submarines came definitely to an end with the signing of the armistice on Nov. 11, 1918. Attacks on merchant ships had been suspended on Oct. 20, the date on which the German Government informed Spain that orders had been issued recalling all U-boats to their bases. The last sinkings of merchant craft were those of the American steamship Lucia and the Irish steamship Dundalk, both torpedoed on Oct. 19. The British battleship Britannia, torpedoed near Gibraltar on Nov. 9, was the last ship sunk by a submarine.

At the time of the recall of the U-boats the British Admiralty published this summary of the colossal account that Germany must settle for merchant ships destroyed:

BRITISH, ALLIED, AND NEUTRAL SHIPS LOST

	British.	Allied & Neutral.	Gross tons.
1914.			
Aug. & Sept....	314,000	85,947	399,947
4th quarter....	154,728	126,688	281,416
1915.			
1st quarter....	215,905	104,542	320,447
2d quarter....	223,676	156,743	380,419
3d quarter....	356,659	172,822	529,418
4th quarter....	307,139	187,234	494,373
1916.			
1st quarter....	325,237	198,958	524,195
2d quarter....	270,690	251,599	522,289
3d quarter....	284,358	307,681	592,039
4th quarter....	617,563	541,780	1,159,343
1917.			
1st quarter....	911,840	707,533	1,619,373
2d quarter....	1,361,870	875,064	2,236,934
3d quarter....	952,938	541,535	1,494,473
4th quarter....	782,889	489,954	1,272,843
1918.			
1st quarter....	697,590	449,330	1,146,920
2d quarter....	630,506	332,864	963,370
3d quarter....	510,551	381,995	892,546
	8,918,139	5,912,260	14,820,408

These figures brought the account only to the end of September. Later the British Admiralty announced the October sinkings of allied and neutral ships as totaling 177,534 tons, of which 83,952 were British. The same authorities stated on Dec. 5 that the total losses of

the world's merchant tonnage from the beginning of the war to the end of October, 1918, through belligerent action and marine risk, was 15,053,786 gross tons, of which 9,031,828 were British. On the same day Sir Eric Geddes, First Lord of the British Admiralty, stated that 5,622 British merchant ships had been sunk during the war, of which 2,475 had been sunk with their crews still on board and 3,147 had been sunk and their crews set adrift. Fishing vessels to the number of 670 had been destroyed, and more than 15,000 men in the British merchant marine had lost their lives through enemy action.

The United States bore its share of the losses. According to official figures announced by the Bureau of Navigation of the Department of Commerce, a total of 145 American passenger and merchant vessels, of 354,449 gross tons, was lost through enemy acts from the beginning of the war to the cessation of hostilities on Nov. 11. This does not include several vessels whose loss had not been established as due to acts of the enemy. In all 775 lives were lost in the destruction of the ships mentioned above. Nineteen of the 145 vessels and 67 of the 775 lives were lost through German torpedoes, mines, and gunfire prior to the entrance of the United States into the war. On Dec. 2 Secretary Lansing issued a formal statement advising American citizens to file at the State Department within thirty days from Dec. 1 information concerning losses sustained through German submarine warfare either before or after the United States entered the war.

SHIP CONSTRUCTION

According to the British Admiralty statement of Dec. 5, which placed the total of the world's shipping losses at 15,053,786 gross tons, the world's ship construction during the same period was 10,849,527 gross tons, while enemy tonnage totaling 2,392,675 was captured, so

that the net loss of allied and neutral tonnage during the war was 1,811,584.

According to a British official report the output of merchant tonnage in the United Kingdom and allied and neutral countries during the years 1915, 1916, 1917, and the quarters ended March 31, June 30, and Sept. 30, 1918, was as follows:

Period.	United Kingdom. Gross Tons.	Allied and Neutral. Gross Tons.	World. Gross Tons.
1915	650,919	551,081	1,202,000
1916	541,552	1,146,448	1,688,000
1917	1,163,474	1,774,312	2,937,786
1918.			
1st quarter..	320,280	550,037	870,317
2d quarter..	442,966	800,308	1,243,274
3d quarter..	411,395	*972,735	1,384,130

*Provisional figures.

The output for the world during the last quarter exceeded the losses from all causes by nearly half a million gross tons.

The tonnage of merchant vessels completed in United Kingdom yards and entered for service during October, 1918, compared with preceding periods, was as under:

1917.	1918.
Gross Tons.	Gross Tons.
January 48,089	January 58,568
February ... 79,451	February ... 100,038
March 118,699	March 161,674
April 69,711	April 111,533
May 69,773	May 197,274
June 109,847	June 134,159
July 83,073	July 141,948
August 102,060	August 124,675
September .. 63,150	September .. 144,772
October 148,309	October 136,100
Total 10 months to Oct. 31, 1917, 892,162.	
Total 10 months to Oct. 31, 1918, 1,310,711.	
Total 12 months to Oct. 31, 1917, 1,045,036.	
Total 12 months to Oct. 31, 1918, 1,582,053.	

In a speech at Atlantic City, Dec. 4, 1918, Charles M. Schwab, Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, stated that American ship construction in November, 1918, was about 500,000 deadweight tons, and that the total for the year 1918 would be between 3,500,000 and 4,000,000 tons. Before the war the American record for one year was 400,000 deadweight tons.

The British Admiralty said on Nov. 29 that a total of about 360 U-boats had been built by Germany, and that approximately 200 of these had been destroyed in the course of the war. The

terms of the armistice originally called for the surrender of 160 German submarines, but this clause in its final form called for all such craft. The total finally surrendered proved to be only 122. On Nov. 29 the last of the U-boat fleet at Heligoland had been given up at Harwich and interned, and the crews had been put on transports and returned to Germany. Counting five submarines interned in Norwegian ports and one or more in Spain and elsewhere, the total surviving U-boat fleet at the end of the war apparently numbered less than 130.

ANTI-SUBMARINE METHODS

The accuracy of the allied methods of gaining information about the movements of enemy submarines was one of the surprising features of the war. Very few U-boats left their bases without the knowledge of the British and American naval commanders. The numbers of the vessels, the duration of their cruises, and the localities in which they were ordered to operate were known in nearly all cases. This information was transmitted daily by wireless to every ship of the Atlantic patrol fleet and to all convoys and merchant vessels.

Wireless operators at sea and ashore heard the submarines reporting in code to Germany every night, and their positions were learned by a system of reckoning the wave length. This was done so accurately that the submarine could be definitely located as closely as a mile. This assisted the allied anti-submarine patrols. They could keep the Germans on the move by remaining in waters in which they knew the U-boats were ordered to operate, and did not waste time hunting where it was unlikely that their prey was working.

HOW THE CONVOY WORKED

Details of convoy management and the proper camouflaging of grouped ships to make their destruction by undersea craft difficult were revealed at the close of hostilities by an American naval officer, who thus described the voyage of a fleet of American troopships under convoy:

"Guarded above by dirigibles, hydroplanes and anchored balloons, and on the surface by a fleet of patrol boats as well

as our ocean escort, we proceeded, and America soon dropped below the western horizon. At sunset we were well out to sea.

"It is not hard to see why the convoy system was effective. Take the case of a convoy of twenty-five ships, (seventy-two is the largest number I've heard of in one convoy; our mate told me of being caught in a seventy-two-ship convoy in a sailing ship in the Bay of Biscay.) When these ships went in convoy, instead of there being twenty-five different units, scattered all over the 'zone' for the U-boats to find, there was only one. That is, the enemy had only one chance of meeting a ship where he had twenty-five before. And if he did meet the convoy he found it usually with a naval escort, whose sole business was sinking submarines. He found, too, twenty-five lookouts on watch for him, twenty-five sets of guns ready for him, where there were but one each before. If the enemy showed himself to a convoy and its escort, the odds were that he was due for a quick trip to the bottom.

"The usual convoy formation was in columns in a rough square. This was the most compact, and the inside ships were practically immune from attack. The escorts circled the convoy, if necessary, and the outside ships concentrated their fire on any submarine that appeared. Convoys were made up at different speeds, and even the rustiest old tramps were provided for in a six-knot class.

"It was remarkable what a snappy escort commander could do with his charges. After a day or two together he had them manoeuvring in position like a second grand fleet; zigzagging 'dark' through a black night, not a ray of light showing anywhere if they were in the danger zone or a tin fish was reported near.

STRANGE CAMOUFLAGE PATTERNS

"The war brought no stranger spectacle than that of a convoy of steamships plowing along through the middle of the ocean streaked and bespotted indiscriminately with every color of the rainbow in a way more bizarre than the

wildest dreams of a sailor's first night ashore.

"The effect of good camouflage was remarkable. I have often looked at a fellow-ship in the convoy on our quarter on exactly the same courses we were, but on account of her camouflage she appeared to be making right for us on a course at least forty-five degrees different from the one she was actually steering.

"The deception was remarkable even under such conditions as these, and of course a U-boat, with its hasty limited observation, was much more likely to be fooled.

"Each nation seemed to have a characteristic type of camouflage, and after a little practice you could usually spot a ship's nationality by her style of camouflage long before you could make out her ensign."

U-BOAT BRUTALITY

Lieutenant Fulcher, one of two American officers captured by the Deutschland when it sunk the American cargo ship Ticonderoga in mid-Atlantic, Sept. 30, 1918, thus described his experiences:

"The first few shots from the U-boat badly wounded the Captain of the Ticonderoga, killed the gun crew, and set the ship afire. The decks were quickly littered with dead. A British cruiser opened fire, whereupon the U-boat submerged. We managed to get the fire extinguished and to lower the boats, but in the excitement and confusion most of the poor fellows aboard were drowned. The U-boat again attacked us, and we kept up fire until we realized that the ship was sinking and it was useless to continue. We then decided to surrender."

Although Lieutenant Fulcher was wounded and his thigh bone was exposed, he took a pillowslip and waved it in place of a white flag. The U-boat came alongside and he was taken aboard with another officer. The commander of the submarine, holding a revolver in his hand, asked the Lieutenant where his chief gunner was.

"I told him all the gunners were killed," added Lieutenant Fulcher. "A member of the crew who knew German was on a raft at the time, but the com-

mander ignored his plea for help. 'God will save him,' was all he said, and then left him to his fate.

"A doctor removed my blood-stained clothing, and a drink of brandy was given to me. After I recovered a little I was closely interrogated. They asked questions about our convoy and about the Americans generally. I was specially asked why we in the United States call the Germans Huns.

"On the twelfth day after the sinking of the Ticonderoga we met a Norwegian ship bound from New York for Australia. The Germans captured her and transferred all her provisions to the U-boat. At 10 o'clock the next morning the ship was sunk. The Germans left the crew to their fate 1,000 miles from land.

"Two days afterward we sighted an English sailing ship. English cruisers came up, however, and we submerged. Shells from the English ships came so near us that we could feel the submarine tremble. Two days passed and an English ship was again encountered. This time one torpedo and eighty-three shots were fired at her, but she was not caught.

"On Oct. 25 all the U-boats were called back, and in twenty-five days we were at Kiel. I was there put aboard the Prince Henry, and was told a little later that if I liked I could have passage to England on the U-boat which captured me. We went to Heligoland to make up the flotilla and I arrived at Harwich today, (Nov. 25.) I am very glad to have come through so many adventures safely."

NO MORE WOODEN SHIPS

From a letter written by Charles A. Piez and made public on Nov. 29, it developed that the Shipping Board wished either to sell 150 wooden ships abroad or cancel the contracts for them. Mr. Piez wrote in part:

The limitations which the Board of Trustees has imposed on the construction of additional wooden vessels have grown, first, out of the fact that we have not received authorization for further expenditures from Congress, and, second, out of the fact that all the wooden vessels and all the steel vessels contracted

for on the Great Lakes are below 4,000 deadweight tons in capacity and that we will have, upon the completion of our wooden ship and Great Lakes program, over 1,100 small vessels—altogether too many to serve the very limited needs which we have for this class of vessels in normal times. The operating division of the Emergency Fleet Corporation has pronounced the wooden steamers as good emergency vessels, but as rather unprofitable investments under competitive conditions. We are at present engaged in an endeavor to dispose of a part of our present program to foreign buyers.'

GOVERNMENT SHIP PURCHASE

Government ownership of greatly increased ocean transport facilities was foreshadowed in a statement by the United States Shipping Board Nov. 26. The official announcement was as follows:

Announcement was made at the Shipping Board that the International Mercantile Marine Corporation had today been advised of the Government's disinclination to give its approval to the proposed transfer to a British syndicate of the American ownership which has for years been vested in the International Mercantile Marine Corporation of the latter's vessels now under British registry.

Bainbridge Colby of the Shipping Board stated that an offer by a British syndicate to acquire from the International Mercantile Marine Corporation the tonnage in question had been under consideration for some time. The offer was expressly conditioned upon its approval by both the United States and British Governments.

The vessels immediately concerned in the syndicate's offer are approximately eighty-five in number, and aggregate 730,000 gross tons, or, in their deadweight equivalent, about 1,000,000 tons. They include some of the most important vessels now engaged in transatlantic service, such as the Olympic, and many other vessels of large type and familiar names.

The Government has announced its willingness to take over the ownership of these vessels upon the terms of the British offer, which is considered a fair price for tonnage of this exceptional character. Notification has been sent to the International Mercantile Marine Corporation of the Government's decision.

The negotiations for the sale by the International Mercantile Marine of its British assets had been abruptly halted Nov. 19 at the request of the United States Government, which did not care

to have the control of this fleet of vessels pass into British hands under existing conditions. While no statement was made as to the figure at which the Gov-

ernment had decided to take over the vessels, the unofficial understanding was that they had been offered to the British syndicate for about \$90,000,000.

Diary of the Chief Events of the War

Birdseye View of the Great Conflict

[A detailed chronology of the war, month by month, giving dates of minor as well as major events, has appeared in these pages in the successive monthly periods.]

1914

June 28—Francis Ferdinand shot at Serajevo.
 July 5—Kaiser's War Council at Potsdam.
 July 23—Austro-Hungarian note to Serbia.
 July 28—Austria declared war on Serbia.
 July 31—State of war in Germany.
 Aug. 1—Germany declared war on Russia.
 Aug. 2—German ultimatum to Belgium.
 Aug. 3—Germany declared war on France.
 Aug. 4—Great Britain declared war on Germany.
 Aug. 10—France declared war on Austria.
 Aug. 12—Great Britain declared war on Austria.
 Aug. 15—Fall of Liège.
 Aug. 16—British Army landed in France; Russian advance into East Prussia.
 Aug. 20—Germans occupied Brussels.
 Aug. 23—Japan declared war on Germany.
 Aug. 24—Fall of Namur.
 Aug. 25—Sack of Louvain.
 Aug. 27—German victory of Tannenberg.
 Aug. 28—British victory in the Bight.
 Aug. 29—New Zealanders in Samoa.
 Sept. 2—Russians took Lemberg.
 Sept. 3—Paris Government at Bordeaux.
 Sept. 4—Pact of London signed.
 Sept. 5—End of retreat from Mons.
 Sept. 6—First Marne battle begun.
 Sept. 15—First Aisne battle begun.
 Sept. 16—Russians evacuated East Prussia.
 Sept. 23—First British air raid in Germany.
 Oct. 9—Fall of Antwerp.
 Oct. 13—Belgian Government at Havre.
 Oct. 20—First battle of Ypres begun.
 Nov. 1—Naval action off Coronel.
 Nov. 5—Great Britain declared war on Turkey.
 Nov. 7—Fall of Tsing-tao.
 Nov. 10—Emden sunk.
 Nov. 21—British occupied Basra.
 Dec. 2—Austrians in Belgrade.
 Dec. 8—Naval battle off the Falklands.
 Dec. 14—Serbians retook Belgrade.
 Dec. 16—Germans bombarded W. Hartelpool.
 Dec. 18—Husseln Kamel, Sultan of Egypt.
 Dec. 24—First air raid on England.

1915

Jan. 24—Naval battle off Dogger Bank.
 Feb. 2—Turks defeated on Suez Canal.
 Feb. 18—U-boat "blockade" of England.

Feb. 25—Allied fleet attacked Dardanelles.
 March 10—British captured Neuve Chapelle.
 March 22—Russians took Przemyśl.
 April 22—Second battle of Ypres begun. First gas attack by Germans.
 April 25—Allied landing in Gallipoli.
 May 3—Battle of the Dunajec.
 May 6—Battle at Krithia, Gallipoli.
 May 7—Lusitania torpedoed.
 May 8—Germans occupied Libau.
 May 11—German repulse at Ypres.
 May 12—General Botha occupied Windhuk, (Africa.)
 May 16—Russian retreat to the San.
 May 23—Italy declared war on Austria.
 May 25—British Coalition Cabinet formed.
 June 2—Italians crossed Isonzo.
 June 3—Russians evacuated Przemyśl.
 June 22—Austro-Germans recaptured Lemberg.
 July 2—Pommern sunk in Baltic.
 July 9—German Southwest Africa conquered.
 July 24—Nasriyeh, on Euphrates, taken.
 Aug. 4—Fall of Warsaw.
 Aug. 5—Fall of Ivangorod.
 Aug. 6—New landing at Suva Bay. Germans took Warsaw.
 Aug. 8—General Birdwood's advance at Anzac.
 Aug. 17—Fall of Kovno.
 Aug. 18—Russian victory in Riga Gulf.
 Aug. 19—Fall of Novo-Georgievsk.
 Aug. 21—Cotton declared contraband.
 Aug. 25—Fall of Brest-Litovsk.
 Sept. 1—General Alexieff as Chief of Staff.
 Sept. 2—Fall of Grodno.
 Sept. 5—Czar as Generalissimo.
 Sept. 7—Russian victory near Tarnopol.
 Sept. 18—Fall of Vilna.
 Sept. 21—Russian retreat ended.
 Sept. 25—Battle of Loos and Champagne.
 Sept. 28—Victory at Kut-el-Amara.
 Oct. 4—Russian ultimatum to Bulgaria.
 Oct. 5—Allied landing at Saloniki.
 Oct. 6—Austro-German invasion of Serbia.
 Oct. 9—Belgrade occupied.
 Oct. 14—Bulgaria at war with Serbia.
 Oct. 17—Allied note to Greece.
 Oct. 22—Bulgarians occupy Uskub.
 Oct. 28—M. Briand French Premier.
 Nov. 5—Fall of Nish.
 Nov. 22—Battle of Ctesiphon.
 Nov. 29—British withdrew from Ctesiphon.
 Dec. 2—Fall of Monastir.

Dec. 3—General Townshend at Kut.
 Dec. 9—Allied retreat in Macedonia.
 Dec. 13—Saloniki lines fortified.
 Dec. 15—Haig British Commander in Chief.
 Dec. 19—Withdrawal from Gallipoli.
 Dec. 25—Turkish defeat at Kut.

1916

Jan. 8—Gallipoli evacuation complete.
 Jan. 13—Fall of Cettigne.
 Feb. 9—General Smuts appointed to East Africa.
 Feb. 16—Russians entered Erzerum.
 Feb. 18—German Kamerun conquered.
 Feb. 21—Battle of Verdun begun.
 Feb. 24—Germans took Fort Douaumont.
 March 16—Admiral von Tirpitz dismissed.
 April 9—German assault at Verdun.
 April 17—Russians entered Trebizond.
 April 24—Rebellion in Ireland.
 April 29—Fall of Kut-el-Amara.
 May 24—British Conscription bill passed.
 May 31—Battle of Jutland.
 June 4—General Brusiloff's offensive.
 June 5—Lord Kitchener lost at sea.
 June 14—Allied Economic Conference in Paris.
 June 21—Mecca taken by Grand Sherif.
 July 1—Somme battle begun.
 July 25—Russians occupied Erzincan.
 Aug. 6—Italian offensive on Isonzo.
 Aug. 9—Gorizia taken by Italians.
 Aug. 10—Russians at Stanislau.
 Aug. 27—Rumania entered the war.
 Aug. 29—Hindenburg Chief of Staff.
 Sept. 15—First use of "tanks" by British in battle of the Somme.
 Sept. 26—British took Thiepval and Comblès.
 Oct. 10—Allied ultimatum to Greece.
 Nov. 1—Italian advance on Carso.
 Nov. 13—British victory on the Ancre.
 Nov. 18—Serbians and French took Monastir.
 Nov. 21—Charles I. succeeds Francis Joseph.
 Nov. 29—Grand Fleet under Sir D. Beatty.
 Dec. 1—Anti-allied riot in Athens.
 Dec. 5—Resignation of Mr. Asquith.
 Dec. 6—Germans entered Bucharest.
 Dec. 7—Mr. Lloyd George Prime Minister.
 Dec. 12—German "peace proposals."
 Dec. 15—French victory at Verdun.
 Dec. 20—President Wilson's peace note.

1917

Jan. 1—Turkey denounced Berlin Treaty.
 Feb. 1—"Unrestricted" U-boat war begun.
 Feb. 3—America broke with Germany.
 Feb. 24—British recaptured Kut-el-Amara.
 March 11—British entered Bagdad.
 March 12—Revolution in Russia.
 March 15—Abdication of the Czar.
 March 18—British entered Péronne.
 March 21—First British Imperial War Cabinet.
 April 6—America declared war on Germany.
 April 9—Battle of Vimy Ridge begun.
 May 4—French took Craonne.
 May 14—New Italian offensive.
 May 15—General Pétain French Commander in Chief.

May 18—Selective draft law passed in United States.

June 7—British victory at Messines Ridge.
 June 12—Abdication of King Constantine.
 June 26—First American troops in France.
 June 29—General Allenby commander in Egypt.
 July 1—Last Russian offensive begun.
 July 14—Bethmann Hollweg dismissed.
 July 17—British Royal House styled " Windsor."
 July 19—Reichstag "peace" resolution.
 July 21—Kerensky in power at Petrograd.
 July 24—Russian defeat in Galicia.
 July 31—Great allied attack around Ypres.
 Aug. 29—President Wilson's note to the Pope.
 Sept. 4—Germans occupied Riga.
 Sept. 15—Russian Republic proclaimed.
 Sept. 28—British victory at Ramadieh.
 Oct. 9—Allied attack in Flanders.
 Oct. 24—Italian defeat at Caporetto.
 Oct. 29—Fall of Udine.
 Oct. 30—Chancellor Michaelis dismissed.
 Oct. 31—British captured Beersheba.
 Nov. 1—German retreat on Chemin des Dames. Hertling German Chancellor.
 Nov. 4—British troops in Italy.
 Nov. 6—British stormed Passchendaele Ridge.
 Nov. 7—Lenine and Trotzky in power; Bolshevik coup d'état in Russia.
 Nov. 9—Italian stand on the Piave.
 Nov. 16—Clemenceau Ministry.
 Nov. 17—British in Jaffa.
 Nov. 18—General Maude's death in Mesopotamia.
 Nov. 20—British victory at Cambrai.
 Nov. 29—First plenary session of Interallied War Council.
 Nov. 30—German success at Cambrai.
 Dec. 6—Armistice on Russian front.
 Dec. 10—British enter Jerusalem.
 Dec. 22—Brest-Litovsk Conference opened.
 Dec. 26—Sir R. Wemyss First Sea Lord.

1918

Jan. 8—President Wilson's fourteen points.
 Jan. 20—Breslau sunk; Goeben damaged.
 Feb. 1—Germany recognized Ukraine.
 Feb. 9—Ukraine peace of Brest-Litovsk.
 Feb. 18—German invasion of Russia.
 Feb. 21—British capture Jericho.
 Feb. 24—Turks recover Trebizond.
 Feb. 25—Germans at Reval.
 March 3—Russian peace of Brest-Litovsk.
 March 7—German peace with Finland.
 March 11—Turks recover Erzerum.
 March 13—Germans at Odessa.
 March 14—Brest-Litovsk Treaty ratified at Moscow.
 March 21—German offensive in France.
 March 28—First long-distance bombardment of Paris.
 March 24—Bapaume and Péronne lost.
 March 28—General Foch made allied Generalissimo.
 April 5—Allied landing at Vladivostok.
 April 11—Armentières lost.

- April 13—Turks occupied Batum.
 April 22—Naval raid on Zeebrugge and Ostend.
 April 24—Battle for Amiens.
 April 26—Kemmel Hill lost.
 April 27—Turks occupied Kars.
 April 30—Germans at Viborg.
 May 1—Germans at Sebastopol.
 May 7—Rumanian peace of Bucharest.
 May 9—Second raid on Ostend.
 May 27—Second German offensive.
 May 29—Soissons lost; Rheims held.
 May 31—Germans reached Marne.
 June 1—Attacks toward Paris held.
 June 9—New German assault.
 June 15—Austrian offensive in Italy.
 June 23—Great Austrian defeat.
 July 2—One million Americans are in France.
 July 15—Last German offensive. Second Marne battle begun.
 July 16—Ex-Czar shot at Ekaterinburg.
 July 18—General Foch's counterattack. Victorious Franco-American offensive on the Marne and Aisne.
 July 20—Germans recrossed the Marne.
 Aug. 2—Soissons recovered.
 Aug. 8—British attack at Amiens.
 Aug. 29—Bapaume and Noyon regained.
 Sept. 1—Péronne recovered.
 Sept. 2—Drocourt-Quéant line breached.
 Sept. 12—American attack at St. Mihiel.
 Sept. 15—Austrian peace note.
 Sept. 17—New Macedonian offensive.
 Sept. 25—Bulgaria proposed armistice.
 Sept. 27—Hindenburg line broken.
 Sept. 29—Bulgaria surrendered.
 Sept. 30—Fall of Damascus. Chancellor Hertling resigns.
 Oct. 1—St. Quentin regained.
 Oct. 4—Abdication of King Ferdinand.
 Oct. 9—Cambrai regained.
 Oct. 13—French recovered Laon.
 Oct. 14—British troops at Irkutsk.
 Oct. 15—British in Homs.
 Oct. 17—Ostend, Lille, Douai regained.
 Oct. 19—Bruges reoccupied.
 Oct. 20—Belgian coast clear.
 Oct. 25—Ludendorff resigned.
 Oct. 26—Aleppo fell to the Allies.
 Oct. 27—Austria sued for peace.
 Oct. 28—Italians crossed Piave.
 Oct. 29—Serbians reached the Danube.
 Oct. 30—Turkey granted armistice.
 Nov. 1—Versailles Conference opened.
 Nov. 2—British at Valenciennes.
 Nov. 3—Austria surrenders. Kiel mutiny.
 Nov. 4—Versailles armistice agreement.
 Nov. 5—Armistice powers for Marshal Foch. Mr. Wilson's last note to Germany.
 Nov. 6—Americans reached Sedan.
 Nov. 7—Bavarian Republic proclaimed.
 Nov. 9—Foch received German envoys. Abdication of the Kaiser. Chancellor Prince Max resigned. Berlin revolution.
 Nov. 10—Kaiser's flight to Holland. British at Mons.
 Nov. 11—Armistice terms accepted by Germany.

Chronology of American Operations

General March's Official Record

GENERAL MARCH, American Chief of Staff, appended the following chronology to his annual report to Secretary Baker, made public Dec. 5, 1918. It is a complete official summary of the chief operations of the United States Army in France:

1918.

- April 23-29—A sector in the vicinity of Breteuil, northwest of Montdidier, was occupied by the First Division.
 May 28—Cantigny was captured by the First Division. A detachment of our troops, reinforced by French artillery, successfully attacked the enemy on a front of about 2,200 yards. We occupied Cantigny, captured some 200 prisoners, and inflicted severe losses on the enemy.
 June 10—The Second Division attacked in Bois de Belleau, advancing the line 900 yards on a front of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, capturing 300 prisoners, 30 machine guns, 4 trench mortars, and stores of small arms, ammunition, and equipment. Held all of Hill

204 down to the village on the northeast slope, thus preventing the enemy from concentrating his forces in the northern part of Château-Thierry.

- June 11—The Second Division continued its advance in the Bois de Belleau, capturing more prisoners and machine guns and two 77 mm. fieldpieces.

Our aviators executed their first bombing raid, dropping numerous bombs on the railway station at Dommary-Baroncourt, northwest of Metz. All of our planes returned in safety.

The artillery of the Second Division shelled the enemy in their areas, preventing concentration near Torcy, Monthièrs, Hill 128, and La Gonetrie farm. It discovered and dispersed a group of 210 machine guns in the wood south of Etrepilly. The Second Division captured the last of the German positions in the Bois de Belleau, taking 50 prisoners, machine guns, and trench mortars.

- July 18—French and American troops advanced under the cover of a heavy storm on the front between Soissons and

Château-Thierry. The greatest advance was in the northern part of the sector, where a depth of 5 miles was attained, and we reached the heights southwest of Soissons, dominating the railroad and highways.

July 24—The advance of the Franco-American forces continued, and in the evening the line ran east of Buzancy to Tigny, to Hartennes, Grand Rozoy, Oulchy-le-Château, Armentières, Coiney, Courpoil, and then joined the old line at Jaulgonne. West of Rheims Marfaux was retaken, and the line ran from Aubilly, through Mézy, and joined the old line at Coulommès.

July 25—The line ran from the Ourcq to the Marne, where the allied troops advanced 6 kilometers in the centre and 3 to 4 kilometers on the flanks. The line in the evening ran from Armentières to Bruyères, the eastern edge of the Bois de la Tournelle, the eastern edge of Beuvardes, the eastern edge of Le Charnel, the crossroads at Gros Chêne, la Boulangère, the northern edge of Treloup, Chassins.

July 26—The line ran: Nanteuil, Notre Dames, Hill 123, Hill 118, la Misère, Hill 100, southwestern part of Bois de la Tournelle, Hill 111, Le Charnel. Hard fighting continued all day and the French and Americans steadily advanced on Fère.

July 27—The Forty-second Division tried to cross the Ourcq, but was driven back by heavy artillery fire.

July 28—The Forty-second Division renewed the assault, crossed the river, and after vigorous fighting took Seringes-et-Nesles, Nesles, and Sergy.

The Twenty-eighth Division held the line about 1 kilometer north of the Ourcq. During the day slow progress was made, the enemy slowly falling back after bitter rearguard action.

July 29—Franco-American troops advanced 3 kilometers from Oulchy to Villers Agron, and Bougneux, Saponay, Seringes, Nesles, and Clerges were included within our lines.

July 30—Our pressure continued on the right bank of the Ourcq. The railroad station at Fère and Cayenne Farm remained in our possession. We lost Seringes-et-Nesles, but reoccupied Sergy, Hill 312, and the woods 8 kilometers north of Ronchères.

July 31—The Twenty-eighth Division retook Seringes-et-Nesles. The Thirty-second Division attacked in Crimpettes Woods with success; the woods were taken, and troops advanced to Clerges. German counterattacks were brilliantly repulsed with the bayonet, and an immense amount of material and equipment was taken from the enemy.

Aug. 3—After continuous fighting late in the evening Soissons was taken, and a line

extending along the Vesle to between Braisne and Bazoches was being consolidated. South of the Aisne our troops drove back the enemy rear guard. Acting with the Fourth Division, the Thirty-second Division reached a line from Ville Savoye to a point just north of St. Gilles.

Aug. 4—A large enemy patrol attacked in the vicinity of Coulées, but was driven off by a combat group of the Fifth Division, which had been reinforced. Our troops were very active in patrolling, having sent out over seven reconnoissance, combat, and ambush patrols.

The Thirty-second Division took Fismes. In an eight-day battle this division forced the passage of the Ourcq, took prisoners from six enemy divisions, met, routed, and decimated a crack division of the Prussian Guards, a Bavarian division, and one other enemy division, and drove the enemy line back for 16 kilometers.

Aug. 6—The Twenty-eighth Division launched an attack the objective of which was the north bank of the Vesle. The attack was met by exceedingly heavy machine-gun and artillery fire. On the right our troops succeeded in crossing the river and advancing to the highway which runs from Rheims to Soissons. On the left the advance was held up by the enemy's fire.

Aug. 7—The units on the left advanced across the river and occupied the railroad lines on the north bank. The casualties resulting from this operation were considerable. A violent enemy counterattack was completely repulsed, and a number of prisoners and machine guns were left in our hands.

Aug. 8—As a result of successful operations on the evening of Aug. 8, 11 companies of infantry and some machine-gun detachments of the Twenty-eighth Division reached the north bank of the Vesle.

Aug. 10—The Twenty-eighth Division launched an attack in Fismette. A creeping barrage moved ahead of them. They made some progress, but were soon exposed to flanking fire from both the east and the west and were forced to fall back into Fismette. The position here was very difficult. Flanking machine-gun fire came from both sides and heavy casualties were reported. A box barrage was placed around the town and ammunition was sent up. The town was held by one battalion, with one machine-gun platoon, which received orders to hold the position at all cost.

Aug. 17—After strong artillery preparation the infantry of the Fifth Division captured the village of Frapelle and consolidated the lines north of the road running into the town from the southeast.

Aug. 19—The enemy continued shelling Frapelle positions and the artillery of the Fifth Division replied actively.

Aug. 21—The Fifth Division repulsed hostile

attack with heavy loss to the enemy and with no casualties to ourselves.

The Thirty-second Division, acting with the Tenth French Army, advanced to and held Juvigny.

The Seventy-seventh Division cleared the small wood between the Vesle and the railroad west of Château du Diable.

Sept. 3—During the five days prior to Sept. 3 the Thirty-second Division made daily advances against the enemy, gaining 6 kilometers through very difficult terrain and against violent opposition. It captured 11 officers and 920 enlisted men. A large amount of guns and munitions was captured. A patrol of the Seventy-seventh Division penetrated to Bazoches.

Sept. 5—French and American units advanced in the Oise-Rheims area as far as Condé. Strong patrols of the Seventy-seventh Division were pushed forward north of the Vesle and were encountered by machine-gun resistance. Other casualties were slight.

The Twenty-eighth Division crossed the Vesle in force and pursued the enemy to the north.

Sept. 6—The artillery of the Twenty-eighth Division directed harassing and destructive fire on the Aisne bridges, while the enemy harassed the villages in our rear areas, using a great number of gas shells.

Sept. 7—The Twenty-eighth Division repulsed two enemy counterattacks. The Seventy-seventh Division drove the enemy out of La Cendière Farm and passed the Aisne Canal.

Sept. 12—After four hours' bombardment our troops advanced on the south and west flanks of the St. Mihiel salient at 5 A. M. By 7:30 A. M. the forces operating on the south had reached the southern edge of the Bois Juli, the Quart de Réserve, and the northern edge of the Bois de Mort Mare. By noon they had reached Essey and Vieville and the army operating in the difficult ground in the west had captured Les Eparges. At 6 P. M. the troops had reached a point one kilometer east of Senzey and had taken St. Remy and Combres. During the night the troops on the western flank of the salient advanced 5 miles in five hours, reaching Vigneulles by 3 A. M.

Sept. 14—There was a general advance along the entire line, and the American Army established itself on the following front: Manheulles, Fresnes, Pintheville, St. Hilaire, Doncourt, northeast of Woel, south end of the Etang de Lachaussée, Vandières, and across the Moselle at Champey.

Sept. 17—American troops advanced along the Moselle within 300 yards of Paguy.

Sept. 18—The Twenty-sixth Division made two raids during the night. One against St. Hilaire was without result, as the enemy had retired; the other against the

Bois de Warville resulted in the capture of 15 prisoners.

Sept. 19—The Ninety-second Division repulsed an attempted enemy raid in the St. Die sector.

Sept. 20—The Ninety-second Division repulsed two enemy raids in the region of Lesseux.

Sept. 26—The First Army attacked northwest of Verdun on a front of 20 miles and penetrated to an average depth of 7 miles.

Sept. 27—The One Hundred and Seventh Regiment of the Twenty-seventh Division attacked east of Bellicourt and attained its objectives.

Sept. 29—In the Argonne the Americans met with furious resistance. Their losses were heavy, and they were unable to do more than hold their own.

Sept. 30—The Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth Divisions took prisoners north of St. Quentin totaling 210 officers and more than 1,200 men.

Oct. 1—The Twenty-eighth Division repulsed a hostile counterattack on the entire divisional front in the Aire Valley, with very heavy losses to the enemy.

Oct. 3—The Second Division, operating with the Fourth French Army, made an advance of 2 kilometers, reaching Medéah Farm in the afternoon. In the evening the Second Division advanced about 5 kilometers, and their line ran from Medéah Farm southwest along the road to Blanc Mont. They captured 1,000 prisoners, and casualties were estimated at 500.

Oct. 4—The First Division attacked on both sides of Exermont, and made progress in spite of strong opposition from the enemy, who resisted with machine guns in organized opposition. Approximately 300 prisoners were taken, and our casualties were 1,500.

Oct. 5—The First Division captured Ariélal Farm, and the line was advanced 400 yards beyond. The Sixth Division repulsed a large enemy raid on Sondernach.

Oct. 7—A brigade of the Eighty-second Division advanced 7 kilometers, occupying Hill 223, north of Chatel Chéhéry; 46 prisoners were captured, including 1 officer. Our casualties were light. Later the enemy counterattacked and occupied Hill 223, north of Chatel Chéhéry.

Oct. 8—The Sixty-ninth Brigade of the Thirtieth Division attacked at 5 A. M. over a front of 5,000 yards, gained all first objectives by 9 A. M., and second objectives by noon. Fifty officers, 1,500 men, and four 101-millimeter guns were taken.

Oct. 8-9—The Second Corps advanced about 7 miles on a front of 4,000 yards and captured about 2,000 prisoners and 30 guns.

Oct. 9—In spite of strong resistance the First Division advanced in the sector east of Fléville and captured 230 prisoners.

The Thirty-third Division, operating with the Seventeenth French Army Corps, attacked early in the morning north of

Consenoye and reached its final objective about 9 A. M. About 650 prisoners were taken.

Oct. 10—The First Corps reached Cornay-La Besogne Ridge and passed Malassise Farm, east of Grand Ham. The Sixtieth Brigade of the Thirtieth Division advanced 6 kilometers, reaching the Selle River, and held the St. Benin-St. Souplet-La Hale-Menneresse line. Up to the evening of the 9th, 50 officers, 1,800 men, and 32 guns were captured.

Oct. 12—The Fourth Division repulsed two counterattacks by machine-gun fire, with severe loss to the enemy.

Oct. 13—An attack on Grandpré this morning met very heavy machine-gun fire, and troops of the Second Corps were finally forced to retire south of the Aire. A hostile counterattack at 8 P. M. south of Landres-et-St. Georges was repulsed.

The Eighty-first Division repulsed an enemy raid in St. Die sector.

The Seventy-seventh Division took Grandpré.

Oct. 17—The Twenty-ninth Division advanced to the summit of Bois de la Grand Montagne, east of the Meuse.

The Forty-second Division took Côte de Châtillon.

The Second Battalion of the Seventy-sixth Division reached the northern edge of Bois des Loges, west of Champigneulle.

In an attack on a 4,000-yard front from St. Souplet to Molain our troops advanced 3,000 yards against very stiff resistance. All counterattacks repulsed. Prisoners taken were estimated at 2,500.

Oct. 19—The Thirtieth Division attacked with the British at dawn and advanced 2,000 yards. Prisoners captured since the morning of the 17th totaled 44 officers and over 1,500 men.

The Seventy-eighth Division pushed its lines forward to Bellejoyeuse Farm and began to mop up the Bois des Loges.

Oct. 21—In attacks on the Bois des Rappes the Fifth Division met with stubborn resistance by machine guns, supported by artillery and infantry fire. It captured the entire position, with 170 prisoners, including 5 officers. An enemy counterattack, supported by heavy artillery fire, was repulsed with heavy losses.

The Fifth and Third Divisions took Hill 297 and Bois des Rappes.

Attacking in the evening, the Eighty-ninth Division occupied the northern and eastern edge of the Bois de Banthéville.

Oct. 23—Troops of the Third Corps reached the north ridge of the village of Banthéville, taking 171 prisoners.

The Twenty-ninth Division captured the ridge of the Bois d'Etrayes and Hill 361.

Oct. 27—The Seventy-eighth Division entered Bellejoyeuse Farm, northeast of Grandpré, and found it unoccupied. The occu-

pation of the right of way north and northwest of Grandpré was completed.

Oct. 30—Patrols were active along the entire front of the Twenty-eighth Division. The Thirty-third Division, in the face of heavy artillery and machine-gun fire, north of Grandpré advanced its lines and occupied the Bellejoyeuse Farm. On Oct. 30 2,000 high explosive and gun shells fell in the vicinity of Fresnes. One of the divisional patrols captured five prisoners.

Nov. 1—The troops of the First Army captured Cléry-le-Grand. North of Ancreville they took 53 additional prisoners and continued their advance into the Bois de Banthéville. During the night of Nov. 1-2 the troops of the Thirty-seventh Division consolidated their positions and effected a crossing of the River Scheldt, confronted by enemy machine-gun and rifle fire. The Ninety-first Division, supported by artillery and machine-gun fire, rapidly advanced over 6 kilometers in spite of enemy artillery and machine-gun fire. The enemy was driven from the west bank of the Scheldt and at noon the heights northwest of Audenarde were taken.

Nov. 2—In the evening the troops of the Seventy-eighth Division drove the enemy from the Bois des Loges and closely followed his retreat. The Ninety-second Division, in spite of machine-gun resistance, pushed forward and advanced the line 3 kilometers.

Nov. 3—The Ninety-first Division, in spite of active machine-gun resistance, forced its way toward the bank of the Scheldt in the vicinity of Eyne.

Nov. 4—A brigade of the Seventy-ninth Division attacked an enemy sector, taking 81 prisoners and 8 machine guns, encountering strong resistance and repulsing several counterattacks.

Nov. 5—The troops of the Seventy-seventh Division engaged in severe fighting, and overcame strong enemy resistance along the entire line. The artillery was active, firing on the enemy's retreating columns. Harassing artillery fire was returned by the enemy. Aviation was active on both sides. The enemy flew over our front lines and delivered machine-gun fire on our advancing troops. Two enemy planes were brought down.

Nov. 6—Our troops of the First Corps continued their successful advance, forcing the enemy to retire. The towns of Flabas, Raucourt, Haraucourt, and Autrecourt were taken, and patrols pushed on as far as the Meuse. Large quantities of matériel were captured during the advance.

Following heavy bombardment on the enemy's divisions the troops of the Fifth Division attacked, rapidly overcoming the enemy's resistance, capturing Liondevant-Dun, Murvaux, Fontaine, and

Vilosnes-sur-Meuse, taking more than 250 prisoners.

Nov. 7—The troops of the Second Division cleared the west bank of the Meuse of the remaining machine guns and snipers in the vicinity of Mouzon. The Fifth Division, supported by artillery fire, continued its advance despite the enemy's continued resistance, principally with machine guns. Most of the artillery crossed to the east bank of the Meuse, following in support of the infantry. Additional prisoners were taken, including 2 officers and 132 men.

Nov. 8—The patrols of the Second Division crossed the Meuse south of Mouzon. The troops of the Thirty-third Division, aided by barrage fire, carried out a successful raid on Château Aulnois, capturing 1 officer and 22 men. Strong combat patrols were sent out from the lines of the Ninety-second Division (colored.) Prisoners were captured and casualties inflicted on the enemy.

Nov. 9—During midnight the patrols of the Fifth Division drove back the enemy, inflicting many casualties and capturing 6 prisoners. The troops consolidated, and, despite stubborn resistance, principally from machine guns, drove the enemy from Bois du Canol and La Sentinelle and captured Brandeville. In these operations 47 prisoners, 125 machine guns, and other matériel were captured. A strong combat patrol was active along the entire front of the Thirty-third Division, meeting with heavy machine-gun resistance

from the enemy, and a patrol of one company captured 8 prisoners in the Bois de Warville. The troops of the Seventy-ninth Division advanced in a generally northeasterly direction, with the right flank in Bois de Damvillers. The Forty-second and units of the First seized the heights south of Sedan.

Nov. 10—The Thirty-third Division carried out a successful raid on Marcheville, occupying the town and taking 80 prisoners, including 3 officers. Strong patrols from the line engaged in sharp fighting. The Thirty-seventh Division, operating with the Thirty-fourth French Army Corps, attacked in order to force a crossing of the Scheldt. Violent enflading machine-gun fire, heavy artillery, and the flooded condition of the terrain delayed the construction of bridges and crossings. In the face of continuous heavy artillery fire, supported by machine guns, the troops advanced about 2 kilometers. The Ninetieth Division advanced toward Sudon, encountering no resistance. The Ninety-second Division reached Bois Trehaut and captured 710 prisoners.

Nov. 11—The Third Division advanced 3 kilometers east of Bréhéville. Despite increased resistance by machine-gun and artillery fire, the Fifth Division continued to advance, capturing 18 prisoners, 3 large-calibre guns, 6 minenwerfers, and considerable matériel. In accordance with the terms of the armistice, hostilities on the front of the American armies ceased at 11 A. M.

General Wood to His Men at Camp Funston

Major Gen. Leonard Wood, whose lot it was to train young soldiers in a cantonment at home instead of winning glory in France, gave this memorable message to each man mustered out at Camp Funston, Kansas:

In the performance of military duty to one's country in time of war it is not for the citizen called to the colors to select the kind of service to be done by him. One who has willingly and loyally responded to the call to arms, and who has put his best efforts, mental and physical, into the training, and performed all military duties required of him to the best of his ability, standing ready always to make the supreme sacrifice of life itself, if need be, has done all that a good citizen and soldier could do to insure the successful prosecution of the war.

Although I appreciate how keenly you feel the disappointment of your failure to

secure duty overseas in the actual battle area, I know you rejoice together with all Americans in the prospect of a righteous and just peace imposed upon the enemy and the termination of the terrible conflict which has involved the whole civilized world. You have done your best. You have cheerfully and loyally discharged the clear duty of every citizen in time of war and your work has been a part of the great national effort which has aided in securing a victorious peace.

You are discharged from the army because your services are no longer required in the present emergency. You will return to your place in civil life all the better for the training you have had, and I feel sure you will take with you a better and higher appreciation of the obligations of citizenship, including the obligation of every man to be trained, prepared, and ready to render service to the nation in war as well as in peace.

General Pershing's Official Story

Battles Fought by American Armies in France From Their Organization to the Fall of Sedan

[CABLED BY GENERAL PERSHING TO MR. BAKER, SECRETARY OF WAR, AND MADE PUBLIC WITH HIS ANNUAL REPORT, DEC. 5, 1918]

NOVEMBER 20, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: In response to your request, I have the honor to submit this brief summary of the organization and operation of the American Expeditionary Force from May 26, 1917, until the signing of the armistice Nov. 11, 1918. Pursuant to your instructions, immediately upon receiving my orders I selected a small staff and proceeded to Europe in order to become familiar with conditions at the earliest possible moment.

The warmth of our reception in England and France was only equaled by the readiness of the Commanders in Chief of the veteran armies of the Allies, and their staffs, to place their experience at our disposal. In consultation with them the most effective means of co-operation of effort was considered. With the French and British Armies at their maximum strength, and when all efforts to dispossess the enemy from his firmly entrenched positions in Belgium and France had failed, it was necessary to plan for an American force adequate to turn the scale in favor of the Allies. Taking account of the strength of the Central Powers at that time, the immensity of the problem which confronted us could hardly be overestimated. The first requisite being an organization that could give intelligent direction to effort, the formation of a General Staff occupied my early attention.

A well-organized General Staff, through which the Commander exercises his functions, is essential to a successful modern army. However capable our division, our battalion, and our companies as such, success would be impossible without thoroughly co-ordinated endeavor. A General Staff broadly organized and trained for war had not

hitherto existed in our army. Under the Commander in Chief, this staff must carry out the policy and direct the details of administration, supply, preparation, and operations of the army as a whole, with all special branches and bureaus subject to its control. As models to aid us we had the veteran French General Staff and the experience of the British, who had similarly formed an organization to meet the demands of a great army. By selecting from each the features best adapted to our basic organization, and fortified by our own early experience in the war, the development of our great General Staff system was completed.

The General Staff is naturally divided into five groups, each with its chief, who is an assistant to the Chief of the General Staff. G. 1 is in charge of organization and equipment of troops, replacements, tonnage, priority of overseas shipment, the auxiliary welfare association, and cognate subjects; G. 2 has censorship, enemy intelligence, gathering and disseminating information, preparation of maps, and all similar subjects; G. 3 is charged with all strategic studies and plans, movement of troops, and the supervision of combat operations; G. 4 co-ordinates important questions of supply, construction, transport arrangements for combat, and of the operations of the service of supply, and of hospitalization and the evacuation of the sick and wounded; G. 5 supervises the various schools and has general direction and co-ordination of education and training.

The first Chief of Staff was Colonel (now Major Gen.) James G. Harbord, who was succeeded in March, 1918, by Major Gen. James W. McAndrew. To these officers, to the Deputy Chief of Staff, and to the Assistant Chiefs of Staff, who, as heads of sections, aided them, great credit is due for the results obtained, not only in perfecting the General Staff organization, but in applying correct principles to the multiplicity of problems that have arisen.

ORGANIZATION AND TRAINING

After a thorough consideration of allied organizations, it was decided that our combat division should consist of four regiments of infantry of 3,000 men, with three battalions to a regiment and four companies of 250 men each to a battalion, and of an artillery brigade of three regiments, a machine-gun bat-

talion, an engineer regiment, a trench-mortar battery, a signal battalion, wagon trains, and the headquarters staffs and military police. These, with medical and other units, made a total of over 28,000 men, or practically double the size of a French or German division. Each corps would normally consist of six divisions—four combat and one depot and one replacement division—and also two regiments of cavalry, and each army of from three to five corps. With four divisions fully trained, a corps could take over an American sector with two divisions in line and two in reserve, with the depot and replacement divisions prepared to fill the gaps in the ranks.

Our purpose was to prepare an integral American force which should be able to take the offensive in every respect. Accordingly, the development of a self-reliant infantry by thorough drill in the use of the rifle and in the tactics of open warfare was always uppermost. The plan of training after arrival in France allowed a division one month for acclimatization and instruction in small units from battalions down, a second month in quiet trench sectors by battalion, and a third month after it came out of the trenches when it should be trained as a complete division in war of movement.

Very early a system of schools was outlined and started which should have the advantage of instruction by officers direct from the front. At the great school centre at Langres, one of the first to be organized, was the staff school, where the principles of general staff work, as laid down in our own organization, were taught to carefully selected officers. Men in the ranks who had shown qualities of leadership were sent to the school of candidates for commissions. A school of the line taught younger officers the principles of leadership, tactics, and the use of the different weapons. In the artillery school, at Saumur, young officers were taught the fundamental principles of modern artillery; while at Issoudun an immense plant was built for training cadets in aviation. These and other schools, with their well-considered curriculums for training in every branch of our organization, were co-ordinated in a manner best to develop an efficient army out of willing and industrious young men, many of whom had not before known even the rudiments of military technique. Both Marshal Haig and General Pétain placed officers and men at our disposal for instructional purposes, and we are deeply indebted for the opportunities given to profit by their veteran experience.

AMERICAN ZONE

The eventual place the American Army should take on the western front was to a large extent influenced by the vital questions of communication and supply. The northern ports of France were crowded by the British Armies' shipping and supplies, while the southern ports, though otherwise

at our service, had not adequate port facilities for our purposes, and these we should have to build. The already overtaxed railway system behind the active front in Northern France would not be available for us as lines of supply, and those leading from the southern ports of Northeastern France would be unequal to our needs without much new construction. Practically all warehouses, supply depots and regulating stations must be provided by fresh constructions. While France offered us such material as she had to spare after a drain of three years, enormous quantities of material had to be brought across the Atlantic.

With such a problem any temporization or lack of definiteness in making plans might cause failure even with victory within our grasp. Moreover, broad plans commensurate with our national purpose and resources would bring conviction of our power to every soldier in the front line, to the nations associated with us in the war, and to the enemy. The tonnage for material for necessary construction for the supply of an army of three and perhaps four million men would require a mammoth program of shipbuilding at home, and miles of dock construction in France, with a corresponding large project for additional railways and for storage depots.

All these considerations led to the inevitable conclusion that if we were to handle and supply the great forces deemed essential to win the war we must utilize the southern ports of France—Bordeaux, La Pallice, St. Nazaire, and Brest—and the comparatively unused railway systems leading therefrom to the northeast. Generally speaking, then, this would contemplate the use of our forces against the enemy somewhere in that direction, but the great depots of supply must be centrally located, preferably in the area included by Tours, Bourges, and Châteauroux, so that our armies could be supplied with equal facility wherever they might be serving on the western front.

GROWTH OF SUPPLY SERVICE

To build up such a system there were talented men in the Regular Army, but more experts were necessary than the army could furnish. Thanks to the patriotic spirit of our people at home, there came from civil life men trained for every sort of work involved in building and managing the organization necessary to handle and transport such an army and keep it supplied. With such assistance the construction and general development of our plans have kept pace with the growth of the forces, and the Service of Supply is now able to discharge from ships and move 45,000 tons daily, besides transporting troops and material in the conduct of active operations.

As to organization, all the administrative and supply services, except the Adjutant General's, Inspector General's, and Judge Advocate General's Departments, which remain at general headquarters, have been

transferred to the headquarters of the services of supplies at Tours under a commanding General responsible to the Commander in Chief for supply of the armies. The Chief Quartermaster, Chief Surgeon, Chief Signal Officer, Chief of Ordnance, Chief of Air Service, Chief of Chemical Warfare, the general purchasing agent in all that pertains to questions of procurement and supply, the Provost Marshal General in the maintenance of order in general, the Director General of Transportation in all that affects such matters, and the Chief Engineer in all matters of administration and supply, are subordinate to the Commanding General of the Service of Supply, who, assisted by a staff especially organized for the purpose, is charged with the administrative co-ordination of all these services.

The transportation department under the Service of Supply directs the operation, maintenance, and construction of railways, the operation of terminals, the unloading of ships, and transportation of material to warehouses or to the front. Its functions make necessary the most intimate relationship between our organization and that of the French, with the practical result that our transportation department has been able to improve materially the operations of railways generally. Constantly laboring under a shortage of rolling stock, the transportation department has nevertheless been able by efficient management to meet every emergency.

The Engineer Corps is charged with all construction, including light railways and roads. It has planned and constructed the many projects required, the most important of which are the new wharves at Bordeaux and Nantes, and the immense storage depots at La Pallice, Mointoir, and Glèvres, besides innumerable hospitals and barracks in various ports of France. These projects have all been carried on by phases keeping pace with our needs. The Forestry Service under the Engineer Corps has cut the greater part of the timber and railway ties required.

To meet the shortage of supplies from America, due to lack of shipping, the representatives of the different supply departments were constantly in search of available material and supplies in Europe. In order to co-ordinate these purchases and to prevent competition between our departments, a general purchasing agency was created early in our experience to co-ordinate our purchases and, if possible, induce our allies to apply the principle among the allied armies. While there was no authority for the general use of appropriations, this was met by grouping the purchasing representatives of the different departments under one control, charged with the duty of consolidating requisitions and purchases. Our efforts to extend the principle have been signally successful, and all purchases for the allied armies are now on an equitable and co-operative basis. Indeed, it may be said that the work of this

bureau has been thoroughly efficient and businesslike.

ARTILLERY, AIRPLANES, TANKS

Our entry into the war found us with few of the auxiliaries necessary for its conduct in the modern sense. Among our most important deficiencies in material were artillery, aviation, and tanks. In order to meet our requirements as rapidly as possible, we accepted the offer of the French Government to provide us with the necessary artillery equipment of seventy-fives, one fifty-five millimeter howitzers, and one fifty-five G. P. F. guns from their own factories for thirty divisions. The wisdom of this course is fully demonstrated by the fact that, although we soon began the manufacture of these classes of guns at home, there were no guns of the calibres mentioned manufactured in America on our front at the date the armistice was signed. The only guns of these types produced at home thus far received in France are 109 seventy-five millimeter guns.

In aviation we were in the same situation, and here again the French Government came to our aid until our own aviation program should be under way. We obtained from the French the necessary planes for training our personnel, and they have provided us with a total of 2,676 pursuit, observation, and bombing planes. The first airplanes received from home arrived in May, and altogether we have received 1,379. The first American squadron completely equipped by American production, including airplanes, crossed the German lines on Aug. 7, 1918. As to tanks, we were also compelled to rely upon the French. Here, however, we were less fortunate, for the reason that the French production could barely meet the requirements of their own armies.

It should be fully realized that the French Government has always taken a most liberal attitude, and has been most anxious to give us every possible assistance in meeting our deficiencies in these as well as in other respects. Our dependence upon France for artillery, aviation, and tanks was, of course, due to the fact that our industries had not been exclusively devoted to military production. All credit is due our own manufacturers for their efforts to meet our requirements, as at the time the armistice was signed we were able to look forward to the early supply of practically all our necessities from our own factories.

The welfare of the troops touches my responsibility as Commander in Chief to the mothers and fathers and kindred of the men who came to France in the impressionable period of youth. They could not have the privilege accorded European soldiers during their periods of leave of visiting their families and renewing their home ties. Fully realizing that the standard of conduct that should be established for them must have a permanent influence in their lives and on the character of their future citizenship, the Red



SCENE OF FIRST HEAVY FIGHTING BY GENERAL PERSHING'S FORCES, BEGINNING WITH THE RETAKING OF CHATEAU-THIERRY AND THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE MARINES IN BELLEAU WOOD

Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association, Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, and the Jewish Welfare Board, as auxiliaries in this work, were encouraged in every possible way. The fact that our soldiers, in a land of different customs and language, have borne themselves in a manner in keeping with the cause for which they fought, is due not only to the efforts in their behalf, but much more to their high ideals, their discipline, and their innate sense of self-respect. It should be recorded, however, that the members of these welfare societies have been untiring in their desire to be of real service to our officers and men. The

patriotic devotion of these representative men and women has given a new significance to the Golden Rule, and we owe to them a debt of gratitude that can never be repaid.

COMBAT OPERATIONS

During our period of training in the trenches some of our divisions had engaged the enemy in local combats, the most important of which was Seicheprey by the 26th on April 20, in the Toul sector, but none had participated in action as a unit. The 1st Division, which had passed through the preliminary stages of training, had gone to the trenches for its first period of instruction

at the end of October, and by March 21, when the German offensive in Picardy began, we had four divisions with experience in the trenches, all of which were equal to any demands of battle action. The crisis which this offensive developed was such that our occupation of an American sector must be postponed.

On March 28 I placed at the disposal of Marshal Foch, who had been agreed upon as Commander in Chief of the Allied Armies, all of our forces, to be used as he might decide. At his request the 1st Division was transferred from the Toul sector to a position in reserve at Chaumont en Vexin. As German superiority in numbers required prompt action, an agreement was reached at the Abbeville conference of the allied Premiers and commanders and myself on May 2 by which British shipping was to transport ten American divisions to the British Army area, where they were to be trained and equipped, and additional British shipping was to be provided for as many divisions as possible for use elsewhere.

On April 26 the 1st Division had gone into the line in the Montdidier salient on the Picardy battlefield. Tactics had been suddenly revolutionized to those of open warfare, and our men, confident of the results of their training, were eager for the test. On the morning of May 28 this division attacked the commanding German position in its front, taking with splendid dash the town of Cantigny and all other objectives, which were organized and held steadfastly against vicious counterattacks and galling artillery fire. Although local, this brilliant action had an electrical effect, as it demonstrated our fighting qualities under extreme battle conditions, and also that the enemy's troops were not altogether invincible.

HOLDING THE MARNE

The Germans' Aisne offensive, which began on May 27, had advanced rapidly toward the River Marne and Paris, and the Allies faced a crisis equally as grave as that of the Picardy offensive in March. Again every available man was placed at Marshal Foch's disposal, and the 3d Division, which had just come from its preliminary training in the trenches, was hurried to the Marne. Its motorized machine-gun battalion preceded the other units and successfully held the bridgehead at the Marne, opposite Château-Thierry. The 2d Division, in reserve near Montdidier, was sent by motor trucks and other available transport to check the progress of the enemy toward Paris. The division attacked and retook the town and railroad station at Bouresches and sturdily held its ground against the enemy's best guard divisions. In the battle of Belleau Wood, which followed, our men proved their superiority and gained a strong tactical position, with far greater loss to the enemy than to ourselves. On July 1, before the 2d was relieved,

it captured the village of Vaux with most splendid precision.

Meanwhile our 2d Corps, under Major Gen. George W. Read, had been organized for the command of our divisions with the British, which were held back in training areas or assigned to second-line defenses. Five of the ten divisions were withdrawn from the British area in June, three to relieve divisions in Lorraine and in the Vosges and two to the Paris area to join the group of American divisions which stood between the city and any further advance of the enemy in that direction.

The great June-July troop movement from the States was well under way, and, although these troops were to be given some preliminary training before being put into action, their very presence warranted the use of all the older divisions in the confidence that we did not lack reserves. Elements of the 42d Division were in the line east of Rheims against the German offensive of July 15, and held their ground unflinchingly. On the right flank of this offensive four companies of the 28th Division were in position in face of the advancing waves of the German infantry. The 3d Division was holding the bank of the Marne from the bend east of the mouth of the Surmelin to the west of Mézy, opposite Château-Thierry, where a large force of German infantry sought to force a passage under support of powerful artillery concentrations and under cover of smoke screens. A single regiment of the 3d wrote one of the most brilliant pages in our military annals on this occasion. It prevented the crossing at certain points on its front while, on either flank, the Germans, who had gained a footing, pressed forward. Our men, firing in three directions, met the German attacks with counterattacks at critical points and succeeded in throwing two German divisions into complete confusion, capturing 600 prisoners.

OFFENSIVE OF JULY 18

The great force of the German Château-Thierry offensive established the deep Marne salient, but the enemy was taking chances, and the vulnerability of this pocket to attack might be turned to his disadvantage. Seizing this opportunity to support my conviction, every division with any sort of training was made available for use in a counteroffensive. The place of honor in the thrust toward Soissons on July 18 was given to our 1st and 2d Divisions in company with chosen French divisions. Without the usual brief warning of a preliminary bombardment, the massed French and American artillery, firing by the map, laid down its rolling barrage at dawn while the infantry began its charge. The tactical handling of our troops under these trying conditions was excellent throughout the action. The enemy brought up large numbers of reserves and made a stubborn defense both with machine guns and artillery, but through five days' fighting

the 1st Division continued to advance until it had gained the heights above Soissons and captured the village of Berzy-le-Sec. The 2d Division took Beau Repaire Farm and Vierzy in a very rapid advance and reached a position in front of Tigny at the end of its second day. These two divisions captured 7,000 prisoners and over 100 pieces of artillery.

The 26th Division, which, with a French division, was under command of our 1st Corps, acted as a pivot of the movement toward Soissons. On the 18th it took the village of Torcy, while the 3d Division was crossing the Marne in pursuit of the retiring enemy. The 26th attacked again on the 21st, and the enemy withdrew past the Château-Thierry-Soissons road. The 3d Division, continuing its progress, took the heights of Mont St. Père and the villages of Chartèves and Jaulgonne in the face of both machine-gun and artillery fire.

On the 24th, after the Germans had fallen back from Trugny and Epieds, our 42d Division, which had been brought over from the Champagne, relieved the 26th, and, fighting its way through the Forêt de Fère, overwhelmed the nest of machine guns in its path. By the 27th it had reached the Ourcq, whence the 3d and 4th Divisions were already advancing, while the French divisions with which we were co-operating were moving forward at other points.

The 3d Division had made its advance into Ronchères Wood on the 29th and was relieved for rest by a brigade of the 32d. The 42d and 32d undertook the task of conquering the heights beyond Clerges, the 42d capturing Sergy and the 32d capturing Hill 230, both American divisions joining in the pursuit of the enemy to the Vesle, and thus the operation of reducing the salient was finished. Meanwhile the 42d was relieved by the 4th at Chéry-Chartreuve, and the 32d by the 28th, while the 77th Division took up a position on the Vesle. The operations of these divisions on the Vesle were under the 3d Corps, Major Gen. Robert L. Bullard commanding.

BATTLE OF ST. MIHIEL

With the reduction of the Marne salient, we could look forward to the concentration of our divisions in our own zone. In view of the forthcoming operation against the St. Mihiel salient, which had long been planned as our first offensive action on a large scale, the First Army was organized on Aug. 10 under my personal command. While American units had held different divisional and corps sectors along the western front, there had not been up to this time, for obvious reasons, a distinct American sector; but, in view of the important parts the American forces were now to play, it was necessary to take over a permanent portion of the line. Accordingly, on Aug. 30, the line beginning at Port sur Seille, east of the Moselle and extending to the west through St. Mihiel, thence north to a point opposite Verdun, was

placed under my command. The American sector was afterward extended across the Meuse to the western edge of the Argonne Forest, and included the 2d Colonial French, which held the point of the salient, and the 17th French Corps, which occupied the heights above Verdun.

The preparation for a complicated operation against the formidable defenses in front of us included the assembling of divisions and of corps and army artillery, transport, aircraft, tanks, ambulances, the location of hospitals, and the molding together of all the elements of a great modern army with its own railheads, supplied directly by our own Service of Supply. The concentration for this operation, which was to be a surprise, involved the movement, mostly at night, of approximately 600,000 troops, and required for its success the most careful attention to every detail.

The French were generous in giving us assistance in corps and army artillery, with its personnel, and we were confident from the start of our superiority over the enemy in guns of all calibres. Our heavy guns were able to reach Metz and to interfere seriously with German rail movements. The French Independent Air Force was placed under my command, which, together with the British bombing squadrons and our air forces, gave us the largest assembly of aviators that had ever been engaged in one operation on the western front.

From Les Eparges around the nose of the salient at St. Mihiel to the Moselle River the line was, roughly, forty miles long and situated on commanding ground greatly strengthened by artificial defenses. Our 1st Corps, (82d, 90th, 5th, and 2d Divisions,) under command of Major Gen. Hunter Liggett, resting its right on Pont-à-Mousson, with its left joining our 3d Corps, (the 89th, 42d, and 1st Divisions,) under Major Gen. Joseph T. Dickman, in line to Xivray, was to swing toward Vigneulles on the pivot of the Moselle River for the initial assault. From Xivray to Mouilly the 2d Colonial French Corps was in line in the centre, and our 5th Corps, under command of Major Gen. George H. Cameron, with our 26th Division and a French division at the western base of the salient, was to attack three difficult hills—Les Eparges, Combres, and Amaranthe. Our 1st Corps had in reserve the 78th Division, our 4th Corps the 3d Division, and our First Army the 35th and 91st Divisions, with the 80th and 33d available. It should be understood that our corps organizations are very elastic, and that we have at no time had permanent assignments of divisions to corps.

After four hours' artillery preparation, the seven American divisions in the front line advanced at 5 A. M. on Sept. 12, assisted by a limited number of tanks, manned partly by Americans and partly by French. These divisions, accompanied by groups of wire cutters and others armed with bangalore torpedoes, went through the successive bands

of barbed wire that protected the enemy's front-line and support trenches in irresistible waves on schedule time, breaking down all defense of an enemy demoralized by the great volume of our artillery fire and our sudden approach out of the fog.

Our 1st Corps advanced to Thiaucourt, while our 4th Corps curved back to the southwest through Nonsard. The 2d Colonial French Corps made the slight advance required of it on very difficult ground, and the 5th Corps took its three ridges and repulsed a counterattack. A rapid march brought reserve regiments of a division of the 5th Corps into Vigneulles and beyond Fresnes-en-Woevre. At the cost of only 7,000 casualties, mostly light, we had taken 16,000 prisoners and 443 guns, a great quantity of material, released the inhabitants of many villages from enemy domination, and established our lines in a position to threaten Metz. This signal success of the American First Army in its first offensive was of prime importance. The Allies found they had a formidable army to aid them, and the enemy learned finally that he had one to reckon with.

MEUSE-ARGONNE OFFENSIVE, FIRST PHASE.

On the day after we had taken the St. Mihiel salient much of our corps and army artillery which had operated at St. Mihiel, and our divisions in reserve at other points, were already on the move toward the area back of the line between the Meuse River and the western edge of the Forest of Argonne. With the exception of St. Mihiel, the old German front line from Switzerland to the east of Rheims was still intact. In the general attack all along the line the operation assigned the American Army as the hinge of this allied offensive were directed toward the important railroad communications of the German armies through Mézières and Sedan. The enemy must hold fast to this part of his lines, or the withdrawal of his forces, with four years' accumulation of plants and material, would be dangerously imperiled.

The German Army had as yet shown no demoralization, and, while the mass of its troops had suffered in morale, its first-class divisions, and notably its machine-gun defense, were exhibiting remarkable tactical efficiency as well as courage. The German General Staff was fully aware of the consequences of a success on the Meuse-Argonne line. Certain that he would do everything in his power to oppose us, the action was planned with as much secrecy as possible and was undertaken with the determination to use all our divisions in forcing decision. We expected to draw the best German divisions to our front and to consume them while the enemy was held under grave apprehension lest our attack should break his line, which it was our firm purpose to do.

Our right flank was protected by the

Meuse, while our left embraced the Argonne Forest, whose ravines, hills, and elaborate defense, screened by dense thickets, had been generally considered impregnable. Our order of battle from right to left was the 3d Corps from the Meuse to Malancourt, with the 33d, 80th, and 4th Divisions in line and the 3d Division as corps reserve; the 5th Corps from Malancourt to Vauquois, with the 79th, 87th, and 91st Divisions in line and the 32d in corps reserve, and the 1st Corps from Vauquois to Vienne le Château, with the 35th, 28th, and 77th Divisions in line and the 92d in corps reserve. The army reserve consisted of the 1st, 29th, and 82d Divisions.

On the night of Sept. 25 our troops quietly took the place of the French, who thinly held the line in this sector, which had long been inactive. In the attack which began on the 26th we drove through the barbed-wire entanglements and the sea of shell craters across No Man's Land, mastering all the first-line defenses. Continuing on the 27th and 28th, against machine guns and artillery of an increasing number of enemy reserve divisions, we penetrated to a depth of from three to seven miles and took the village of Montfaucon and its commanding hill and Exermont, Gercourt, Cuisy, Septsarges, Malancourt, Ivoir, Epinonville, Charpentry, Very, and other villages. East of the Meuse one of our divisions, which was with the 2d Colonial French Corps, captured Marcheville and Rieville, giving further protection to the flank of our main body. We had taken 10,000 prisoners, we had gained our point of forcing the battle into the open, and were prepared for the enemy's reaction, which was bound to come, as he had good roads and ample railroad facilities for bringing up his artillery and reserves.

In the chill rain of dark nights our engineers had to build new roads across spongy, shell-torn areas, repair broken roads beyond No Man's Land, and build bridges. Our gunners, with no thought of sleep, put their shoulders to wheels and drag ropes to bring their guns through the mire in support of the infantry, now under the increasing fire of the enemy's artillery. Our attack had taken the enemy by surprise, but, quickly recovering himself, he began to fire counterattacks in strong force, supported by heavy bombardments, with large quantities of gas. From Sept. 28 until Oct. 4 we maintained the offensive against patches of woods defended by snipers and continuous lines of machine guns, and pushed forward our guns and transport, seizing strategic points in preparation for further attacks.

OTHER UNITS WITH ALLIES

Other divisions attached to the allied armies were doing their part. It was the fortune of our 2d Corps, composed of the 27th and 30th Divisions, which had remained with the British, to have a place of honor in co-operation with the Australian Corps on Sept. 29 and Oct. 1 in the assault on the

Hindenburg line where the St. Quentin Canal passes through a tunnel under a ridge. The 30th Division speedily broke through the main line of defense for all its objectives, while the 27th pushed on impetuously through the main line until some of its elements reached Gouy. In the midst of the maze of trenches and shell craters and under crossfire from machine guns the other elements fought desperately against odds. In this and in later actions, from Oct. 6 to Oct. 19, our 2d Corps captured over 6,000 prisoners and advanced over thirteen miles. The spirit and aggressiveness of these divisions have been highly praised by the British Army commander under whom they served.

On Oct. 2-9 our 2d and 36th Divisions were sent to assist the French in an important attack against the old German positions before Rheims. The 2d conquered the complicated defense works on their front against a persistent defense worthy of the grimmest period of trench warfare and attacked the strongly held wooded hill of Blanc Mont, which they captured in a second assault, sweeping over it with consummate dash and skill. This division then repulsed strong counterattacks before the village and cemetery of Ste. Etienne and took the town, forcing the Germans to fall back from before Rheims and yield positions they had held since September, 1914. On Oct. 9 the 36th Division relieved the 2d, and in its first experience under fire withstood very severe artillery bombardment and rapidly took up the pursuit of the enemy, now retreating behind the Aisne.

MEUSE-ARGONNE OFFENSIVE, SECOND PHASE

The allied progress elsewhere cheered the efforts of our men in this crucial contest, as the German command threw in more and more first-class troops to stop our advance. We made steady headway in the almost impenetrable and strongly held Argonne Forest, for, despite this reinforcement, it was our army that was doing the driving. Our aircraft was increasing in skill and numbers and forcing the issue, and our infantry and artillery were improving rapidly with each new experience. The replacements fresh from home were put into exhausted divisions with little time for training, but they had the advantage of serving beside men who knew their business and who had almost become veterans overnight. The enemy had taken every advantage of the terrain, which especially favored the defense, by a prodigal use of machine guns manned by highly trained veterans and by using his artillery at short ranges. In the face of such strong frontal positions we should have been unable to accomplish any progress according to previously accepted standards, but I had every confidence in our aggressive tactics and the courage of our troops.

On Oct. 4 the attack was renewed all along

our front. The 3d Corps, tilting to the left, followed the Briailles-Cunel road; our 5th Corps took Gesnes, while the 1st Corps advanced for over two miles along the irregular valley of the Aire River and in the wooded hills of the Argonne that bordered the river, using by the enemy with all his art and weapons of defense. This sort of fighting continued against an enemy striving to hold every foot of ground and whose very strong counterattacks challenged us at every



SCENES OF BITTEREST FIGHTING IN
ARGONNE FOREST REGION

point. On the 7th the 1st Corps captured Chatal-Chénery and continued along the river to Cornay. On the east of Meuse sector one of the two divisions, co-operating with the French, captured Consenvoye and the Haumont Woods. On the 9th the 5th Corps, in its progress up the Aire, took Fléville, and the 3d Corps, which had continuous fighting against odds, was working its way through Briailles and Cunel. On the 10th we had cleared the Argonne Forest of the enemy.

It was now necessary to constitute a second army, and on Oct. 9 the immediate command of the First Army was turned over to Lieut. Gen. Hunter Liggett. The command of the Second Army, whose divisions occupied a sector in the Woevre, was given to Lieut. Gen. Robert L. Bullard, who had been commander of the 1st Division and then of the 3d Corps. Major Gen. Dickman was transferred to the command of the 1st Corps, while the 5th Corps was placed under Major Gen. Charles P. Summerall, who had recently commanded the 1st Division. Major Gen. John L. Hines, who had gone rapidly up from regimental to division commander, was assigned to the 3d Corps. These four officers had been in France from the early



SCENE OF FINAL BATTLES OF AMERICAN FORCES FROM THE ARGONNE REGION TO THE MEUSE RIVER AND UP TO SEDAN

days of the expedition and had learned their lessons in the school of practical warfare.

Our constant pressure against the enemy brought day by day more prisoners, mostly survivors from machine-gun nests captured in fighting at close quarters. On Oct. 18 there was very fierce fighting in the Caures Woods east of the Meuse and in the Ormont Woods. On the 14th the 1st Corps took St. Juvin, and the 5th Corps, in hand-to-hand encounters, entered the formidable Kriemhilde line, where the enemy had hoped to check us indefinitely. Later the 5th Corps penetrated further the Kriemhilde line, and the 1st Corps took Champigneulle and the important town of Grandpré. Our dogged offensive was wearing down the enemy, who continued desperately to throw his best troops against us, thus weakening his line in front of our allies and making their advance less difficult.

DIVISIONS IN BELGIUM

Meanwhile we were not only able to continue the battle, but our 37th and 91st Divisions were hastily withdrawn from our front and dispatched to help the French Army in Belgium. Defraining in the neighborhood of Ypres, these divisions advanced by rapid stages to the fighting line and were assigned to adjacent French corps. On Oct. 31, in continuation of the Flanders offensive, they attacked and methodically broke down all enemy resistance. On Nov. 3 the 37th had completed its mission in dividing the

enemy across the Escaut River and firmly established itself along the east bank included in the division zone of action. By a clever flanking movement troops of the 91st Division captured Spitaals Bosschen, a difficult wood extending across the central part of the division sector, reached the Escaut, and penetrated into the town of Audenarde. These divisions received high commendation from their corps commanders for their dash and energy.

MEUSE-ARGONNE—LAST PHASE

On the 23d the 3d and 5th Corps pushed northward to the level of Banthéville. While we continued to press forward and throw back the enemy's violent counterattacks with great loss to him, a regrouping of our forces was under way for the final assault. Evidences of loss of morale by the enemy gave our men more confidence in attack and more fortitude in enduring the fatigue of incessant effort and the hardships of very inclement weather.

With comparatively well-rested divisions, the final advance in the Meuse-Argonne front was begun on Nov. 1. Our increased artillery force acquitted itself magnificently in support of the advance, and the enemy broke before the determined infantry, which, by its persistent fighting of the past weeks and the dash of this attack, had overcome his will to resist. The 3d Corps took Ancreville, Doullon, and Andevanne, and the 5th Corps took Landres et St. Georges and pressed through successive lines of resistance to Bayonville

and Chennery. On the 2d the 1st Corps joined in the movement, which now became an impetuous onslaught that could not be stayed.

On the 3d advance troops surged forward in pursuit, some by motor trucks, while the artillery pressed along the country roads close behind. The 1st Corps reached Authé and Châtillon-sur-Bar, the 5th Corps, Fosse and Nouart, and the 3d Corps, Halles, penetrating the enemy's line to a depth of twelve miles. Our large-calibre guns had advanced and were skillfully brought into position to fire upon the important lines at Montmedy, Longuyon, and Conflans. Our 3d Corps crossed the Meuse on the 5th, and the other corps, in the full confidence that the day was theirs, eagerly cleared the way of machine guns as they swept northward, maintaining complete co-ordination throughout. On the 6th a division of the 1st Corps reached a point on the Meuse opposite Sedan, twenty-five miles from our line of departure. The strategical goal which was our highest hope was gained. We had cut the enemy's main line of communications, and nothing but surrender or an armistice could save his army from complete disaster.

In all forty enemy divisions had been used against us in the Meuse-Argonne battle. Between Sept. 26 and Nov. 6 we took 26,059 prisoners and 468 guns on this front. Our divisions engaged were the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 26th, 28th, 29th, 32d, 33d, 35th, 37th, 42d, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 82d, 89th, 90th, and 91st. Many of our divisions remained in line for a length of time that required nerves of steel, while others were sent in again after only a few days of rest. The 1st, 5th, 26th, 42d, 77th, 80th, 89th, and 90th were in the line twice. Although some of the divisions were fighting their first battle, they soon became equal to the best.

EAST OF THE MEUSE

On the three days preceding Nov. 10, the 3d, the 2d Colonial, and the 17th French Corps fought a difficult struggle through the Meuse hills south of Stenay and forced the enemy into the plain. Meanwhile, my plans for further use of the American forces contemplated an advance between the Meuse and the Moselle in the direction of Longwy by the First Army, while, at the same time, the Second Army should assure the offensive toward the rich coal fields of Briey. These operations were to be followed by an offensive toward Château-Salins east of the Moselle, thus isolating Metz. Accordingly, attacks on the American front had been ordered, and that of the Second Army was in progress on the morning of Nov. 11 when instructions were received that hostilities should cease at 11 o'clock A. M.

At this moment the line of the American sector, from right to left, began at Port-sur-Selle, thence across the Moselle to Vandières and through the Woëvre to Bezonvaux, in the foothills of the Meuse, thence along to the

foothills and through the northern edge of the Woëvre forests to the Meuse at Mouzay, thence along the Meuse connecting with the French under Sedan.

RELATIONS WITH THE ALLIES

Co-operation among the Allies has at all times been most cordial. A far greater effort has been put forth by the allied armies and staffs to assist us than could have been expected. The French Government and Army have always stood ready to furnish us with supplies, equipment, and transportation, and to aid us in every way. In the towns and hamlets wherever our troops have been stationed or billeted the French people have everywhere received them more as relatives and intimate friends than as soldiers of a foreign army. For these things words are quite inadequate to express our gratitude. There can be no doubt that the relations growing out of our associations here assure a permanent friendship between the two peoples. Although we have not been so intimately associated with the people of Great Britain, yet their troops and ours when thrown together have always warmly fraternized. The reception of those of our forces who have passed through England and of those who have been stationed there has always been enthusiastic. Altogether it has been deeply impressed upon us that the ties of language and blood bring the British and ourselves together completely and inseparably.

STRENGTH

There are in Europe altogether, including a regiment and some sanitary units with the Italian Army and the organizations at Murmansk, also including those en route from the States, approximately 2,033,347 men, less our losses. Of this total there are in France 1,338,169 combatant troops. Forty divisions have arrived, of which the infantry personnel of ten have been used as replacements, leaving thirty divisions now in France organized into three armies of three corps each.

The losses of the Americans up to Nov. 18 are: Killed and wounded, 36,145; died of disease, 14,811; deaths unclassified, 2,204; wounded, 179,625; prisoners, 2,163; missing, 1,160. We have captured about 44,000 prisoners and 1,400 guns, howitzers, and trench mortars.

COMMENDATION

The duties of the General Staff, as well as those of the army and corps staffs, have been very ably performed. Especially is this true when we consider the new and difficult problems with which they have been confronted. This body of officers, both as individuals and as an organization, has, I believe, no superiors in professional ability, in efficiency, or in loyalty.

Nothing that we have in France better reflects the efficiency and devotion to duty of Americans in general than the Service of

Supply, whose personnel is thoroughly imbued with a patriotic desire to do its full duty. They have at all times fully appreciated their responsibility to the rest of the army, and the results produced have been most gratifying.

Our Medical Corps is especially entitled to praise for the general effectiveness of its work, both in hospital and at the front. Embracing men of high professional attainments, and splendid women devoted to their calling and untiring in their efforts, this department has made a new record for medical and sanitary proficiency.

The Quartermaster Department has had difficult and various tasks, but it has more than met all demands that have been made upon it. Its management and its personnel have been exceptionally efficient and deserve every possible commendation.

As to the more technical services, the able personnel of the Ordnance Department in France has splendidly fulfilled its functions, both in procurement and in forwarding the immense quantities of ordnance required. The officers and men and the young women of the Signal Corps have performed their duties with a large conception of the problem, and with a devoted and patriotic spirit to which the perfection of our communications daily testifies. While the Engineer Corps has been referred to in another part of this report, it should be further stated that the work has required large vision and high professional skill, and great credit is due their personnel for the high proficiency that they have constantly maintained.

Our aviators have no equals in daring or in fighting ability, and have left a record of courageous deeds that will ever remain a brilliant page in the annals of our army. While the Tank Corps has had limited opportunities, its personnel has responded gal-

lantly on every possible occasion, and has shown courage of the highest order.

The Adjutant General's Department has been directed with a systematic thoroughness and excellence that surpassed any previous work of its kind. The Inspector General's Department has risen to the highest standards, and throughout has ably assisted commanders in the enforcement of discipline. The able personnel of the Judge Advocate General's Department has solved with judgment and wisdom the multitude of difficult legal problems, many of them involving questions of great international importance.

It would be impossible in this brief preliminary report to do justice to the personnel of all the different branches of this organization, which I shall cover in detail in a later report.

The navy in European waters has at all times most cordially aided the army, and it is most gratifying to report that there has never before been such perfect co-operation between these two branches of the service.

As to the Americans in Europe not in the military service, it is the greatest pleasure to say that, both in official and in private life, they are intensely patriotic and loyal, and have been invariably sympathetic and helpful to the army.

Finally, I pay the supreme tribute to our officers and soldiers of the line. When I think of their heroism, their patience under hardships, their unflinching spirit of offensive action, I am filled with emotion which I am unable to express. Their deeds are immortal, and they have earned the eternal gratitude of our country.

I am, Mr. Secretary, very respectfully,

JOHN J. PERSHING,
General, Commander in Chief, American Expeditionary Forces.
To the Secretary of War.

Quentin Roosevelt

By LEON HUHNER

As falls the fragment of a mighty star
Into the night, where all was dark before;
A brilliant flash attracting men afar,
Seen but a moment, to be seen no more;
So, in the sky, this youthful warrior bold,
Outlined a brilliant course before he fell,
Turning a silver star to one of gold,
A star to be remembered long and well.
What matters that the fitful course was brief
And vanished swiftly in eternal night?
In such a fall there is no cause for grief,
For souls like these leave trails of golden light,
He spread the glory of his country's fame,
And added lustre to a noble name.

[OFFICIAL]

The British Retreat in 1918

Sir Douglas Haig's Report of Battles in France and Flanders During Germany's Great Offensive

THE British War Office, on Oct. 21, 1918, issued an official dispatch from Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig describing the operations of the forces under his command during the period following the actions in the vicinity of Cambrai in the first week of December, 1917, down to April 30, 1918. This period included the great German thrust that almost reached Amiens. The dispatch was dated "General Headquarters, July 20, 1918," and its most important passages are as follows:

The broad facts of the change which took place in the general war situation at the close of 1917, and the causes which led to it, have long been well known and need be referred to but shortly.

The disappearance of Russia as a belligerent country on the side of the Entente Powers had set free the great bulk of the German and Austrian divisions on the eastern front. Already at the beginning of November, 1917, the transfer of German divisions from the Russian to the western front had begun. It became certain that the movement would be continued steadily until numerical superiority lay with the enemy.

It was to be expected, moreover, that large numbers of guns and munitions formerly in the possession of the Russian armies would fall into the hands of our enemies, and at some future date would be turned against the Allies.

Although the growing army of the United States of America might be expected eventually to restore the balance in our favor, a considerable period of time would be required to enable that army to develop its full strength. While it would be possible for Germany to complete her new dispositions early in the new year, the forces which America could send to France before the season would permit active operations to be recommenced would not be large.

In view of the situation described above, it became necessary to change the policy governing the conduct of the operations of the British armies in France. Orders accordingly were issued early in December having for their object immediate preparation to meet a strong and sustained hostile offensive. In other words, a defensive policy was adopted, and all necessary arrangements consequent

thereon were put in hand with the least possible delay. * * *

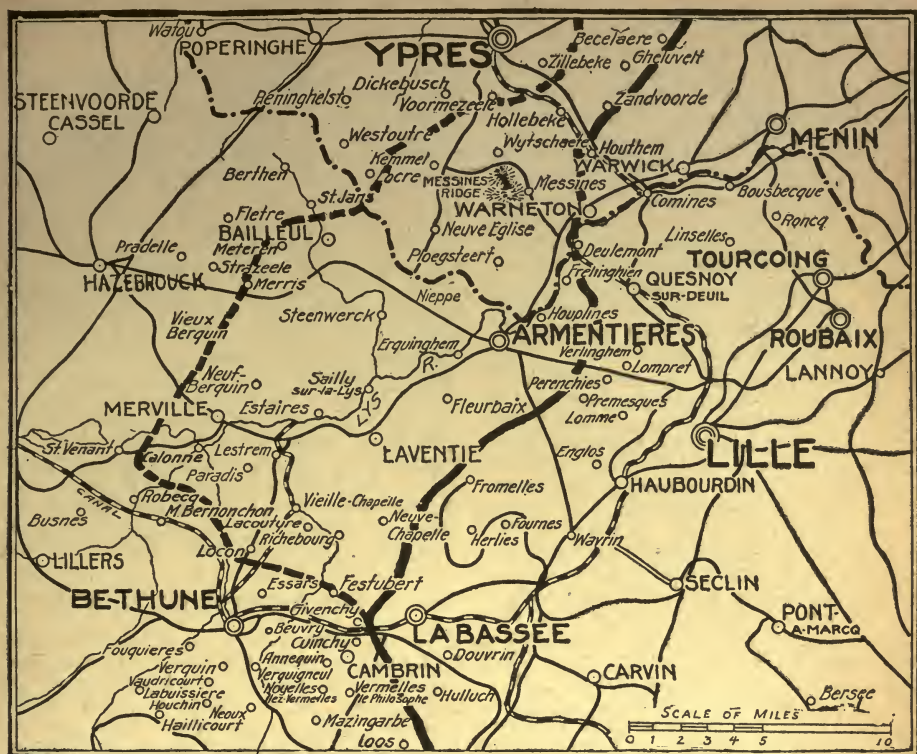
PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENSE

Orders issued early in December, as stated above, had defined the defensive policy to be adopted and the methods of defense. A vast amount of work was required to be done in the construction of defenses, old systems had to be remodeled and new systems created. The construction of new communications and the extension of old, more especially in the area southeast of Arras, which the enemy had devastated in his retirement last year, involved the building of a number of additional roads and the laying out of railways, both narrow and normal gauge. Work of this nature was particularly necessary on the Somme battlefield and in the area recently taken over from the French.

All available men of the fighting units, with the exception of a very small proportion undergoing training, and all labor units were employed on these tasks. Though the time and labor available were in no way adequate if, as was suspected, the enemy intended to commence his offensive operations in the early Spring, a large portion of the work was in fact completed before the enemy launched his great attack. That so much was accomplished is due to the untiring energy of all ranks of the fighting units, the Transportation Service, and the Labor Corps.

The first of the enemy's minor attacks took place on Dec. 12 in the neighborhood of Bullecourt, and after sharp fighting led to the loss of a point of the salient held by us east of that village, with a consequent shortening of our line. Other local attacks on Dec. 14 and 22 at Polderhoek Château and astride the Ypres-Staden railway also resulted in small and unimportant withdrawals of portions of our outpost line in these localities.

On Dec. 30 a somewhat more serious attempt was made by the enemy against our positions on Welsh Ridge, on the Cambrai front. The attack, made in the early morning on a front of over two miles from La Vacquerie northward toward Marcoing, was delivered in considerable strength, and elaborate precautions were taken by the enemy to effect surprise. South of Marcoing, the enemy gained possession of a somewhat isolated trench sited on the northern slopes of Welsh Ridge, compelling our troops to fall back to a sunken road lying across the base



THE FLANDERS SALIENT PRODUCED BY THE GERMAN DRIVE OF 1918, WHICH PUSHED THE BRITISH BACK FROM THE BLACK LINE TO THE DOTTED LINE

of the salient, where they organized a successful resistance.

THE ENEMY'S PREPARATIONS

Toward the middle of February, 1918, it became evident that the enemy was preparing for a big offensive on the western front. It was known from various sources that he had been steadily increasing his forces in the western theatre since the beginning of November, 1917. In three and a half months twenty-eight infantry divisions had been transferred from the eastern theatre and six infantry divisions from the Italian theatre. There were reports that further reinforcements were on their way to the west, and it was also known that the enemy had greatly increased his heavy artillery in the western theatre during the same period. These reinforcements were more than were necessary for defense, and as they were moved at a time when the distribution of food and fuel to the civil population in Germany was rendered extremely difficult through lack of rolling stock, I concluded that the enemy intended to attack at an early date.

Constant air reconnaissances over the enemy's lines showed that rail and road communications were being improved and ammunition and supply dumps increased along the whole front from Flanders to the Oise.

By the end of February, 1918, these preparations had become very marked opposite the front held by the Third and Fifth British Armies, and I considered it probable that the enemy would make his initial effort from the Sensée River southward. As March 21 approached it became certain that an attack on this sector was imminent, and counter-preparation was carried out nightly by our artillery on the threatened front. By March 21 the number of German infantry divisions in the western theatre had risen to 192, an increase of forty-six since Nov. 1, 1917.

ON THE EVE OF ATTACK

On March 19 my Intelligence Department reported that the final stages of the enemy's preparations on the Arras-St. Quentin front were approaching completion, and that from information obtained it was probable that the actual attack would be launched on March 20 or 21. On our side our dispositions to meet the expected offensive were as complete as the time and troops available could make them.

The general principle of our defensive arrangements on the fronts of these armies was the distribution of our troops in depth. With this object three defensive belts, sited at considerable distances from each other, had been constructed or were approaching

completion in the forward area, the most advanced of which was in the nature of a lightly held outpost screen covering our main positions. On the morning of the attack the troops detailed to man these various defenses were all in position.

Behind the forward defenses of the Fifth Army, and in view of the smaller resources which could be placed at the disposal of that army, arrangements had been made for the construction of a strong and carefully sited bridgehead position covering Péronne and the crossings of the River Somme south of that town. Considerable progress had been made in the laying out of this position, though at the outbreak of the enemy's offensive its defenses were incomplete.

From the information at my disposal, it was expected that the enemy's heaviest attack would fall between the Sensée River and the neighborhood of the Bapaume-Cambrai road, and on this front of some 16,000 yards eighteen German divisions are known to have been employed in line and in immediate reserve on March 21. It was correctly anticipated that the Flesquières salient itself would not be directly attacked in strength, but that the attack would be continued in great force from the southern flank of the salient to St. Quentin. On this front of some 48,000 yards, from Gouzeaucourt to the Oise River at Moy, forty German divisions were set in motion on the first day.

An event which, having regard to the nature of the ground, was not considered probable, was that the enemy would be able to extend the flank of his attack in any considerable strength beyond Moy. The rapid drying of the marshes, due to an exceptionally dry Spring, in fact enabled the enemy to attack this lightly held front with three fresh divisions, in addition to the three divisions already in line.

COMPARISON OF FORCES

In all at least sixty-four German divisions took part in the operations of the first day of the battle, a number considerably exceeding the total forces composing the entire British Army in France. The majority of these divisions had spent many weeks and even months in concentrated training for offensive operations, and had reached a high pitch of technical excellence in the attack.

To meet this assault the Third Army disposed of eight divisions in line on the front of the enemy's initial attack, with seven divisions available in reserve. The Fifth Army disposed of fourteen divisions and three cavalry divisions, of which three infantry divisions and three cavalry divisions were in reserve. The total British force on the original battlefield, therefore, on the morning of March 21 was twenty-nine infantry divisions and three cavalry divisions, of which nineteen infantry divisions were in line.

Launched on a front of about fifty-four miles on March 21, the area of the German offensive spread northward on March 28,

until from La Fère to beyond Gavrelle some sixty-three miles of our former line were involved. On this front a total of seventy-three German divisions were engaged during March against the Third and Fifth Armies and the right of the First Army, and were opposed in the first place by twenty-two British infantry divisions in line, with twelve infantry divisions and three cavalry divisions in close reserve.

As soon as it became evident that the enemy had thrown practically the whole of his striking force against this one battlefield, it became both possible and necessary to collect additional reserves from the remainder of my front and hurry them to the battlefield. Plans previously drawn up to meet such an eventuality were put into execution at once, and before the end of March, by which date the principal German effort had been broken, a further force of eight British divisions was brought south and sent into the fight. Prior to April 9 four other British divisions were engaged, making a total of forty-six British infantry divisions and three cavalry divisions employed on the Somme battlefield.

THE ATTACK OPENED

Shortly before 5 A. M. on March 21 a bombardment of great intensity, with gas and high explosive shell from all natures of artillery and trench mortars, was opened against practically the whole fronts of the Fifth and Third Armies from the Oise to the Scarpe River, while road centres and railways as far back as St. Pol were engaged by high velocity guns. Violent bombardments were opened also on the French front in wide sectors east and northeast of Rheims and on portions of the British front between the Scarpe River and Lens. Our positions from south of La Bassée Canal to the River Lys were heavily shelled with gas, and battery areas between Messines and the Ypres-Comines Canal were actively engaged. Dunkirk was bombarded from the sea.

The hour of the enemy's assault varied in different sectors, but by about 9:45 A. M. a general attack had been launched on a battlefield of fifty-four miles between the Oise and Sensée Rivers. Later in the day, as visibility improved, large numbers of low-flying airplanes attacked our troops and batteries.

Favored by a thick white fog, which hid from our artillery and machine gunners the S O S signals sent up by our outpost line, and in numbers which made loss of direction impossible, the attacking German infantry forced their way into our foremost defensive zone. Until 1 P. M. the fog made it impossible to see more than fifty yards in any direction, and the machine guns and forward field guns which had been disposed so as to cover this zone with their fire were robbed almost entirely of their effect. The detachments holding the outpost positions

were consequently overwhelmed or surrounded, in many cases before they were able to pass back information concerning the enemy's attack.

The attack being expected, reserves had been brought forward and battle stations manned. On all parts of the battlefield garrisons of redoubts and strong points in the forward zone held out with the utmost gallantry for many hours. From some of them wireless messages were received up to a late hour in the day, giving information of much value. The losses which they were able to inflict upon the enemy were undoubtedly very great and materially delayed his advance. The prolonged defense of these different localities, under conditions which left little hope of any relief, deserves to rank among the most heroic actions in the history of the British Army.

So intense was the enemy's bombardment that at an early hour our communications were severed, and so swift was his advance under the covering blanket of the mist that certain of our more advanced batteries found the German infantry close upon them before they had received warning from their own infantry that the expected attack had been launched. Many gallant deeds were performed by the personnel of such batteries, and on numerous occasions heavy losses were inflicted on bodies of hostile troops by guns firing over open sights at point-blank range.

SITUATION AT MIDDAY

At midday the enemy's infantry had reached the first line of our battle positions in strength on practically the whole front of his attack, except at the Flesquières salient, where his assaults were not pressed with the same weight as elsewhere. Save in the neighborhood of Ronssoy, however, and at certain other points in a less serious degree, our battle positions themselves had not been entered, while at numerous localities in front of them fierce fighting was taking place around strong points still occupied by our troops.

Assisted by the long spell of dry weather, hostile infantry had crossed the river and canal north of La Fère, and south of St. Quentin had penetrated into the battle zone between Essigny and Benay. At Maissemy also our battle positions were entered at about noon, but the vigorous resistance of the 61st and 24th Divisions, assisted by troops of the 1st Cavalry Division, prevented the enemy from developing his success.

On the Third Army front also the attack had succeeded by midday in breaking into the battle zone at certain points, and heavy fighting was taking place all along the line from the Canal du Nord northward to the Sensée River. Astride the canal the enemy was held up by the 17th Division, under command of Major Gen. P. R. Robertson, C. B., C. M. G., and made no

progress. Further west he had entered Doignies and had taken Louveral. In Lagnicourt and to the south of it the 6th Division, under command of Major Gen. T. O. Marden, C. M. G., were still maintaining a gallant fight for the possession of the first line of their battle positions; but beyond that village the battle zone had been entered at Noreuil, Longatte, and Ecoust St. Mein, all of which places had fallen into the enemy's hands.

At the end of the first day the enemy had made very considerable progress, but he was still firmly held in the battle zone in which it had been anticipated that the real struggle would take place. Nowhere had he effected that immediate break-through for which his troops had been training for many weeks, and such progress as he had made had been bought at a cost which had already greatly reduced his chances of carrying out his ultimate purpose.

THE FIRST WITHDRAWALS

In view of the progress made by the enemy south of St. Quentin, the thinness of our line on that front, and the lack of reserves with which to restore the situation in our battle positions, the Fifth Army commander decided on the evening of March 21, after consultation with the G. O. C., 3d Corps, to withdraw the divisions of that corps behind the Crozat Canal. The movement involved the withdrawal of the 36th Division, on the right of the 18th Corps, to the line of the Somme Canal.

The enemy's advance south and north of the Flesquières salient rendered a withdrawal by the 5th Corps and by the 9th Division on its right necessary also. Orders were accordingly issued to the divisions concerned for a line to be taken up, as a first stage, along the high ground known as Highland Ridge, and thence westward along the Hindenburg line to Havrincourt and Hermies.

These different withdrawals were carried out successfully during the night. The bridges across the Crozat and Somme Canals were destroyed, though in some cases not with entire success, it being probable that certain of them were still practicable for infantry. Instances of great bravery occurred in the destruction of these bridges. In one case, when the electrical connection for firing the demolition charge had failed, the officer responsible for the destruction of the bridge personally lit the instantaneous fuse and blew up the bridge. Many of the bridges were destroyed in the close presence of the enemy.

As by this time it had become clear that practically the whole of the enemy's striking force had been committed to this one battle, my plans, already referred to, for collecting reserves from other parts of the British front were put into immediate execution. By drawing away local reserves and thinning out the front not attacked, it was

possible, as pointed out above, to reinforce the battle by eight divisions before the end of the month. Steps were taken also to set in operation at once the schemes previously agreed upon with the French for taking over a portion of the battlefield.

On the morning of March 22 the ground was again enveloped in thick mist, under cover of which the enemy renewed his attacks in great strength all along the line. Fighting was again very heavy, and short-range fire from guns, rifles, and machine guns caused enormous losses to the enemy's troops. The weight of this attack, however, combined with the impossibility of observing beforehand and engaging with artillery the massing of his troops, enabled him to press forward.

In the south the enemy advanced during the morning as far as the line of the canal at Jussy, and a fierce struggle commenced for the passage of the canal, his troops bringing up trench mortars and machine guns, and endeavoring to cross on rafts under cover of their fire. At 1 P. M. he succeeded in effecting a crossing at Quessy, and made progress during the afternoon in the direction of Vouel. His further advance in this sector, however, was delayed by the gallant resistance of troops of the 58th Division, under command of Major Gen. A. B. E. Cator, D. S. O., at Tergnier, and it was not until evening, after many costly attempts and much sanguinary fighting, that the enemy gained possession of this village. * * *

FIFTH ARMY RETREATS

With Maissemy already in the enemy's hands, the fall of Le Verguier greatly weakened the defense of the centre of the Fifth Army. The rear line of our battle positions was held during the morning, [March 22,] in spite of unceasing pressure from large hostile forces, but as the day wore on the great concentration of German divisions attacking west of St. Quentin had its effect. During the early afternoon our troops east of Holnon Wood were forced to withdraw from their battle zone trenches; while after repulsing heavy attacks throughout the morning, the 50th Division was again attacked during the afternoon and evening and compelled to give ground. Our troops, fighting fiercely and continuously, were gradually forced out of the battle zone on the whole of this front, and fell back through the 20th Division, under command of Major Gen. W. D. Smith, C. B., and the 50th Division holding the third defensive zone between Happencourt, Villeveque, and Boucly, in the hope of reorganizing behind them.

In this fighting the action of the 1st Battalion Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, 36th Division, deserves special mention. This battalion held a redoubt in the forward zone near Fontaine-les-Clercs throughout the whole of the first day of the battle, and on the following day, after the troops on their right had withdrawn in accordance with or-

ders, still maintained their position, although surrounded by the enemy. After a magnificent fight, in which all the enemy's attacks were repulsed with great loss, at 3 P. M. the officer commanding the battalion sent back a small party of troops, who succeeded in getting through to our lines. The remainder of the battalion continued the fight to the end.

By 5:30 P. M. the enemy had reached the third zone at different points, and was attacking the 50th Division heavily between Villeveque and Boucly. Though holding an extended front of some 10,500 yards, the division succeeded in checking the enemy's advance, and by a successful counterattack drove him temporarily from the village of Coulaucourt. At the close of the engagement, however, the troops of the 50th Division about Poeuilly had been forced back, and by continued pressure along the south bank of the Omignon River the enemy had opened a gap between their right flank and the troops of the 61st Division, under command of Major Gen. C. J. Mackenzie, C. B., and of the 20th Division further south. At this gap, during the late afternoon and evening, strong bodies of German troops broke through the third defensive zone about Vaux and Beauvois.

All available reserves at the disposal of the Fifth Army had already been thrown into the fight, and except for one French division and some French cavalry in the 3d Corps area no further support was within reach of the fighting line. There remained, therefore, no course open but to fall back on the bridgehead positions east of the Somme.

On the Third Army front, also, certain necessary readjustments of our line were carried out during the night. On the right, the evacuation of the Flesquières salient was continued, our troops withdrawing to a line covering Equancourt and Metz-en-Couture in touch with the Fifth Army about Equancourt. In the centre, the troops still in advance of the third defensive zone were brought back to that system. On the left, our troops withdrew from the remainder of their forward positions south of the Scarpe, taking up the rear line of their battle positions between Henin-sur-Cojeul and Famoux.

As on the southern portion of the battlefield, the enemy followed up our troops closely, except on the left, where for a time he was unaware of what we had done. Elsewhere, more or less continuous fighting took place throughout the night, and in the early morning parties of the enemy succeeded in finding a gap in our new line about Mory.

FRENCH FRONT EXTENDED

[After recording his decision to abandon the Péronne bridgehead and describing the enemy's crossing of the Crozat Canal and the Somme River at Ham, Sir Douglas briefly tells of the retreat to the Tortille, and continues:]

From the time when the indications of an offensive on my front first became definite I had been in close touch with the Commander in Chief of the French Armies. On different occasions, as the battle developed, I discussed with him the situation and the policy to be followed by the allied armies. As the result of a meeting held in the afternoon of March 23, arrangements were made for the French to take over as rapidly as possible the front held by the Fifth Army south of Péronne, and for the concentration of a strong force of French divisions on the southern portion of the battlefront.

For my own part, after consultation with the First and Second Army commanders, General Sir H. S. Horne, K. C. B., K. C. M. G., and General Sir H. C. O. Plumer, G. C. B., G. C. M. G., G. C. V. O., concerning the situation on the fronts of their armies and the possibilities of attacks developing there also, I arranged for the formation from the troops under their command of a special force of reserve divisions for action as occasion might demand. Measures were also taken to permit of the employment of the Canadian corps for counterattack, in the event of the enemy's succeeding in piercing my front.

In this connection I desire to express my deep appreciation of the complete unselfishness with which the needs of their own fronts were at all times subordinated by the army commanders to the more pressing demands of the battle. A variety of considerations made it necessary for me at this date to draw particularly heavily upon the resources of the Second Army. All my demands were met by the Second Army commander in the most helpful and disinterested spirit.

The enemy's advance at the junction of the Third and Fifth Armies was not made without heavy sacrifice. In the retirement of our troops there was no panic of any sort. Units retreated stubbornly from one position to another as they found them turned and threatened with isolation; but at many points fierce engagements were fought, and wherever the enemy attempted a frontal attack he was beaten off with loss.

During the early part of the morning troops of the 17th Division drove off four attacks east of Barastre, and the 47th Division held the village of Rocquigny from sunrise until well into the afternoon, beating off all attacks with rifle and machine-gun fire, until the enemy worked round their flank between Rocquigny and Le Transloy and forced them to withdraw.

South of this point, however, the enemy pressed forward rapidly through the gap which he had made, and succeeded in isolating a part of the South African Brigade, 9th Division, near Marrières Wood, north of Cléry. These troops maintained a most gallant resistance until 4:30 P. M., when they had fired off all their ammunition, and only about 100 men remained unwounded. Early in the afternoon German infantry entered

Combles, and, having gained the high ground at Morval, were advancing toward Les Boeufs. Their continued progress threatened to sever the connection between the Fifth and Third Armies, and the situation was serious.

FIGHT FOR SOMME CROSSINGS

South of Péronne the night of March 23-24 passed comparatively quietly, but with the dawn powerful attempts were made by the enemy to force the crossings of the Somme. At Pargny the enemy succeeded in maintaining himself on the west bank of the river, and the flanks of the 8th and 20th Divisions were no longer in touch. During the remainder of the day the enemy repeated his attacks at these and other points, and also exercised strong pressure in a westerly and southwesterly direction from Ham. Our troops offered vigorous resistance, and opposite Ham a successful counterattack by the 15th (Pioneer) Battalion, Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, 61st Division, materially delayed his advance. At nightfall the line of the river north of Epenancourt was still held by us, but the gap opposite Pargny had been enlarged, and the enemy had reached Morchain. South of that point the 20th Division, with its left flank in the air, and having exhausted all reserves in a series of gallant and successful counterattacks, fell back during the afternoon to the line of the Libermont Canal, to which position the great weight of the enemy's attacks from Ham had already pressed back the troops on its right.

South of the Somme the situation was less satisfactory. The greater portion of the defensive line along the river and canal had been lost, and that which was still held by us was endangered by the progress made by the enemy north of the Somme. All local reserves had already been put into the fight, and there was no immediate possibility of sending further British troops to the assistance of the divisions in line. On the other hand, the French forces engaged were increasing steadily, and on this day our allies assumed responsibility for the battlefront south of the Somme, with general control of the British troops operating in that sector. The situation still remained critical, however, for every mile of the German advance added to the length of front to be held, and, while the exhaustion of my divisions was hourly growing more acute, some days had yet to pass before the French could bring up troops in sufficient strength to arrest the enemy's progress.

TROOPS EXHAUSTED

On the Fifth Army front, also, fighting had recommenced at an early hour. Hostile attacks at Licourt and to the south of it widened the gap between the 18th and 19th Corps, and the enemy entered Nesle, forcing the French and British troops back to the high ground on the south bank of the Ingon River, southwest of the town. To the south

of this point his troops crossed the Libermont Canal, while to the north the right of the 19th Corps was slowly pushed back in the direction of Chaulnes. Our troops were withdrawn during the evening to the general line Hattencourt-Estées-Frise, the 30th Division delivering a counterattack south of Blaches to cover the withdrawal in that area.

The whole of the troops holding the British line south of the Somme were now greatly exhausted, and the absence of reserves behind them gave ground for considerable anxiety. As the result of a conference held by the Fifth Army commander on March 25, a mixed force, including details, stragglers, schools personnel, tunneling companies, army troops companies, field survey companies, and Canadian and American engineers, had been got together and organized by General Grant, the Chief Engineer of the Fifth Army. On March 26 these were posted by General Grant, in accordance with orders given by the Fifth Army commander, on the line of the old Amiens defenses between Mézières, Marcelcave, and Hamel. Subsequently, as General Grant could ill be spared from his proper duties, he was directed to hand over command of his force to General Carey. Except for General Carey's force there were no reinforcements of any kind behind the divisions which had been fighting for the most part continuously since the opening of the battle. A very gallant feat of arms was performed on this day by a detachment of about 100 officers and men of the 61st Brigade, 20th Division, at Le Quesney. The detachment was detailed to cover the withdrawal of their division, and under the command of their Brigade Major, Captain E. P. Combe, M. C., successfully held the enemy at bay from early morning until 6 o'clock at night, when the eleven survivors withdrew.

NORTHERN ADVANCE STOPPED

Meanwhile, north of the Somme the battle was entering upon its final stages though the enemy's effort was not yet fully spent and his troops were still capable of powerful attacks. During the morning of March 26 our troops continued the taking up of the Ancre line without much interference from the enemy, but between Hamel and Puisieux the situation was not yet clear. A gap still existed in this area between the 5th and 4th Corps, through which bodies of German infantry worked their way forward and occupied Collincamps with machine guns. These machine guns were silenced by a section of field artillery of the 2d Division, which gallantly galloped into action and engaged them over open sights. Early in the afternoon troops of the New Zealand Division, under command of Major Gen. Sir A. H. Russell, K. C. B., K. C. M. G., retook Collincamps, while a brigade of the 4th Australian Division, Major Gen. E. G. Sinclair-Maclagan, C. B., D. S. O., commanding the division, filled the gap between Hébuterne and Bucquoy. In the fighting in this area

our light tanks came into action for the first time and did valuable service. With the arrival of fresh troops our line on this part of the front became stable, and all attempts made by the enemy during the day to drive in our positions about Bucquoy and to the north were repulsed.

South of the Somme, meanwhile, the enemy had recommended his attacks at about 8:30 A. M., on the greater part of the Fifth Army front and against the French. The line occupied by our troops at this time, had it been maintained, would have preserved Amiens from serious bombardment, and orders were issued that every effort was to be made to hold our positions. In the fighting which followed, troops of all divisions, despite the weakness of their numbers and the tremendous strain through which they had already gone, displayed a courage and determination in their defense for which no praise can be too high. At 10 A. M. the 8th Division at Rosières had already repulsed a heavy attack, and the enemy was pressing hard against our positions in the neighborhood of Proyart. The results of the unfortunate withdrawal from Bray now became apparent. The enemy was not slow to take advantage of the position held by him along the north bank of the Somme, in the rear of our troops, and, in spite of our efforts to destroy or hold the river crossings, began to pass strong parties of infantry to the south bank at Cerisy. Being heavily attacked in front, and with bodies of the enemy established south of the river in their immediate rear, our troops at Proyart and to the north were compelled to fall back. The enemy gained Framerville, Proyart, and Morcourt, and endeavored to advance southward behind our line.

In view of the absence of reserves behind this front other than the composite force already referred to, the situation was serious. Troops of the 1st Cavalry Division were hurled across the river and occupied Bouzencourt, in which neighborhood they had sharp fighting. A very gallant and successful counterattack carried out with great dash by the 2d Battalion Devon Regiment and the 22d (Pioneer) Battalion Durham Light Infantry, both of the 8th Division, (which was itself heavily engaged at the time at Rosières,) supported by troops of the 50th Division, at this date under command of Major Gen. H. C. Jackson, D. S. O., held up the enemy a short distance southwest of Proyart. A counterattack by the 66th Division restored the situation about Framerville, and at nightfall our troops were still east and north of Harbonnières, whence our line ran northwestward to Bouzencourt. South of Harbonnières, the 8th Division held the village of Rosières against all attacks, and killed great numbers of the enemy. South of this point, as far as Arvillers, troops of the 24th, 30th, and 20th Divisions maintained their positions substantially unchanged throughout the day, though beyond



REGION OF THE GREAT GERMAN ADVANCE IN PICARDY, MARCH, 1918. THE HEAVY BLACK LINE SHOWS THE BEGINNING, AND THE BROKEN LINE THE END OF THE ADVANCE, WHICH REACHED A FEW MILES WEST OF MONTDIDIER, NEAR AMIENS

their right flank the enemy passed Davencourt and captured Montdidier.

Meanwhile, between 7 and 8 A. M. on the morning of March 28, fighting of the utmost intensity had broken out north of the Somme from Puisieux to northeast of Arras. Finding himself checked on the northern flank of his attack, the enemy on this day made a

determined effort to obtain greater freedom for the development of his offensive, and struck in great force along the valley of the Scarpe at Arras. This development of the battle, which had been foreseen as early as March 23, involved the right of the 13th Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir H. de B. de Lisle, K. C. E., D. S. O., on the

right of the First Army, and represented a considerable extension of the original front of attack. A German success in this sector might well have had far-reaching effects. There is little doubt that the enemy hoped to achieve great results by this new stroke and that its failure was a serious setback to his plans. According to captured documents, the enemy's immediate object was to gain the general line Vimy-Bailleul-St. Laurent-Blangy, when three special assault divisions were to carry the Vimy Ridge on the following day. Immediately south of the Scarpe four German divisions were engaged, to two of which were assigned the tasks of capturing Arras and the heights overlooking the town. This assault, the weight of which fell on the 3d and 15th British Divisions, Major Gen. H. L. Reed, V. C., C. B., C. M. G., commanding the latter division, was supported by powerful attacks, in which eleven hostile divisions were engaged, along our whole front southward to beyond Bucquoy.

The weight and momentum of his assault and the courage of his infantry, who sought to cut their way through our wire by hand under the fire of our machine guns, sufficed to carry the enemy through the gaps which his bombardment had made in our outpost line. Thereafter, raked by the fire of our outposts, whose garrisons turned their machine guns and shot at the enemy's advancing lines from flank and rear, and met by an accurate and intense fire from all arms, his troops were everywhere stopped and thrown back with the heaviest loss before our battle positions. A second attack, launched late in the afternoon north of the Scarpe, after a further period of bombardment, was also repulsed at all points. At the end of the day our battle positions astride the Scarpe were intact on the whole front of the attack, and in the evening successful counterattacks enabled us to push out a new outpost line in front of them.

With this day's battle, which ended in the complete defeat of the enemy on the whole front of his attack, the first stage of the enemy's offensive weakened, and eventually closed on April 5.

HOW HAZEBROUCK WAS SAVED

[Dealing with the Lys battle and the enemy's thrust toward Hazebrouck, the dispatch describes in glowing terms the stand of the British divisions north of Merville on April 11.]

Meanwhile, a situation which threatened to become serious had arisen north of Merville. At about 8 A. M. the enemy attacked in great strength on a front extending from south of the Estaires-Vieux Berquin road to the neighborhood of Steenwerck. After very heavy fighting, in the course of which the 1st Battalion Royal Guernsey Light Infantry, 29th Division, Major Gen. D. E. Cayley, C. M. G., commanding the division, did gallant service, he succeeded in the afternoon in overcoming the resistance of our troops

about Doulleu and La Becque, forcing them back in a northwesterly direction. As the result of this movement, a gap was formed in our line southwest of Bailleul, and bodies of the enemy who had forced their way through seized Outtersteene and Merris.

In the evening a brigade of the 33d Division, Major Gen. R. J. Pinney, C. B., commanding the division, with a body of cyclists, a pioneer battalion, and every available man from schools and reinforcement camps, came into action in this sector. On their left, troops of the 25th, 34th, and 39th Divisions, Major Gen. N. J. G. Cameron, C. B., C. M. G., commanding the last mentioned division, though heavily attacked, maintained their positions to the south and southeast of Bailleul, and before midnight our line had been reformed.

Next day the enemy followed up his attacks with great vigor, and the troops of the 29th and 31st Divisions, now greatly reduced in strength by the severe fighting already experienced and strung out over a front of nearly 10,000 yards east of the Forêt de Nieppe, were once more tried to the utmost. Behind them the 1st Australian Division, under command of Major Gen. Sir H. B. Walker, K. C. B., D. S. O., was in process of detraining, and the troops were told that the line was to be held at all costs until the detraining could be completed.

During the morning, which was very foggy, several determined attacks, in which a German armored car came into action against the 4th Guards Brigade on the southern portion of our line, were repulsed with great loss to the enemy. After the failure of these assaults he brought up field guns to point-blank range, and in the northern sector with their aid gained Vieux Berquin. Everywhere except at Vieux Berquin the enemy's advance was held up all day by desperate fighting, in which our advanced posts displayed the greatest gallantry, maintaining their ground when entirely surrounded, men standing back to back in the trenches and shooting to front and rear.

In the afternoon the enemy made a further determined effort, and by sheer weight of numbers forced his way through the gaps in our depleted line, the surviving garrisons of our posts fighting where they stood to the last with bullet and bayonet. The heroic resistance of these troops, however, had given the leading brigades of the 1st Australian Division time to reach and organize their appointed line east of the Forêt de Nieppe. These now took up the fight, and the way to Hazebrouck was definitely closed.

The performance of all the troops engaged in this most gallant stand, and especially that of the 4th Guards Brigade, on whose front of some 4,000 yards the heaviest attacks fell, is worthy of the highest praise. No more brilliant exploit has taken place since the opening of the enemy's offensive, though gallant actions have been without number.

The action of these troops, and indeed of all

the divisions engaged in the fighting in the Lys Valley, is the more noteworthy because, as already pointed out, practically the whole of them had been brought straight out of the Somme battlefield, where they had suffered severely and had been subjected to a great strain. All these divisions, without adequate rest and filled with young reinforcements which they had had no time to assimilate, were again hurriedly thrown into the fight, and, in spite of the great disadvantages under which they labored, succeeded in holding up the advance of greatly superior forces of fresh troops. Such an accomplishment reflects the greatest credit on the youth of Great Britain, as well as upon those responsible for the training of the young soldiers sent out from home at this time.

TASK OF BRITISH ARMIES

It has been seen that in the Somme battle, by the end of March, in addition to some ten German divisions engaged against the French, a total of seventy-three German divisions were engaged and fought to a standstill by forty-two British infantry divisions and three cavalry divisions. In order to complete the comparison between the forces engaged, and to enable the nature of the task accomplished by our troops to be realized, it will be of value to give similar figures for the battle of the Lys.

In the Lys battle, prior to April 30 the enemy engaged against the British forces a total of forty-two divisions, of which thirty-three were fresh and nine had fought previously on the Somme. Against these forty-two German divisions twenty-five British divisions were employed, of which eight were fresh and seventeen had taken a prominent part in the Somme battle.

In the six weeks of almost constant fighting, from March 21 to April 30, a total of fifty-five British infantry divisions and three cavalry divisions was employed on the battlefronts against a force of 109 different German divisions. During this period a total of 141 different German divisions were engaged against the combined British and French forces.

The splendid qualities displayed by all ranks and services throughout the Somme and Lys battles make it possible to view with confidence whatever further tests the future may bring.

On March 21 the troops of the Fifth and Third Armies had the glory of sustaining the first and heaviest blow of the German offensive. Though assailed by a concentration of hostile forces which the enemy might well have considered overwhelming, they held up the German attack at all points for the greater part of two days, thereby rendering a service to their country and to the allied cause the value of which cannot be overestimated. Thereafter, through many days of heavy and continuous rearguard fighting, they succeeded in presenting a barrier to the enemy's advance until such time

as the arrival of British and French reinforcements enabled his progress to be checked.

In the battle of the Lys, as has been pointed out above, many of the same divisions which had just passed through the furnace of the Somme found themselves exposed to the full fury of a second great offensive by fresh German forces. Despite this disadvantage they gave evidence in many days of close and obstinate fighting that their spirit was as high as ever and their courage and determination unabated. Both by them and by the divisions freshly engaged every yard of ground was fiercely disputed, until troops were overwhelmed or ordered to withdraw. Such withdrawals as were deemed necessary in the course of the battle were carried out successfully and in good order.

At no time, either on the Somme or on the Lys, was there anything approaching a breakdown of command or a failure of morale.

TRIBUTE TO AMERICANS

[The dispatch pays high tributes to all arms and services, to the work of the artillery, the Royal Air Force, the tanks, the Machine Gun Corps, the engineers, signalers, Royal Army Medical Corps, and the staff, and concludes with this reference to Britain's allies and to America's first fighting units:]

I cannot close this report without paying my personal tribute to the ready and effective assistance given me by the French and Belgian higher command in the course of the Somme and Lys battles. Reference has already been made to the schemes for mutual co-operation and assistance between the French and British Armies which formed so important a part of the allied plan for the year's campaign. These schemes have been carried out with absolute loyalty. The support rendered by French troops south of the Somme and north of the Lys, and by Belgian troops in taking over the responsibility for the greater part of the line previously held by British troops north of Ypres, has been of incalculable value.

I desire also to express my appreciation of the services rendered by the Portuguese troops who had held a sector of my front continuously throughout the Winter months, and on April 9 were called upon to withstand the assault of greatly superior forces.

Finally, I am glad to acknowledge the ready manner in which American engineer units have been placed at my disposal from time to time, and the great value of the assistance they have rendered. In the battles referred to in this dispatch American and British troops have fought shoulder to shoulder in the same trenches, and have shared together in the satisfaction of beating off German attacks. All ranks of the British Army look forward to the day when the rapidly growing strength of the American Army will allow American and British soldiers to co-operate in offensive action.

Italy's Efforts in the World War

Nearly 5,500,000 Men Under Arms

[BY AUTHORITY OF THE ITALIAN WAR BUREAU]

SINCE the beginning of the war Italy has called to the colors little less than 5,500,000 men and has suffered a loss of almost 1,500,000 of them. Of that loss nearly 350,000 died in battle and 100,000 from disease. Over 550,000 are totally incapacitated, either by blindness, loss of limb, or tuberculosis. At the end of the war the strength of the Italian Army was 4,025,000, including the class of men born in 1900, who had been called to the colors recently. It may be said, then, that the nation's man power has suffered a permanent loss of nearly a million.

But serious as is this loss, Italy has inflicted an even greater punishment upon the foe. In Austrian prisoners alone she has taken approximately a million. The Austrian loss in killed and wounded is, of course, still unknown, but even the most conservative estimates make it far greater than ours. In the June offensive on the Piave alone over 200,000 Austrian dead were left on the field.

Aside from their achievements in other theatres of the war, Italy's soldiers fought through fifteen furious offensives on the Isonzo and the Piave, inflicting terrible losses on the foe in each. These campaigns were carried on in mountainous regions and under rigorous weather conditions that taxed to the utmost the genius of the military engineers and the endurance of the troops. The foe, when hostilities opened, were intrenched in carefully prepared and seemingly impregnable positions, backed by a network of military roads and railroads. On the Italian side were deep gorges, unscalable cliffs, almost impassable glaciers, passes filled with snow and commanded by Austrian guns. There were no suitable roads or bridges. The surmounting of these difficulties has challenged the admiration of the engineering world.

Over 2,500 miles of roads have been constructed on the mountains of Italy

and of Albania, and 1,000 miles of aerial cable railroads (Teleferiche) have been built to carry food, ammunition, and guns over deep ravines.

The magnitude of this military effort can be fully appreciated only when one takes into consideration the economic structure of the nation and the nature and number of its population. One must remember that out of 36,000,000 inhabitants in Italy at the beginning of the war only 17,000,000 were male. This seeming disproportion is caused by emigration, which was largely composed of male adults. Out of those 17,000,000 only 9,000,000 were adults economically productive. Consequently the subtraction of the mobilized forces has had an acute reaction on the economic life of the nation. It is estimated that on an average only 100 adults remained in each town or village to provide in each case for some 320 children below the age of 15.

Furthermore, the traditions of Italian family life render the work of their women an economic factor of less importance than in some other countries, though it has been utilized to the utmost and became more available as old traditions gave way to war's necessity.

Italy got no help from colonial contingents. On the contrary, the scarcity of native troops in Italy's colonies compelled the Government to reinforce them with troops from the mother country. Nor has help come to Italy through the co-operation of workmen of neutral or allied countries. Italy, on the other hand, sent a large contingent of skilled workmen to France, thus allowing the latter to release valued elements for war. Furthermore, nearly 500,000 of our male adults residing in America gave to that great nation direct contribution of their economic and military efforts.

To meet their military obligations, therefore, the Italian people have been compelled to cut into the most urgent

needs of agriculture and industry. The continuous lack of labor has made the task of feeding the army and providing it with munitions a most difficult one.

And yet Italy, lacking labor and industrial development, lacking almost entirely coal and raw materials, was by a miracle of energy able to create almost from nothing a powerful organization of war industries.

The very act of entering the war cut off Italy from one of the sources of supply of manufactured products. It is not necessary here to enlarge upon the well-known fact that Italian markets were largely under the domination of Germany and Austria. That is a situation that is as well known to Americans as it is and was distasteful to Italians. And it might be said in passing that it is a situation that must be guarded against by allied co-operation and sympathetic economic relationship when peace is signed.

Financially Italy also has responded to the demands of war with an openhandedness that has surprised even herself.

From the 1st of August, 1914, to the end of 1917 the total expenditures of the State were \$8,895,600,000. Calculating on the basis of a monthly average expenditure for the war of \$240,000,000, the total cost of the war to Italy would be more than \$12,000,000,000.

A further proof of the financial effort Italy made for the war, notwithstanding her small means, is found in her five loans. The first one yielded about \$200,000,000, and it seemed a great struggle, yet still others were launched, all giving greater returns, and the last one, after the disaster of October, 1917, yielded about \$1,300,000,000.

It must be remembered, too, that labor shortage has meant a food shortage. It has established a vicious circle. Italy's fighters and industrial workers have accomplished their work while forced to endure a régime of restricted diet that has meant real and continuous suffering such as probably is not to be found anywhere among the other belligerent peoples.

The Campaign in Palestine

General Allenby's Official Report of the Fighting North of Jerusalem Up to September 18, 1918

THE operations of the British Expeditionary Force in Palestine between the capture of Jerusalem and the beginning of the drive toward Damascus are recorded by General Sir Edmund Allenby in a dispatch made public in London on Nov. 6, 1918. The report covers the period from Dec. 9, 1917, when the British entered Jerusalem, to Sept. 18, 1918, when General Allenby started his new campaign, which resulted in the capture of Damascus and Aleppo. It reveals the fact that at the time of the last German sweep toward the Marne a considerable portion of the Palestine expedition had to be withdrawn to fight in France.

General Allenby begins with the operations making Jaffa and Jerusalem safe against Turkish counterattacks, a task

performed chiefly by the 21st Corps, (52d and 54th Divisions,) whose efforts "increased the distance between the enemy and Jaffa from three to eight miles." He continues:

The chief obstacle lay in the crossing of the Nahn el Auja. This river is only fordable in places, and all approaches to it are overlooked from Sheikh Muannis and Khurbet Hadrah. At these places two spurs running from north to south terminate abruptly in steep slopes some 500 yards from the river.

Before the 21st Corps could reach its final objectives, it was necessary that the guns should move forward with the infantry. Consequently, Sheikh Muannis, Khurbet Hadrah, and the high ground overlooking the river had to be captured as a preliminary to the general advance in order that bridges might be built.

The chief difficulty lay in concealing the collection and preparation of rafts and

bridging material. All preparations were completed, however, without attracting the enemy's attention, and on the night of Dec. 20-21 the 52d Division crossed the river in three columns. The enemy was taken completely by surprise. The left column, fording the river near its mouth, at this point four feet deep, captured Tel er Rekkeit, 4,000 yards north of the river's mouth; the centre and right columns, crossing on rafts, rushed Sheikh Muannis and Khurbet Hadrah at the point of the bayonet. By dawn a line from Khurbet Hadrah to Tel er Rekkeit had been consolidated and the enemy deprived of all observation from the north over the valley of the Nahr el Auja.

PROTECTING JERUSALEM

The 20th Corps had been ordered to take up the Beitin-Nalin line—that is, an advance on a twelve-mile front to a depth of six miles immediately north of Jerusalem. As it was, the enemy both to the north and the east were only four miles away from the city. When the preparations of the corps were nearing completion, the enemy attacked in force astride the Jerusalem-Nablus (Shechem) road. The attack was launched at 11:30 P. M. on Dec. 26, (1917,) and by 1:30 A. M. on the 27th the 60th (London) Division—holding the northern front—was engaged on its whole front, the heaviest fighting being east of the Shechem road. General Allenby continues:

Repeated attacks were made against Tel el Ful, a conspicuous hill from which Jerusalem and the intervening ground can be overlooked. The attacks were made by picked bodies of troops, and were pressed with great determination. At only one point did the enemy succeed in reaching the main line of defense. He was driven out at once by the local reserves. In all these attacks he lost heavily.

In the meantime the enemy had delivered attacks against various points held by the 53d Division east of Jerusalem. On the extreme right at Kh. Deir Ibn Obeld a company of Middlesex troops was surrounded by 700 Turks, supported by mountain artillery. Although without artillery support, it offered a most gallant resistance, holding out till relief came on the morning of the 28th. None of the other attacks on this division's front were any more successful.

On the 60th Division front north of Jerusalem a lull in the fighting occurred after 8 A. M. This lasted till 12:55 P. M., when the enemy launched an attack of unexpected strength against the whole front. In places this attack reached our

main line of defense, but these small successes were short-lived, for in each case local counterattacks, carried out immediately, were successful in restoring the line. This proved to be the final effort.

A counterattack by the 74th and 10th Divisions had been launched at 6:30 A. M., and now, by noon, made itself felt, the divisions making a fine advance over broken and boulder-strewn hills. By attacking the enemy's reserves they had deprived him of the initiative. Seeing that the Turkish attack was spent, General Allenby ordered a general advance northward on Dec. 28. But the Turks were still full of fight at most points, and the battle was of a very obstinate character, and lasted into the evening of the 29th, by which time the Turkish defeat was complete. Great difficulty had been found in locating the enemy's machine guns, and at one point, Shab Salah, the British came under heavy rifle and machine-gun fire from a precipitous hill overlooking the high road. The hill was, however, stormed by the 60th Division. The Royal Air Force rendered great services during the battle. The report adds:

The Turk's attempt to recapture Jerusalem had thus ended in crushing defeat. He had employed fresh troops who had not participated in the recent retreat of his army from Beersheba and Gaza and had escaped its demoralizing effects. The determination and gallantry with which his attack was carried out only served to increase his losses. * * * Seven hundred and fifty prisoners, twenty-four machine guns, and three automatic rifles were captured during these operations, and over 1,000 Turkish dead were buried by us. Our own casualties were considerably less than this number.

JERICHO CAPTURED

To secure his right flank, General Allenby decided to undertake an advance to Jericho and the Jordan. The troops engaged were the 60th and 53d Divisions, plus the Australian and New Zealand Mounted Division (less one brigade) and the Divisional Artillery. The descent to the Jordan Valley is very steep, the banks of the wadis often precipitous, and the chief obstacle to the advance was the difficulty of the ground. Nevertheless, both the infantry and the mounted troops encountered considerable opposi-

tion. The advance began on Feb. 19, and by the evening of the 20th the 60th Division had reached a line four miles west of the cliffs overlooking Jericho. In the meantime the mounted troops were working on the right (south) of the infantry toward Neby Musa—not far from the northwest corner of the Dead Sea—whence they were to strike north into the Jordan Valley.

Two miles south of Neby Musa the enemy held the high ground at Jebel el Kalimum and Tubk el Kaneiterah. Compelled to move 'n single file over tracks which were exposed to machine-gun fire from the enemy's position, and which had been registered accurately by the enemy's guns at Neby Musa, the progress of the mounted troops was necessarily slow. By 2 P. M., however, the enemy was driven from his position at Jebel el Kalimum and Tubk el Kaneiterah. The further advance of the New Zealand Brigade on Neby Musa was hampered by the ground, and was finally checked at the Wadi Mukellik, the only possible crossing over, which was subjected to a heavy fire from Neby Musa. On the right of the New Zealanders an Australian mounted brigade discovered a crossing over the Wadi Kuman, and, entering the Jordan plain, reached the Wadi Jufet Zeben by dusk. The chief feature of the enemy's resistance was the volume of machine-gun fire.

The Australian Mounted Brigade, advancing along the plain, entered Jericho at 8:20 A. M., the enemy having withdrawn during the night.

On no previous occasions had such difficulties of ground been encountered. As an instance of this, a field artillery battery took thirty-six hours to reach Neby Musa, the distance covered, as the crow flies, being only eight miles.

JORDAN VALLEY OPERATIONS

This right flank of the Expeditionary Force was now secure, but General Allenby had not yet obtained "a base sufficiently broad to permit of operations being carried out east of the Jordan against the Hedjaz Railway." To get this sufficiently broad base he decided to secure the high ground covering the approaches to the Jordan by the Jericho-Beisan road, and also, further west, the high ground stretching across the hills of Mount Ephraim south of Sinjil and thence northwest—a front of twenty-six miles. In the centre, east of the Shechem road, was Tel Asur, a conspicuous landmark among a mass of high hills.

Both the 20th and 21st Corps were engaged, and operations began on March 9.

The ground over which the advance was to take place is rugged and difficult. A succession of high and rocky ridges, separated by deep valleys, afforded the enemy a series of positions of great natural strength. The slopes of the ridges are in many places precipitous. Ledges of rock confine the descent to definite places, on which the enemy could concentrate his fire. In places the slopes are terraced, and men had to pull or hoist each other up. It was necessary to reconnoitre each successive position held by the enemy, and the subsequent movement of troops into positions of assembly was of necessity a slow process. Under these conditions no rapid advance could be looked for.

The fighting was of a bitter character, but on the 9th the 60th Division, which had crossed the Wadi el Auja, north of Jericho, in the dark, seized a position astride the Beisan-Jericho road, and the 53d Division had captured Tel Asur, which mountain the enemy tried repeatedly, but in vain, to recover. On the extreme left the enemy counterattacked the 10th Division. Here by the Wadis el Nimr and El Jib "the downward slopes were exceptionally steep, almost precipitous in places. It was impossible for companies and platoons to move on a wide front. The slopes were swept by machine-gun and rifle fire, and the bottom of the wadis by enfilade fire. The ascent on the far side was steeply terraced. Men had alternately to hoist and pull each other up, under fire, and finally to expel the enemy from the summits in hand-to-hand fighting."

THE RAID ON AMMAN

By March 12 the operations (which had looked like an attempt to advance on Shechem) had reached a point which enabled General Allenby to undertake his projected raids on the Hedjaz Railway in conjunction with the Arab forces of the Sherif and Emir Faisal, which were southeast of the Dead Sea, and under General Allenby's control. Circumstances, says General Allenby, seemed favorable for a raid on the enemy's communications with the Hedjaz. If successful, Sherif Faisal would have an opportunity to attack Maan with some prospects of success. The point aimed at



SCENE OF GENERAL ALLENBY'S PALESTINE CAMPAIGN

was Amman, in the plateau of Moab, and thirty miles in a direct line east by north of Jericho.

The country between the Jordan and Amman offered many obstacles to an advance—first, the marshy valley of the Jordan, then clay ridges, next scrub, and beyond a rise of 3,500 feet in twelve miles. There was a metaled road from Ghoraniyeh bridge over the Jordan, which enters the hills at Shunet Nimrin, and then winds round the slopes of a wadi to Es Salt, (eighteen miles from the Jordan,) and so to Amman. The raid did not fully attain its object; nevertheless, it enabled Sherif Faisal so greatly to damage the railway south of Maan that at least a month's hard work would be needed to repair it.

The operations, [writes General Allenby,] which started during the night of March 21-22, were hampered considerably by rain, which fell during the days preceding the raid and on March 27 and the three following days. The Jordan is unfordable at this time of the year. The current is at all times rapid, and is liable to sudden floods, which render the banks boggy and difficult of approach for transport. On March 28 it rose nine feet. The rain which fell during the operations rendered the tracks in the hills slippery and the

movement of horses, and especially of camels, slow and difficult. The delay thus caused enabled the enemy to bring up reinforcements. Before Amman could be attacked in strength some 4,000 Turks, supported by fifteen guns, were in position near Amman, covering the viaduct and tunnel, while another 2,000 were moving on Es Salt from the north.

To have driven the enemy from his position, without adequate artillery support, would have entailed very heavy losses. Owing to the marshy nature of the country it was only possible to bring up mountain artillery, and I therefore ordered a withdrawal, which was carried out without serious interruption. Although it had not been possible to effect any permanent demolitions, five miles of railway line, including several large culverts, and the points and crossings at Alanda station, were destroyed to the south of Amman, while to the north of the town a two-arch bridge was blown up.

Considerable losses were inflicted on the enemy, and in addition fifty-three officers and over 900 other ranks were taken prisoner, including several Germans. The raid also enabled a considerable number of Armenians to escape and find a refuge west of the Jordan.

ADVANCE TO ES SALT

Following this raid the Turks became aggressive, and in April suffered very heavy losses in attacks on the Ghoraniyeh

bridgehead, while they garrisoned Shunet Nimrin with 5,000 rifles. General Allenby determined to cut off and destroy the enemy's force at that place and advance to Es Salt, and hold it till his troops could be relieved by the Arabs. He had planned to make the attempt in the middle of May, but on representations from the Beni Sakhr tribe, the operation was begun on April 30. The 60th (London) Division was to attack Shunet Nimrin, while the mounted troops were to go north and then make a semi-circular sweep south on Es Salt, and cut off the Nimrin garrison. This mounted division was to leave a force to protect the crossing of the Jordan at Jisr ed Damieh, (north of the Ghoraniyah bridge-head,) at which point the Turks held the western side of the river. The report continues:

The 60th Division captured the advanced works of the Shunet Nimrin position, but were unable to make further progress in face of the stubborn resistance offered by the enemy. The mounted troops, moving northward, rode round the right of the Shunet Nimrin position, and by 6 P. M. had captured Es Salt, leaving an Australian brigade to watch the left flank. This brigade took up a position facing north-west astride the Jisr ed Damieh-Es Salt track. * * * At 7:30 A. M. on May 1 this brigade was attacked by the 3d Turkish Cavalry Division and a part of the 24th Division, which had crossed from the west bank of the Jordan during the night at Jisr ed Damieh. The enemy succeeded in penetrating between the left of the brigade and the detachment on the bank of the Jordan. The brigade was driven back through the foothills. During its retirement through the hills nine guns and part of its transport had to be abandoned, being unable to traverse the intricate ground.

The 60th Division at Shunet Nimrin was unable to make any substantial progress, and on May 2 the troops at Es Salt were attacked by two Turkish battalions from Amman, as well as by cavalry from the north and troops from Ed Damieh. The assistance of the Beni Sakhr had not materialized, further Turkish reinforcements were on their way, and, in the circumstances, the whole force was brought back to the Jordan crossings. They had inflicted heavy loss on the enemy, and had captured fifty officers and 892 other ranks.

TROOPS SENT TO FRANCE

Meantime, the situation on the western front led to a call upon General Allenby to send troops to France, and the result was that further operations on a large scale were not undertaken in the period covered by the dispatch. General Allenby writes:

During the first week in April the 52d Division embarked for France, its place being taken by the 7th (Meerut) Division, which had arrived from Mesopotamia. The departure of the 52d Division was followed by that of the 74th Division, which left Palestine during the second week in April. The 3d (Lahore) Division was sent from Mesopotamia to replace the 74th Division, but it was not till the middle of June that the last units disembarked. In addition to the 52d and 74th Divisions, nine Yeomanry Regiments, five and a half siege batteries, ten British battalions, and five machine-gun companies were withdrawn from the line, preparatory to embarkation for France.

By the end of April the Yeomanry Regiments had been replaced by Indian Cavalry Regiments, which had arrived from France, and the British battalions by Indian battalions dispatched from India. These Indian battalions had not, however, seen service during the present war; and, naturally, had not the experience of the battalions they replaced.

Thus in April the strength of the force had been reduced by one division, five and a half siege batteries, and five machine-gun companies; while one mounted division was in process of being reorganized, and was not available for operations.

In May a further fourteen battalions of British infantry were withdrawn and dispatched to France. Only two Indian battalions were available to replace them. Thus at the end of May the force had been further reduced by twelve battalions, while the loss of the 74th Division had not yet been fully made good. On the other hand, the reorganization of the mounted division had been completed. * * * During July and the first week in August a further ten British battalions were replaced by ten Indian battalions, the personnel of the British battalions being used as reinforcements.

THE GERMAN DEFEAT

The most noteworthy of the events of the Summer was an attack by the enemy on both sides of the Jordan. West of the Jordan, on July 14, the enemy suddenly attacked at 3:30 A. M., and gained Abu Tellul, surrounding other advanced posts.

At 4:30 A. M. the 1st Australian Light Horse Brigade counterattacked. By 5 A. M. Abu Tellul had been regained. The enemy, driven against our advanced posts, which, with one exception, had held their ground, suffered heavily. Two hundred and seventy-six Germans, including twelve officers, and sixty-two Turks were captured. One hundred wounded and many dead were left on the ground. Great credit is due to the Australians for the quickness of their counterattack and for the determination displayed by the garrisons of the advanced posts in holding out, although surrounded.

While this fighting was in progress, a

Turkish force of considerable strength was observed to be concentrating to the east of the Jordan, midway between El Ghoraniyeh bridgehead and the Dead Sea. A cavalry brigade moved out to counter-attack. Taking advantage of the ground, the cavalry arrived within charging distance before they were observed. In the charge that ensued some ninety Turks were speared; and ninety-one, including six officers, in addition to four machine guns, were captured. It was only by reaching ground impassable for cavalry that the remainder of the Turks effected their escape. The Jodhpur Lancers played a distinguished part in this charge.

Idyl of a French Officer's Home-Coming

A correspondent with the allied forces in Flanders was motoring along a road toward the recently freed city of Denain when a French officer asked for a ride. The officer's home had been in Denain, and four years ago he had left his wife there when he joined the colors. Then had come the German occupation, cutting off his family. Now he was going back after these long years to his wife and the baby he had never seen. He was visibly wrought up to the highest pitch. It was quite possible he might find his family dead or gone and his home in ruins.

Denain had been the centre of a battle that had cost civilian lives. Neither the officer nor the correspondent mentioned this fact, but both were thinking it as the car sped over the shell-shattered road.

Entering the city, the officer directed the correspondent toward his home, through streets showing the cruel marks of the invaders' hate. As the car turned into his street, the first house was seen to be in ruins. He gave a nervous start, but said nothing. A few doors further on was his home, and the car stopped across the street from it. The officer climbed out slowly and with an effort, his eyes fixed on the place.

There were no signs of life. The windows were shuttered, and on the door was a sign showing that German officers had been living there. Crossing the street, the officer pulled the bell with a shaking hand. No one answered. He backed away like a man in a trance and leaned against the car, trembling.

Suddenly the door was opened and an aged woman servant appeared in answer to the bell. She was leading by the hand a beautiful baby girl with a wealth of golden curls. The officer took one step toward the child and then halted. He was a stranger to his own flesh and blood. The child hid behind the skirts of the nurse, peering out in fright. Undoubtedly her mother had told her many times during the German occupation that men in uniform were bad, and that she must avoid them.

The horizon-blue uniform of France meant nothing to the baby. The half-blind eyes of the old nurse had recognized her master, and she held out her hands to him, repeating "Monsieur! Monsieur!" in ecstasy. He crossed the road and grasped her hands, but the baby drew back still further.

A door opened at the end of a long hall and a comely young matron came through to see what was going on. When half way down the hall she caught sight of her husband. She stopped, her hand flew to her breast, and she swayed for a second as though about to fall. With a sobbing cry of joy she hurled herself into his arms.

The correspondent's car was already away, for outsiders were not needed to complete the scene. And thus they were left, the nurse beaming on the happy couple and the curly headed youngster looking with round, troubled eyes at this strange man who had appropriated her mother so completely without a word.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR

The End of the Trail



—From The San Francisco Chronicle

[American Cartoon]

End of Pan-Germanism



—From The New York Herald.

“And the Unclean Spirits * * * Entered Into the Swine, and the Herd Ran Violently Down a Steep Place Into the Sea.”

[American Cartoon]

Time for Him to Lay Down His Hand



—From *The Cincinnati Post* (Nov. 5, 1918.)

[English Cartoon]

Not According to Program



—From *London Opinion*

THE KAISER: "I Tried the Sword; I Tried the Pen; I Never Expected to Have to Try This Confounded White Flag."

[English Cartoon]

Sauve Qui Peut!



—From The Passing Show, London

The Army of Occupation



"And We Were Told They Couldn't Get Here"

The Reception Committee



Rejoining His Allies

The Unwelcome Guest



"Yes, But Where Can I Go?"

The March to the Rhine



The Spirit of 1918

—All From the New York World

[English Cartoons]

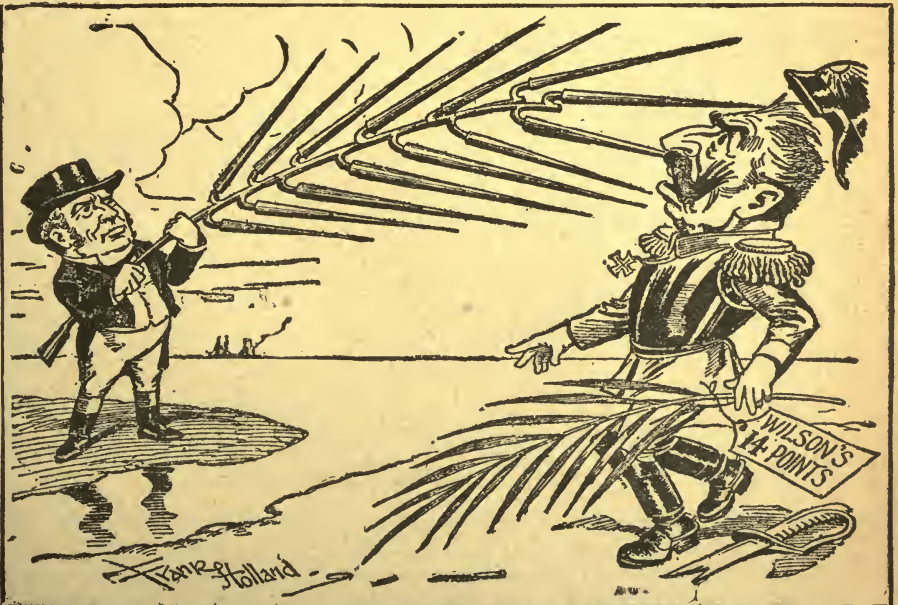
The Latest in Queues



—From London Opinion.

MARSHAL FOCH: "Now, Then, You Nations Surrendering, Form in Line, Please, and Don't Push."

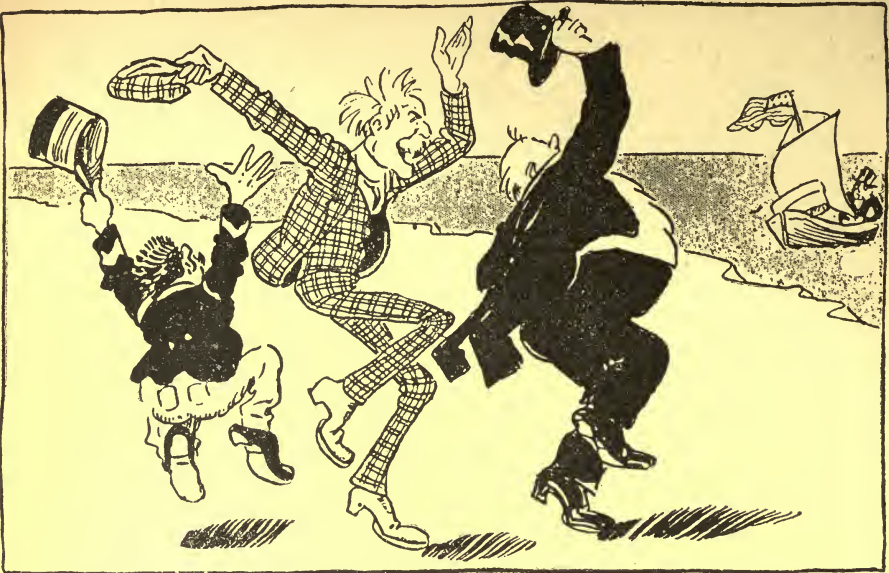
John Bull's Fourteen Points



—From John Bull, London.

[German Cartoon]

"Tin Soldiers"



"Hurrah! The Americans Are Coming!" Cry the Entente Brethren



But When Uncle Wilson's Army Arrives it Is Nothing But a Box of Tin Soldiers
[This Cartoon Appeared in Kladderadatsch of Berlin on July 14, 1918. Four Days Later the American Army Struck the First Blow in the Offensive That Crushed Germany]

[American Cartoon]

Looking for a Job



—From The Cincinnati Post.

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

In at the Death



[The Pro-German Nebelspalter of Zurich Thus Depicted President Wilson as Glorifying in the Fall of the Central Powers]

At the Summit



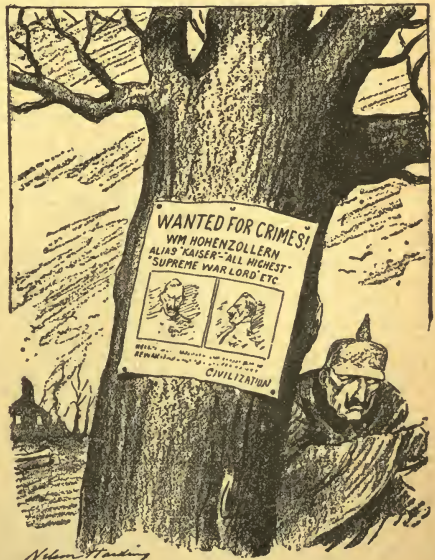
"Unwept, Unhonored and Unsung"



Left on the Field of Battle



"Wanted"



—From The Brooklyn Eagle.

[American Cartoon]

The Tasks of Peace



—From The New York Tribune.

Now All She Has to Do Is to Wash the Dishes, Feed and Quiet the Children,
Straighten Up the House and Pay the Bill

[Spanish Cartoons]

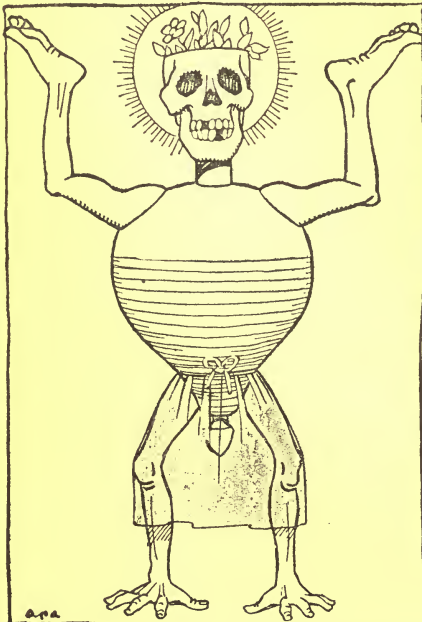
His Due Reward



—From *Esquella*, Barcelona

EX-KAISER: "I Deserve Peace. I Have Given It to So Many Others"

The Spirit of Bolshevism



—Iberia, Barcelona

R. I. P.



—*Esquella*, Barcelona

It's the Turn of the Bolsheviki Next



—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Making the World Safe for Democracy



—New York Tribune.

While We Have Soapsuds Handy

After Forty-seven Years

11-11-1918



—St. Louis Republic



Utica Herald-Dispatch

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The True Victors



-Nebelspalter, Zurich.

[Italian Cartoon]

Toward the End



-L'Asino, Rome.

[American Cartoon]

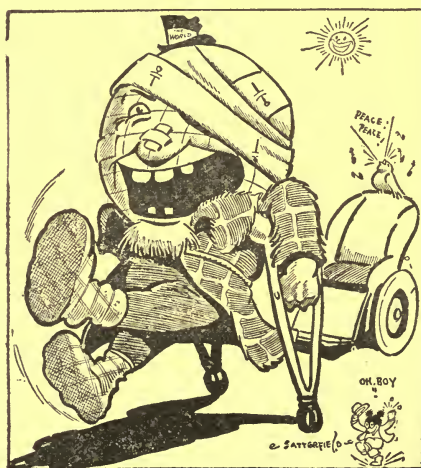
He Had to Come to This



-Cincinnati Post.

[American Cartoon]

Cured



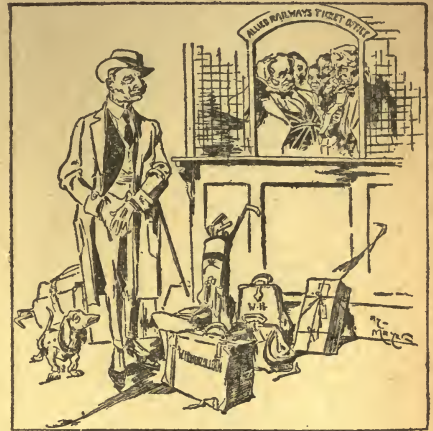
-Helena Independent.

“Come, Your Show’s Over”



—Cleveland Plain Dealer

Citizen Hohenzollern:
“Where Do We Go From
Here?”



—New York Times

“Dropping the Pilot”



—Rochester Herald

Cause and Effect



—© 1918, by The Philadelphia Inquirer Co.

All 'Atrocities Barred Now

[Nov. 7, 1918]



—Baltimore Sun

The End of a Dream



—New York Herald

The Super-Diplomat



—Dallas News

On His Last Line



—Dallas News

CROWN PRINCE ALEXANDER OF SERBIA



Prince Alexander is regent of the new Yugoslav State, which includes Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, and Herzegovina

LEADERS IN MOVEMENT FOR AN INDEPENDENT POLAND



Ignace Paderewski, the pianist, who led the activities
in America in behalf of Polish freedom.



General Joseph Pilsudski, Commander in Chief of
Poland's army.

(© Underwood & Underwood)

MEN AT HELM OF NEW GERMAN GOVERNMENTS



Friedrich W. Ebert, Socialist Chancellor at Berlin,
succeeding Prince Maximilian of Baden



Kurt Eisner, former newspaper editor, first Presi-
dent of the Bavarian Republic

AMERONGEN CASTLE, HOLLAND, RESIDENCE OF THE EX-KAISER



This old Dutch castle, the property of Count Wilhelm von Bentinck, was assigned to the former German Emperor when he fled from Spa

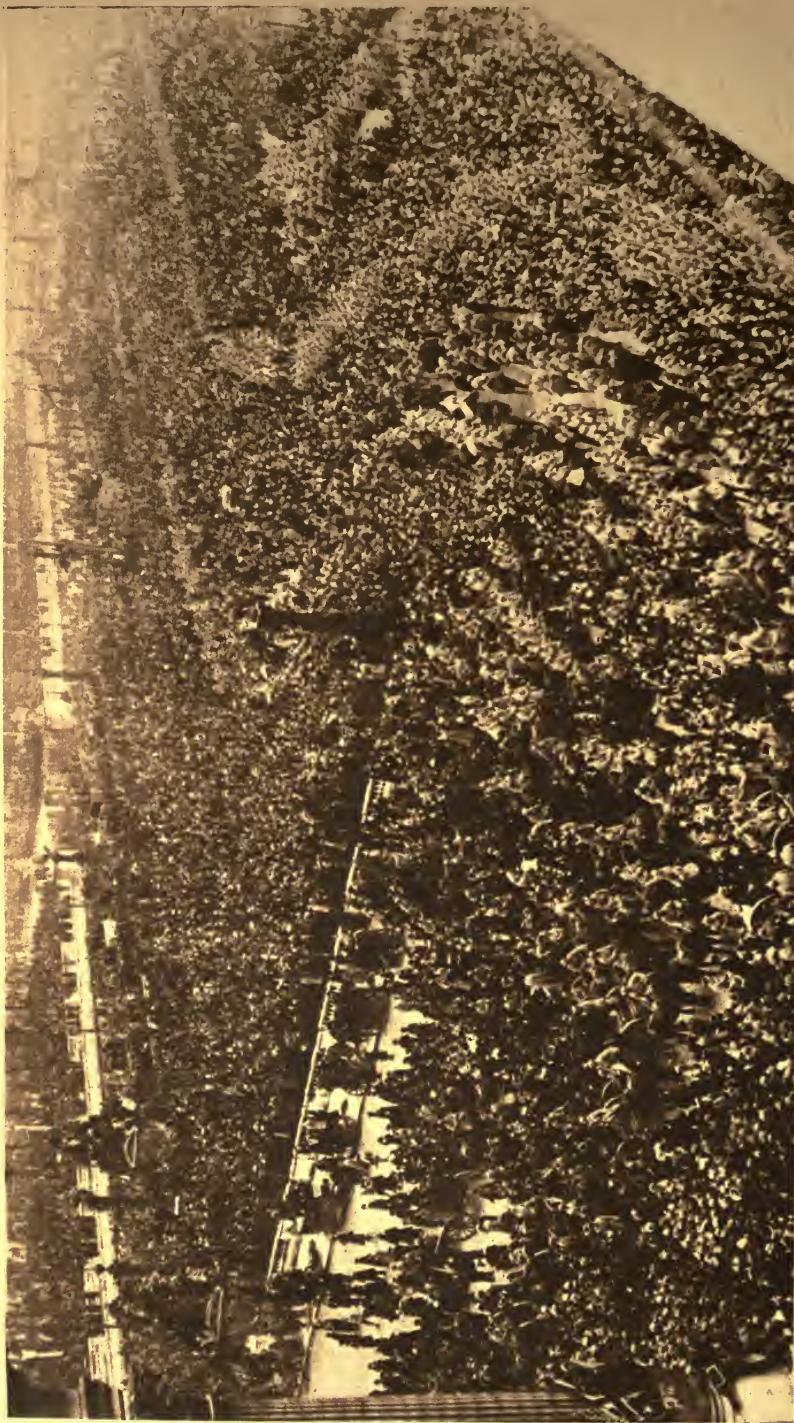
SCENE AT PROCLAMATION OF NEW GERMAN GOVERNMENT



Immense throngs gathered before the Reichstag Building in Berlin, Nov. 10, 1918, when the new Government was proclaimed

(© International Pictor Service)

GREETING PRESIDENT WILSON IN THE PLACE DE LA CONCORDE



Enormous multitudes gathered to cheer the American President on his arrival in Paris as he drove through the streets with President Poincaré
(© International Film Service)

MURAT MANSION, TEMPORARY RESIDENCE OF PRESIDENT WILSON



The famous mansion of Prince and Princess Murat was placed at the disposal of President and Mrs. Wilson during their stay in Paris

(Times Photo Service)

MARSHAL PETAIN ENTERING METZ IN TRIUMPH



One of the military idols of France riding into Metz at the head of his troops, Nov. 19, 1918
(© Underwood & Underwood)

THE FRENCH ENTERING STRASBOURG, CAPITAL OF ALSACE



Scene when Strasbourg echoed once more to the tread of French troops after forty-eight years of German rule

(© Kadel & Herbert)

AMERICAN ARMY OF OCCUPATION ENTERING TREVES



American troops marching through the Kaiserplatz, in Treves, Germany, Dec. 1, 1918, amid a population who received them in silence

(© Underwood & Underwood)

AMERICA WELCOMES HOME HER BLUEJACKETS



The United States war fleet returned to New York Harbor on Dec. 26, 1918. That afternoon the crews paraded in Fifth Avenue, amid the cheers of multitudes

(Times Photo Service)



The King and Queen of Belgium rode into Brussels, Nov. 22, 1918, amid the wild acclamations of their people. They are here seen reviewing their troops

(© Underwood & Underwood)

VISIT OF THE KING OF ITALY TO PARIS



King Victor Emmanuel III., in company with President Poincaré of France, driving through the Place de la Concorde
(Times Photo Service)

THE WHITE FLAGS THAT BETOKENED GERMANY'S
SURRENDER



Arrival of the German armistice envoys at the French outpost near
Haudroy, France, Nov. 7, 1918

HISTORIC SPOT WHERE THE ARMISTICE WAS SIGNED



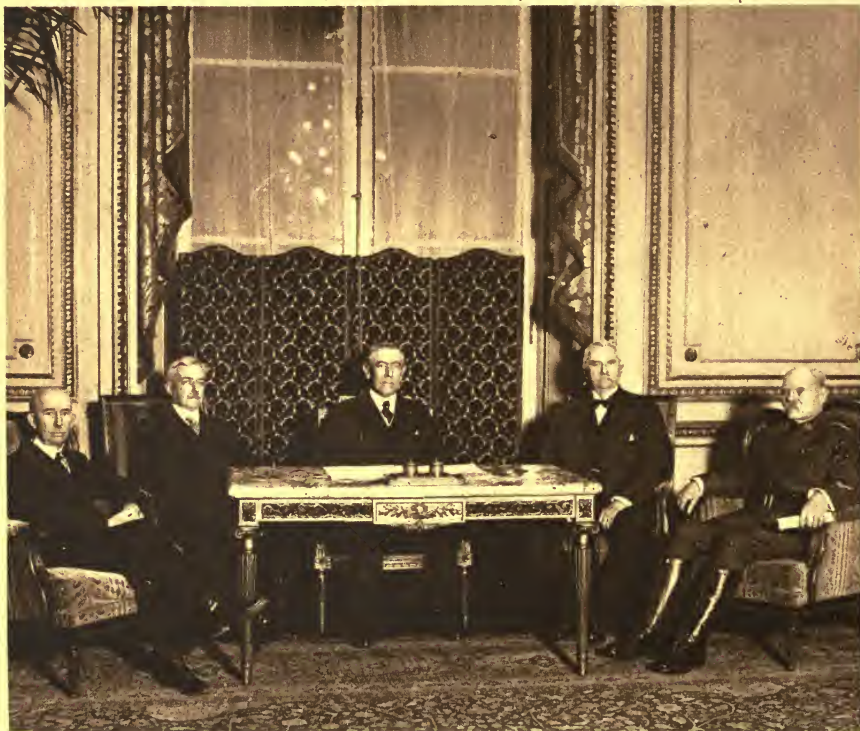
Compiègne Forest, France; at the left is the headquarters train of Marshal Foch, in which the armistice was signed by the German envoys, Nov. 11, 1918

HEADQUARTERS OF AMERICAN PEACE DELEGATES



The Hotel Crillon, Paris, residence of the American delegates during the Peace Congress

(Times Photo Service)



American Peace Delegates in Conference Room, Hotel Crillon. Left to right, Colonel House, Secretary Lansing, President Wilson, Henry White, General Bliss

(U. S. Signal Corps, A. E. F.)

THE PEACE CONGRESS

Opening Session of the Greatest World Tribunal in History, With Text of the First Addresses

THE Peace Congress held its first session at Paris on Jan. 18, 1919. The formal assembling had been preceded by daily conferences of the Inter-allied Supreme War Council and by two formal meetings of the President of the United States with the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, the United States, France, and Italy, assisted by the Japanese Ambassadors in Paris and London. At these conferences the preliminaries of the organization of the Peace Congress were arranged.

The following joint communique was issued with reference to the organization of the Congress:

It was decided that the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan should be represented by five delegates apiece. The British Dominions and India, besides, shall be represented as follows: Two delegates respectively for Australia, Canada, South Africa, and India, including the native States, and one delegate for New Zealand.

Brazil will have three delegates. Belgium, China, Greece, Poland, Portugal, the Czechoslovak Republic, Rumania, and Serbia will have two delegates apiece, Siam one delegate, and Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, and Panama one delegate apiece.

Montenegro will have one delegate,

but the rules concerning the designation of this delegate shall not be fixed until the moment when the political situation in that country shall have been cleared up.

The meeting adopted the following two general principles:

One—Each delegation being a unit, the number of delegates forming it shall have no influence upon its status at the conference.

Two—In the selection of its delegation each nation may avail itself of the panel system. This will enable each State at discretion to intrust its interests to such persons as it may designate.

The adoption of the panel system will in particular enable the British Empire to admit among its five delegates representatives of the dominions, including Newfoundland, which has no separate representation, and of India.

In consequence of protests by Serbia and Belgium the representation of each of these countries was later increased from two to three delegates. The Kingdom of the Hedjaz at the same time was allowed two delegates.

A day or two before the Peace Congress held its first session, deep dissatisfaction was created among the press representatives in Paris by the announcement that published information regarding the proceedings would be limited to a daily official communique, and that the delegates in

attendance had agreed not to discuss with correspondents anything that occurred at the meetings. A formal protest lodged with the delegates produced a concession admitting the correspondents to the full conference, though it was announced that deliberations would at times be secret.

LIST OF DELEGATES

The following list of delegates was announced:

France—*Georges Clemenceau*, Prime Minister; *Stephen Pichon*, Foreign Minister; *Louis Klotz*, Finance Minister; *André Tardieu*, French High Commissioner to the United States, and *Jules Cambon*.

Great Britain—*David Lloyd George*, Prime Minister; *Arthur J. Balfour*, Foreign Secretary; *Andrew Bonar Law*; *George Nicoll Barnes*, the Labor leader, and another alternate delegate.

United States—*Woodrow Wilson*, President of the United States; *Robert Lansing*, Secretary of State; *Henry White*, Colonel *Edward M. House*, and General *Tasker H. Bliss*.

Italy—*Vittorio Orlando*, Prime Minister; *Baron Sonnino*, Foreign Minister; *Antonio Salandra*, former Premier; *Marquis Salvago Raggi*, and the Italian Minister of Finance, *Signor Stringher*.

Japan—The *Marquis Saionji*, former Prime Minister; *Baron Makino*, *Baron Chinda*, *Baron Matsui*, and *Count Hayashi*.

Brazil—Senator *Epitacio Pessoa*, *Dr. Pandia Calógeras*, and Deputy *Raoul Fernandez*.

Belgium—*Paul Hymans*, Minister of Foreign Affairs; *Emile Vandervelde*, and *M. Vandenheuvel*.

Serbia—*Nikola Pashitch*, former Prime Minister, and *M. Trumbitch*, former President of the Dalmatian Diet, who will alternate with *Dr. M. R. Vesnitch*, Serbian Minister to France, and *M. Reber*.

Greece—*Eleutherios Venizelos*, Premier, and *M. Politis*, Foreign Minister.

Rumania—*M. Bratiano*, Prime Minister, and *M. Mishr*.

Czechoslovakia—*Dr. Karl Kramarcz*, Premier, and *M. Benès*, Foreign Minister.

Poland—*M. Dmowski*, Polish representative to the allied Governments, and a second delegate representing General *Pilsudski*.

China—*Lu Cheng-Hsiang*, Foreign Minister, and one other.

Kingdom of the Hedjaz—Two delegates.

Canada—*Sir Robert Borden*, Premier; *Sir George Foster*, Minister of Trade and Commerce, with others of the delegation alternating.

Australia—*William Morris Hughes*, Premier, and one other.

Union of South Africa—General *Louis Botha* and General *Jan C. Smuts*.

India—The *Maharajah of Bikaner* and *Sir S. P. Sinha*.

Siam—*M. Charoon*, Minister to France, and one other.

New Zealand—*William F. Massey*, Premier.

Portugal—*Ejas Moniz*.

PLACE OF MEETINGS

The Congress held its sessions in the *Salle de la Paix* of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, just across the *Seine* from the *Place de la Concorde*. The hall was originally known as the *Salle d'Horloge*, and is one of the most splendid reception rooms in Europe.

Directly behind the President's seat stood a heroic statue of Peace holding aloft the torch of civilization. In front of the statue was spread the council table, covered with the traditional green baize of diplomacy. This table was in the form of a huge horseshoe. Across the upper end were nine seats of honor, for the presiding

officer, the Vice Presidents, and the Premiers. On each side of the two arms of the horseshoe there were fifteen seats, making sixty seats besides the nine at the head of the table.

Each delegate's chair was upholstered in bright red leather, and before each place was a complete equipment of writing materials. The fittings of the room were in white and gold, with a frescoed ceiling bordered by dancing Cupids. Four great lustre chandeliers hung from the ceiling, while five large windows, looking out over the Seine River, cast a flood of light over the sumptuous apartment.

Leading from the council room was another large chamber overlooking the gardens. To this room the delegates retired for consultations. Further on was a gorgeous state dining room, where luncheon and dinner were served to the delegates when protracted sessions were held. The whole suite of rooms was suggestive of elegance and beauty and the artistic taste of the French.

THE OPENING SESSION

The opening session of the Congress began at 3 o'clock Saturday afternoon, Jan. 18, 1919. As the delegations arrived they were greeted by fanfares of trumpets, and military honors were accorded by the troops. The Japanese were among the earlier arrivals, and were followed by the Siamese and East Indians in picturesque turbans.

Among the very first were Henry White, the American Commissioner, and Andre Tardieu, the

delegate of France, who is Minister of Franco-American Affairs in the French Cabinet. Immediately after came General Bliss, the military member of the American delegation, whose khaki uniform, simple as it was, stood out strikingly among the frockcoated statesmen. This absence of military uniform and all military suggestion was, for such an occasion of great ceremony, one of the striking features of the whole affair. Admiral Benson, wearing the blue uniform of the United States Navy, led a group of American spectators, including Edward N. Hurley and Herbert C. Hoover.

Then President Wilson came, was joined by Secretary Lansing, and began a hand-shaking progress along one side of the room to his place at the top of the table. The greetings exchanged between Wilson and Clemenceau were particularly cordial.

Just at 3 o'clock a ruffle of drums and blare of trumpets announced the approach of President Poincaré. He was escorted by the group of Premiers to the head of the table. Next to him on the right was President Wilson, with three members of the American Commission, Colonel House being absent on account of illness. To the left of M. Poincaré were the British delegates, with one notable exception, for Premier Lloyd George did not arrive until fifteen minutes after M. Poincaré had begun his speech.

The French delegation, with the grizzled Clemenceau at its head, was next to the American along the right side of the table, and then came the Italians, with the Belgians and Brazilians. Along the side below the British were the representatives of Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand, and then those of Japan and Bolivia. All these had places on the outer sides of the table. The interior was occupied by the representatives of the smaller nationalities, an impressive array of

many races from many parts of the world.

It was exactly three minutes after 3 when M. Poincaré began his address, and the Peace Congress came into being. The entire assemblage stood as the French President spoke. He spoke in French, and, when he had concluded, an interpreter read the Presidential discourse in English. As M. Poincaré closed he turned to receive the congratulations of President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George, and then withdrew, saluting each delegation as he retired.

As M. Poincaré made his exit President Wilson rose to propose M. Clemenceau as Permanent Chairman of the Congress. His nomination was seconded by Lloyd George and Baron Sonnino, and was ratified unanimously. At the conclusion of M. Clemenceau's address of acceptance the first session of the Congress came to a close.

PRESIDENT POINCARE'S ADDRESS

President Poincaré's speech was as follows:

"Gentlemen: France greets and thanks you for having chosen as the seat of your labors the city which for more than four years the enemy has made his principal military objective and which the valor of the allied armies has victoriously defended against unceasingly renewed offensives.

"Permit me to see in your decision the homage of all the nations that you represent toward a country which more than any other has endured the sufferings of war, of which entire provinces have been transformed into a vast battlefield and have been systematically laid waste by the invader, and which has paid the human tribute in death.

"France has borne these enormous sacrifices, although she had not the slightest responsibility for the frightful catastrophe which has overwhelmed the universe. And at the moment when the cycle of horror is ending, all the powers whose delegates are assembled here may acquit themselves of any share in the crime which has resulted in so unprecedented a disaster. What gives you the authority to establish a peace of justice is the fact that none of the peoples of whom you are the delegates has had any part in the injustice. Humanity can place confidence in you because you are not among

those who have outraged the rights of humanity.

"There is no need of further information or for special inquiries into the origin of the drama which has just shaken the world. The truth, bathed in blood, has already escaped from the imperial archives. The premeditated character of the trap is today clearly proved.

"In the hope of conquering first the hegemony of Europe and next the mastery of the world, the Central Empires, bound together by a secret plot, found the most abominable of pretexts for trying to crush Serbia and force their way to the east. At the same time they disowned the most solemn undertakings in order to crush Belgium and force their way into the heart of France.

"These are the two unforgettable outrages which opened the way to aggression. The combined efforts of Great Britain, France, and Russia were exerted against that man-made arrogance.

"If, after long vicissitudes, those who wished to reign by the sword have perished by the sword, they have but themselves to blame. They have been destroyed by their own blindness. What could be more significant than the shameful bargains they attempted to offer to Great Britain and France at the end of July, 1914, when to Great Britain they suggested: 'Allow us to attack France on land and we will not enter the Channel,' and when they instructed their Ambassador to say to France: 'We will only accept a declaration of neutrality on your part if you surrender to us Briey, Toul, and Verdun.' It is in the light of these things, gentlemen, that all the conclusions you will have to draw from the war will take shape.

"Your nations entered the war successively, but came one and all to the help of threatened right. Like Germany, Great Britain had guaranteed the independence of Belgium. Germany sought to crush Belgium. Great Britain and France both swore to save her. Thus from the very beginning of hostilities there came into conflict the two ideas which for fifty months were to struggle for the dominion of the world—the idea of sovereign force, which accepts neither control nor check, and the idea of justice, which depends on the sword only to prevent or repress the abuse of strength.

"Faithfully supported by her dominions

and her colonies, Great Britain decided that she could not remain aloof from a struggle in which the fate of every country was involved. She has made, and her dominions and colonies have made with her, prodigious efforts to prevent the war from ending in the triumph of the spirit of conquest and the destruction of right.

"Japan, in her turn, only decided to take up arms out of loyalty to Great Britain, her great ally, and from the consciousness of the danger in which both Asia and Europe would have stood of the hegemony of which the Germanic empires dreamed.

"Italy, who from the first had refused to lend a helping hand to German ambition, rose against an agelong foe only to answer the call of oppressed populations and to destroy at the cost of her blood the artificial political combination which took no account of human liberty.

"Rumania resolved to fight only to realize that national unity which was opposed by the same powers of arbitrary force. Abandoned, betrayed, and strangled, she had to submit to an abominable treaty, the revision of which you will exact.

"Greece, whom the enemy for many months tried to turn from her traditions and destinies, raised an army only to escape attempts at domination of which she felt the growing threat.

"Portugal, China, and Siam abandoned neutrality only to escape the strangling pressure of the Central Powers.

TRIBUTE TO AMERICAN REPUBLICS

"Thus, it was the extent of German ambitions that brought so many peoples, great and small, to align themselves against the same adversary. And what shall I say of the solemn resolutions taken by the United States in the Spring of 1917, under the auspices of its illustrious President, Mr. Wilson, whom I am happy to greet here in the name of grateful France and, if you will allow me to say so, gentlemen, in the name of all the nations represented in this room?

"What shall I say of the many other American powers which either declared themselves against Germany—Brazil, Cuba, Panama, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti, Honduras—or at least broke off diplomatical relations—Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Uruguay? From the north to the south the New World rose with indignation when it saw the em-

pires of Central Europe, after having let loose the war without provocation and without excuse, carry it on with fire, pillage, and the massacre of inoffensive beings.

"The intervention of the United States was something more, something greater than a great political and military event. It was a supreme judgment passed at the bar of history by the lofty conscience of a free people and their Chief Magistrate on the enormous responsibilities incurred in the frightful conflict which was lacerating humanity.

AMERICA'S DEFENSE OF FREE IDEALS

"It was not only to protect itself from the audacious aims of German megalomania that the United States equipped fleets and created immense armies, but also, and above all, to defend an ideal of liberty over which it saw the huge shadow of the Imperial Eagle encroaching further every day. America, the daughter of Europe, crossed the ocean to rescue her mother from the humiliation of thralldom and to save civilization.

"The American people wished to put an end to the greatest scandal that has ever sullied the annals of mankind. Autocratic Governments, having prepared in the secrecy of the Chancelleries and the General Staffs a mad program of universal dominion, let loose their packs at the time fixed by their genius for intrigue and sounded the horns for the chase, ordering science (at the very time it was beginning to abolish distances, to bring men closer together and make life sweeter) to leave the bright sky toward which it was soaring and to place itself submissively at the service of violence, debasing the religious idea to the extent of making God the complacent auxiliary of their passions and the accomplice of their crimes—in short, counting as nought the traditions and wills of peoples, the lives of citizens, the honor of women, and all those principles of public and private morality which we for our part have endeavored to keep unaltered throughout the war, and which neither nations nor individuals can repudiate or disregard with impunity.

RISING OF OPPRESSED NATIONS

"While the conflict was gradually extending over the entire surface of the earth the clanking of chains was heard here and there, and captive nationalities from the depths of their agelong jails cried out to us for help. Yes, more, they escaped to come to our aid. Poland came to life again and sent us troops. The Czechoslovaks won their right to independence, in Siberia, in France, and in Italy. The Jugoslavs, the Armenians, the Syrians, and Levantines, the Arabs, all the victims, long helpless or resigned, of the historic deeds of injustice—all the martyrs of the past, all the outraged in conscience, all the strangled in liberty—viewed the clash of arms and turned to us as their natural defenders.

"The war gradually attained the fullness of its first significance and became in the full sense of the term a crusade of humanity for right, and if anything can console us, in part at least, for the losses we have suffered it is assuredly the thought that our victory is also the victory of right. This victory is complete, for the enemy only asked for the armistice to escape from an irretrievable military disaster.

"In the interest of justice and peace it now rests with you to reap from this victory its full fruits. In order to carry out this immense task you have decided to admit at first only the allied or associated powers, and, in so far as their interests are involved in the debates, the nations which remained neutral. You have thought that the terms of peace ought to be settled among ourselves before they are communicated to those against whom we have fought the good fight.

"The solidarity which has united us during the war and has enabled us to win military success ought to remain unimpaired during the negotiations for and after the signing of the treaty.

A CONGRESS OF FREE PEOPLES

"It is not only the Governments, but the free peoples, who are represented here. To the test of danger they have learned to know and help one another. They want their intimacy of yesterday to assure the peace of tomorrow. Vainly would our enemies seek to divide us. If they have not yet renounced their customary manoeuvres they will soon find that they are meeting today, as during the hostilities, a homogeneous block which nothing will be able to disintegrate. Even before the armistice you reached that necessary unity under the aid of the lofty moral and political truths of which President Wilson has nobly made himself the interpreter, and in the light of these truths you intend to accomplish your mission.

"You will, therefore, seek nothing but justice—justice that has no favorites, justice in territorial problems, justice in financial problems, justice in economic problems. But justice is not inert, it does not submit to injustice.

"What it demands first, when it has been violated, is restitution and reparation for the peoples and individuals who have been despoiled or maltreated. In formulating this lawful claim it obeys neither hatred nor an instinctive or thoughtless desire for reprisals. It pursues a twofold object—to render to each his due and not to encourage crime through leaving it unpunished.

"What justice also demands, inspired by the same feeling, is the punishment of the guilty and effective guarantees against an active return of the spirit by which they were prompted, and it is logical to demand that these guarantees should be given, above all,

to the nations that have been and might again be most exposed to aggression or threat, to those who have many times stood in danger of being submerged by the periodic tide of the same invasion.

DREAM OF CONQUEST BANISHED

"What justice banishes is the dream of conquest and imperialism, contempt for national will, the arbitrary exchange of provinces between States, as though peoples were but articles of furniture or pawns in a game. The time is no more when diplomatists could meet to redraw with authority the map of the empires on the corner of a table. If you are to remake the map of the world it is in the name of the peoples, and one condition is that you shall faithfully interpret their thoughts and respect the right of nations, small and great, to dispose of themselves and to reconcile with this the equally sacred right of ethnical and religious minorities—a formidable task which science and history, your two advisers, will contribute to assist and facilitate.

"You will naturally strive to secure the material and moral means of subsistence for all those people who are constituted or reconstituted into States, for those who wish to unite themselves to their neighbors, for those who divide themselves into separate units, for those who reorganize themselves, for those who divide themselves according to their regained traditions, and, lastly, for all those whose freedom you have already sanctioned or are about to sanction. You will not call them into existence only to sentence them to death immediately, because you would like your work in this, as in all other matters, to be fruitful and lasting.

CALL FOR A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"While introducing into the world as much harmony as possible, you will, in conformity with the fourteenth of the propositions unanimously adopted by the great allied powers, establish a general League of Nations which will be the supreme guarantee against any fresh assault upon the rights of peoples. You do not intend this international association to be directed against anybody in the future. It will not, of a set purpose, shut out anybody, but, having been organized by the nations that have sacrificed themselves in the defense of right, it will receive from them its statutes and fundamental rules.

"It will lay down conditions concerning present or future adherence, and, as it is to have for its essential aim the prevention as far as possible of the renewal of wars, it will, above all, seek to gain respect for the peace which you will have established and will find it the less difficult to maintain in proportion as this peace will in itself imply the greater realities of justice and safer guarantees of stability.

"By establishing this new order of things

you will meet the aspirations of humanity, which, after the frightful convulsions of the blood-stained years, ardently wishes to feel itself protected by a union of free people against the ever possible revival of primitive savagery. An immortal glory will attach to the names of the nations and the men who have desired to co-operate in this grand work in faith and brotherhood and who have taken the pains to eliminate from the future peace causes of disturbance and instability.

"This very day forty-eight years ago—on the 18th of January, 1871—the German Empire was proclaimed by an army of invasion in the Château at Versailles. It was consecrated by the theft of two French provinces. It was thus a violation from its origin and, by the fault of its founders, it was born in injustice. It has ended in oblivion.

"You are assembled in order to repair the evil that has been done and to prevent a recurrence of it. You hold in your hands the future of the world. I leave you gentlemen, to your grave deliberations and declare the Conference of Paris open."

CLEMENCEAU'S ACCEPTANCE

Premier Clemenceau, in accepting the Chairmanship, said:

President Wilson has special authority to say that this is the first time in fact that the world has ever seen assembled together a delegation of all the civilized nations of the earth.

The greater the bloody catastrophe which has devastated and ruined one of the richest parts of France, the greater and more splendid must be the reparation—not only the material reparation, the vulgar reparation, if I dare speak so, which is due all of us, but the higher and nobler reparation of the new institution which we will try to establish, in order that nations may at length escape from the fatal embrace of ruinous wars, which destroy everything, heap up ruins, terrorize the populace and prevent them from going freely about their work for fear of enemies which may rise up from one day to the next.

It is a great, splendid, and noble ambition which has come to all of us. It is desirable that success should crown our efforts. This cannot take place unless

we have all firmly fixed and clearly determined ideas on what we wish to do.

I said in the Chamber a few days ago, and I wish to repeat here, that success is not possibly unless we remain firmly united. We have come together as friends, we must leave this hall as friends.

That, gentlemen, is the first thought that comes to me. All else must be subordinated to the necessity of a closer and closer union among the nations who have taken part in this great war and to the necessity of remaining friends. For the League of Nations is here. It is yourself. It is for you to make it live, and to make it live we must have it really in our hearts.

As I told President Wilson a few days ago, there is no sacrifice that I am not willing to make in order to accomplish this, and I do not doubt that you all have the same sentiment. We will make these sacrifices, but on the condition that we endeavor impartially to conciliate interests apparently contradictory, on the higher plane of a greater, happier, and better humanity.

That, gentlemen, is what I had to say to you. I am touched beyond words at the evidence of good-will and friendship which you show me.

The program of this conference has been laid down by President Wilson. It is no longer the peace of a more or less vast territory, no longer the peace of continents; it is the peace of nations that is to be made. This program is sufficient in itself. There is no superfluous word. Let us try to act swiftly and well.

Rising after the close of his formal speech, M. Clemenceau called on the delegates to present papers dealing with the special interests of their respective nations, and announced that at the suggestion of Premier Lloyd George one of the early duties of the conference would be to determine the responsibility for the war and the special responsibility which attached to the ex-Kaiser. In adjourning the day's session he then announced that the League of Nations would be set at the head of the order of business at the next plenary sitting.

PRESIDENT WILSON IN EUROPE

His Visit to the King of England Productive of Historic Scenes and Addresses—The President in Italy

PRESIDENT WILSON visited England late in December, 1918, and a few days later paid official visits to Rome, Turin, Genoa, and Milan, returning to Paris on Jan. 7, 1919. He was everywhere received with enthusiastic demonstrations, not alone by sovereigns and their Governments, but by great masses of the people.

During the week following his arrival in Paris—after the formal greetings by President Poincaré and the reception tendered by the municipal authorities of Paris in order to confer the honor of citizenship upon him—the President was busily occupied in conferences with the American Peace Delegation, the heads of the French Government, and representatives of Great Britain and Italy.

The King of Italy arrived in Paris on Dec. 19 and called upon President Wilson the same evening. This occasion was memorable in that it was the first meeting between a President of the United States and a European sovereign. There was a noteworthy absence of official ceremony. The King and President conversed intimately for three-quarters of an hour. The next day the President returned the call made by the King, having conferred with Premier Orlando and Baron Sonnino of Italy earlier in the day.

HONORED AT THE SORBONNE

The University of Paris (the Sorbonne) conferred on President Wilson Dec. 21 the Degree of Doctor, *Honoris Causa*, in recognition of his work as a jurist and historian. President Poincaré, the Presidents of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, the Diplomatic Corps, members of the Government, and the highest civil and military authorities were present at the ceremony.

Lucien Poincaré, Vice Rector of the University and brother of the President

of the republic, paid an eloquent tribute to President Wilson's ability as a professor before he entered upon his political career, and told of the President's part in the war. In his speech he said:

History will recount how, taking inspiration from the American people and your own thoughts, you reached one glorious day the decision which is one of the greatest events recorded in the war and, in your own words, placed the blood and all the power of America at the service of the principles which have given her life. History will also tell how you have sought to realize the imperishable supremacy of right by means of an association of peoples which should liberate the world.

M. Poincaré paid honor to American university professors for the unfailing sympathy they had shown for France, and also to the American students who in such great numbers came to fight beside their French student comrades. He continued:

Many, alas! will not return to their beloved country, for they have fallen in France, where, we trust, they felt they were not on foreign soil, and where they have left to the youth of the two republics an immortal example of fraternal union.

Glory to the American students! Glory to the eminent professors of their universities! Glory to you, Mr. President, who are the first among them! In the name of the University of Paris I have the honor to award the insignia and diploma of Doctor to one whom posterity will salute with the surname the Righteous—President Wilson.

PRESIDENT'S SORBONNE ADDRESS

President Wilson, in acknowledging the honor bestowed upon him by the university, said:

I have always thought that the chief object of education was to awaken the spirit, and that, inasmuch as a literature whenever it has touched its great and higher notes was an expression of the spirit of mankind, the best induction into education was to feel the pulses of humanity which had beaten from age to age through the universities of men who had

penetrated to the secrets of the human spirit.

And I agree with the intimation which has been conveyed today that the terrible war through which we have just passed has not been only a war between nations, but that it has been also a war between systems of culture—the one system the aggressive system, using science without conscience, stripping learning of its moral restraints, and using every faculty of the human mind to do wrong to the whole race; the other system reminiscent of the high traditions of men, reminiscent of all these struggles, some of them obscure, but others clearly revealed in history, of men of indomitable spirit everywhere struggling toward the right and seeking above all things else to be free.

The triumph of freedom in this war means that that spirit shall now dominate the world. There is a great wave of moral force moving through the world, and every man who opposes himself to that wave will go down in disgrace.

The task of those who are gathered here, or will presently be gathered here, to make the settlements of this peace, is greatly simplified by the fact that they are the masters of no one; they are the servants of mankind. And if we do not heed the mandates of mankind we shall make ourselves the most conspicuous and deserved failures in the history of the world.

My conception of the League of Nations is just this—that it shall operate as the organized moral force of men throughout the world, and that whenever or wherever wrong and aggression are planned or contemplated, this searching light of conscience will be turned upon them, and men everywhere will ask, "What are the purposes that you hold in your heart against the fortunes of the world?"

Just a little exposure will settle most questions. If the Central Powers had dared to discuss the purposes of this war for a single fortnight, it never would have happened; and if, as should be, they were forced to discuss it for a year, the war would have been inconceivable.

So I feel that war is, as has been said more than once today, intimately related with the university spirit. The university spirit is intolerant of all the things that put the human mind under restraint. It is intolerant of everything that seeks to retard the advancement of ideals, the acceptance of the truth, the purification of life; and every university man can ally himself with the forces of the present time with the feeling that now at last the spirit of truth, the spirit to which universities have devoted themselves, has prevailed and is triumphant.

If there is one point of pride that I venture to entertain, it is that it has been my private privilege in some measure to in-

terpret the university spirit in the public life of a great nation, and I feel that in honoring me today in this unusual and conspicuous manner you have first of all honored the people whom I represent. The spirit that I try to express I know to be their spirit, and in proportion as I serve them I believe that I advance the cause of freedom.

I, as before, wish to thank you, Sir, from the bottom of my heart for a distinction which has in a singular way crowned my academic career.

CHRISTMAS AT CHAUMONT

The President spent Christmas Day in a visit to Chaumont, the headquarters of the American Expeditionary Forces in France. The city officials of Chaumont gave him an official welcome, after which he reviewed detachments numbering 10,000 of the First Army. They included picked battalions and companies from the 6th, 26th, 29th, 77th, 80th, and 82d Divisions, all of whom had seen active service and suffered many casualties in operations against the Germans.

Following a short formal greeting by General Pershing, after the review, the President replied as follows:

General Pershing and Fellow-Comrades: I wish that I could give to each one of you the message that I know you are longing to receive from those at home who love you. I cannot do that, but I can tell you how every one has put his heart into it. So you have done your duty, and something more. You have done your duty, and you have done it with a spirit which gave it distinction and glory.

And now we are to hail the fruits of everything. You conquered, when you came over, what you came over for, and you have done what it was appointed for you to do. I know what you expected of me. Some time ago a gentleman from one of the countries with which we are associated was discussing with me the moral aspects of this war, and I said that if we did not insist upon the high purpose which we have accomplished the end would not be justified.

Everybody at home is proud of you and has followed every movement of this great army with confidence and affection. The whole people of the United States are now waiting to welcome you home with an acclaim which probably has never greeted any other army, because our country is like this country—we have been so proud of the stand taken, of the purpose for which this war was entered by the United States.

You knew what we expected of you, and

you did it. I know what you and the people at home expected of me, and I am happy to say, my fellow-countrymen, that I do not find in the hearts of the great leaders with whom it is my privilege now to co-operate any difference of principle or of fundamental purpose.

It happened that it was the privilege of America to present the chart for peace, and now the process of settlement has been rendered comparatively simple by the fact that all the nations concerned have accepted that chart, and the application of these principles laid down there will be their application. The world will now know that the nations that fought this war, as well as the soldiers who represented them, are ready to make good—make good not only in the assertion of their own interests, but make good in the establishment of peace upon the permanent foundation of right and of justice.

A PEOPLES' PEACE

Because this is not a war in which the soldiers of the free nations have obeyed masters. You have commanders, but you have no masters. Your very commanders represent you in representing the nation of which you constitute so distinguished a part. And everybody concerned in the settlement knows that it must be a peoples' peace and that nothing must be done in the settlement of the issues of the war which is not as handsome as the great achievements of the armies of the United States and the Allies.

It is difficult, very difficult, men, in any formal speech like this to show you my real heart. You men probably do not realize with what anxious attention and care we have followed every step you have advanced and how proud we are that every step was in advance, and not in retreat; that every time you set your face in any direction you kept your face in that direction. A thrill has gone through my heart, as it has gone through the heart of every American, with almost every gun that was fired and every stroke that was struck in the gallant fighting that you have done; and there has been only one regret in America, and that was the regret that every man there felt that he was not there in France, too.

It has been a hard thing to perform the tasks in the United States; it has been a hard thing to take part in directing what you did without coming over and helping you to do it. It has taken a lot of moral courage to stay at home. But we were proud to back you up everywhere that it was possible to back you up. And now I am happy to find what splendid names you have made for yourselves among the civilian population of France, as well as among your comrades in the armies of the French, and it is a fine testimony to you men that these people like you and

love you and trust you, and the finest part of it all is that you deserve their trust.

I feel a comradeship with you today which is delightful. As I look down upon these undisturbed fields, I think of the terrible scenes through which you have gone and realize how the quiet of peace, the tranquillity of settled hopes has descended upon us. And, while it is hard far away from home, confidentially, to bid you a Merry Christmas, I can, I think, confidentially, promise you a Happy New Year, and I can from the bottom of my heart say, God bless you.

HIS ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND

President Wilson reached England on Dec. 26. He crossed the Channel on the steamer Brighton. Richard V. Oulahan, The New York Times special correspondent, thus described the arrival of the first American President on British soil:

"As the white cliffs of Dover came in sight it was apparent that England's first welcome to the President was to be a cordial one.

"The piers, the ships in the harbor, every point of vantage, even the cliffs themselves were crowded with people. The Brighton steamed slowly into the harbor, and as she passed the British warships assembled there, the crews which lined the sides of each vessel gave three sturdy cheers. From the mainmast of every one of them flew the American standard, and their bands played 'The Star-Spangled Banner.' The people gathered in great masses on the piers and along the shore line cheered also. Many of them carried small American flags, which they waved vigorously at the tall man on the bridge of the Brighton who doffed his hat to them and showed by his smiling face to those near enough to see that he was responding to the enthusiasm of the occasion.

"The guns ashore boomed out a salute as the Brighton docked and the President stepped on English soil. He had changed back to his blue overcoat and silk hat. Mrs. Wilson wore a sealskin coat, three-quarter length, trimmed at the bottom with a rich lighter colored fur, while her black velvet hat was a becoming three-cornered affair like those worn by the soldiers in our Continental Army.

RECEPTION IN DOVER

"Dover and the British Government had prepared for the occasion. The decorations in honor of the President's brief visit were lavish. The Lord Mayor, officers of the corporation, and the town burgesses were at hand wearing their robes and chains of office. American and British flags were displayed on all sides.

"On the pier to receive the President was the Duke of Connaught, the King's uncle, wearing the khaki uniform of his rank in the British Army, and as the President stepped ashore he welcomed him warmly in the King's name and entered into an animated conversation with the President and Mrs. Wilson. Close behind the Duke were some old friends of the President—Lord Reading, John W. Davis, the American Ambassador; Admiral Sims, General Biddle, members of the American Embassy, and others of high rank in the American and British Governments.

"The greetings were over in a few minutes and then the President and the Duke of Connaught led the way through the dock sheds to a waiting special train. The station walls, ceilings, and pillars were decorated with the national standards of Great Britain and the United States and a great variety of varicolored signal flags.

PATH STREWN WITH FLOWERS

"As the party passed along between the ranks of British troops and a battalion of sailors from the Terror, standing at present arms, the Erebus's band played lively airs. The way to the train was carpeted with broad red cloth, which added strikingly to the decorative effect. A most pleasing feature of the reception was the presence of a double line of little girls, each with an American flag worn as a shoulder sash, who strewed roses and other fragrant flowers in the pathway of the party.

"The Lord Mayor, standing just at the entrance to the President's car, stepped forward and presented to the President an illuminated address in behalf of the town of Dover. President Wilson's response was brief, but full of

appreciation of the welcome he had received.

"The train was ready for departure, and in a few minutes, with the President, Mrs. Wilson, and the members of the Presidential party on board, it steamed out of the station. All the available space within the station was filled with people, and they broke into cheering as the train moved toward London. At every street corner in Dover which the train passed large crowds were gathered, and these also cheered as the train went by. It was that way along the entire route to the capital. The train made no stop, but in every town and village the people were gathered at places overlooking the tracks and in the stations, and gave more cheers. Many of them waved American flags."

WELCOME IN LONDON

Ernest Marshall, a correspondent of The New York Times, cabled this word picture from London on Dec. 26:

"If ever a countenance bespoke unalloyed appreciation it was President Wilson's as he drove through the streets of London today. The King and Queen and the leaders of the State had met the President and his wife at Charing Cross Station. Sovereign honors had been paid the American Chief Magistrate and the First Lady of the Land. Guns had boomed a salute. Guards of honor had presented arms. A military band had played the national anthem of the distinguished visitor's country.

"That was the welcome of the State, given with all due ceremonial. But it was in the streets outside that President Wilson touched the core of his reception in the British metropolis. From Charing Cross to Buckingham Palace it was one long wave of cheering as the Presidential and royal procession passed.

"When the train drew up at Charing Cross, Sir Charles Cust, who was the official representative of the King to accompany the President, stepped out and bowed to the King, who moved forward with outstretched hand as President Wilson came out of his carriage to the platform. The King and the President shook hands warmly, and then his Majesty introduced the President and Mrs. Wil-

son, who followed her husband, to Queen Mary and Princess Mary.

"As the ladies stood chatting, the King and the President walked together along the platform to review the British guard of honor and the American troops drawn up in the station, the band of the Grenadier Guards meanwhile playing 'The Star-Spangled Banner.' Then Premier Lloyd George and Secretary Balfour and all the other members of the Cabinet present were individually presented to the President, who exchanged remarks with a number of them.

"The President's enjoyment of it all was obviously wholehearted. He was not satisfied to go through the ordinary motions of a salute with his hat; he waved it with a grand sweep of which any cavalier would have been proud.

"King George sat beside his guest motionless. It was not his day, but all who know how deep and sterling are his Majesty's convictions on the point of Anglo-American relationship are confident that it was a proud and happy day for him when he had the President of the United States sitting on his right hand and receiving a hearty welcome from thousands upon thousands of his Majesty's lieges.

"Of the character of the reception given to President Wilson there can be no doubt. It was hearty and sincere. To some who do not know the demonstrative British there may seem to have been a lack of emotion. Those who do know them think rather that the sustained volume of cheering as the President passed was a most significant indication that the English have taken him to their hearts.

CROWDS BEFORE THE PALACE

"In the great open space before Buckingham Palace a crowd of 20,000 had gathered. It was an assemblage of all classes and ages. People up from the country for the holidays rubbed shoulders with dwellers in Mayfair. Aged Chelsea pensioners hobbled alongside dominion soldiers. Factory girls blocked the view of staff officers, and everywhere through the throng were American soldiers and sailors watching a little

curiously to see how their President was received. Several busloads of wounded Tommies were admitted to the forecourt of the palace, but they were the only persons for whom places were reserved.

"The first intimation that he was approaching was the boom of the Presidential salute, echoing from the high buildings. Then came the sound of cheers. As the procession passed along Piccadilly, a quarter of a mile away, and turned down Constitution Hill, its course could be traced by the tide of sound which drew nearer and nearer.

"The crowd made one last effort to pack tighter and see better. The 'Waacs' on the Memorial hurried to form a line around the base and man it like bluejackets on a battleship, and the figures of the escort of Life Guards came into view. The crowd held its cheers until the first royal carriage came by, and then gave vent to its enthusiasm with full energy. Children were hoisted on their fathers' shoulders, handkerchiefs and hats were waved, hundreds of little American flags were displayed, and men and women burst into rounds of cheers. The President was evidently much pleased. He bowed and smiled to right and left. His hat was not on his head for a second, and he kept waving it as some more than usually exuberant cheerer caught his eye.

"He passed, and after another detachment of the escort came the second carriage with Mrs. Wilson, the Queen, and Princess Mary. Mrs. Wilson acknowledged the cheers only by smiling, and kept chatting with the Queen.

"The royal and Presidential procession swept by at a gentle trot around the Memorial amid a hurricane of cheers, while the 'Waacs' in their enthusiasm forgot their discipline and ran around to get another view of Wilson. Then the procession disappeared through the main gates of the palace into the interior courtyard."

WORDS TO WOUNDED MEN

London was not satisfied with the tumultuous greeting accorded during the ceremonial drive to Buckingham Palace, where the President and Mrs. Wilson remained as the guests of the King and

Queen. Some 200,000 people, filling the semicircular assembling place facing the palace, cheered incessantly until the President appeared on the balcony beside the King. They were followed by the Queen, who waved a small American flag, and Mrs. Wilson, who carried a Union Jack; Princess Mary, and the Duke of Connaught.

So prolonged was the cheering that the President, showing great emotion, waved the chorus of voices to silence and then addressed himself especially to the wounded soldiers.

I do not want to make a speech, [he said,] but I do want to tell you how much I honor you men who have been wounded in this fight for freedom and to thank you all for the welcome you have so generously given me. I hope each and every one of you will come through safely to enjoy the fruits of the victory for which you so courageously fought.

Soon after the President reached the palace King George showed him through the apartments allotted him, the "Belgian Suite." Later in the afternoon President and Mrs. Wilson and Rear Admiral Grayson drove out in a motor car and called at Marlborough House, where they left cards for Queen Mother Alexandra. They drove thence to the residence of the Duke of Connaught, where cards were also left.

DINED BY THE KING

A state dinner was given to Mr. and Mrs. Wilson by the King on the evening of Dec. 27 at Buckingham Palace. Every royal formality which has attended epochal occasions at the palace for two or three hundred years was carried out before and during this state banquet. President Wilson with Queen Mary led the procession into the dining hall, preceded by officials of the palace, splendidly costumed, bearing wands and walking backward and making obeisance to the guests.

Immediately behind the President and the Queen came King George and Mrs. Wilson. They were followed by members of the royal family.

At the head of the table twelve persons were seated, with King George in the middle. President Wilson sat at the King's right, and Mrs. Wilson at his left.

To the right of President Wilson was Queen Mary, and then the French Ambassador, Princess Christian, the Spanish Ambassador and Princess Patricia, daughter of the Duke of Connaught. At Mrs. Wilson's left sat Princess Mary, the Italian Ambassador, Princess Beatrice, and the Japanese Ambassador, in the order named. The American Ambassador, John W. Davis, had the first place at a side rectangular table on President Wilson's right.

A SCENE OF SPLENDOR

The scene as the guests proceeded to the hall was one of splendor. In the dining salon was a great collection of solid gold plate and huge gold ornaments valued at \$15,000,000. These had been brought from the vaults for the occasion. One of three buffets contained pieces of plate too large or otherwise too cumbersome for use. These included one piece of great size taken from the wreck of the Spanish Armada.

In color the gold-laden table blended with the decorations in the hall, which are white and gold, with crimson carpet and upholstering to match. The crimson effect was further carried out by the exclusive use of poinsettias as floral decorations. In the balcony at the end of the room was a military orchestra. It was not hidden from view by floral or other decorations. The attendants were in full state dress, which was heavy with gold lace.

The banquet hall, which is 200 feet long by 75 feet wide, was approached by the guests through a state hallway approximately a block long, richly furnished and decorated with paintings and porcelain. The banquet hall occasionally is used for other purposes, and has a throne at one end. The main table was arranged so that the backs of President Wilson and King George were toward the throne.

The general body of the guests preceded the royal family and the Presidential and Ambassadorial guests into the banquet hall. They rose and remained standing while the main guests and the hosts entered in procession. Heading the procession was the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Steward and

other officials in state regalia. Yeomen of the Guard in red Elizabethan costumes and with halberds were in attendance. The military and naval officers were in service uniforms and wore their swords. The Ambassadors were in full Ambassadorial uniform. President Wilson and Ambassador Davis wore the usual formal American evening clothes. The British civilian guests wore Court dress and the insignia of many orders.

ADDRESS OF THE KING

King George, in welcoming President Wilson, said:

This is a historic moment and your visit marks a historic epoch. Nearly 150 years have passed since your Republic began its independent life, and now, for the first time, a President of the United States is our guest in England.

We welcome you to the country whence came your ancestors and where stand the homes of those from whom sprang Washington and Lincoln. We welcome you for yourself, as one whose insight, calmness, and dignity in the discharge of his high duties we have watched with admiration. We see in you the happy union of the gifts of a scholar with those of a statesman. You came from a studious, academic quiet into the full stream of an arduous public life, and your deliverances have combined breadth of view and grasp of world problems with the mastery of a lofty diction recalling that of your great orators of the past and of our own.

You come as the official head and spokesman of a mighty Commonwealth bound to us by the closest ties. Its people speak the tongue of Shakespeare and Milton. Our literature is yours as yours is also ours, and men of letters in both countries have joined in maintaining its incomparable glories.

To you, not less than to us, belong the memories of our national heroes from King Alfred down to the days of Philip Sidney and Drake, of Raleigh and Blake and Hampden, and the days when the political life of the English stock in America was just beginning. You share with us the traditions of free self-government as old as the Magna Charta.

We recognize the bond of still deeper significance in the common ideals which our people cherish. First among those ideals you value and we value freedom and peace. Privileged as we have been to be the exponents and the examples in national life of the principles of popular self-government based upon equal laws, it now falls to both of us alike to see how these principles can be applied beyond our own borders for the good of the world.

It was love of liberty, respect for law,

good faith and the sacred rights of humanity that brought you to the Old World to help in saving it from the dangers that were threatening around, and that arrayed those soldier citizens of yours, whose gallantry we have admired, side by side with ours in the war.

You have now come to help in building up new States amid the ruins of those that the war has shattered and in laying the solid foundations of a settlement that may stand firm because it will rest upon the consent of the emancipated nationalities. You have eloquently expressed the hope of the American people, as it is our hope, that some plan may be devised to attain the end you have done so much to promote by which the risk of future wars may, if possible, be averted, relieving the nations of the intolerable burden which fear of war has laid upon them.

The British Nation wishes all success to the deliberations on which you and we and the great free nations allied with us are now to enter moved by disinterested good will and a sense of duty commensurate with the power which we hold as a solemn trust.

The American and British peoples have been brothers in arms, and their arms have been crowned with victory. We thank with all our hearts your valiant soldiers and sailors for their splendid part in that victory, as we thank the American people for their noble response to the call of civilization and humanity. May the same brotherly spirit inspire and guide our united efforts to secure for the world the blessings of an ordered freedom and an enduring peace.

In asking you to join with me in drinking the health of the President, I wish to say with what pleasure we welcome Mrs. Wilson to this country.

I drink to the health of the President of the United States and Mrs. Wilson and to the happiness and prosperity of the great American Nation.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY.

President Wilson, in reply, said:

I am deeply complimented by the gracious words which you have uttered. The welcome which you have given me and Mrs. Wilson has been so warm, so natural, so evidently from the heart, that we have been more than pleased. We have been touched by it, and I believe that I correctly interpret that welcome as embodying not only your own generous spirit toward us personally, but also as expressing for yourself and the great nation over which you preside that same feeling for my people, for the people of the United States.

For you and I, Sir—I temporarily—embody the spirit of two great nations, and whatever strength I have, and whatever authority, I possess it is only so long

and so far as I express the spirit and purpose of the American people. Every influence that the American people have over the affairs of the world is measured by their sympathy with the aspirations of free men everywhere. America does love freedom, and I believe that she loves freedom unselfishly. But if she does not she will not and can not help the influence to which she justly aspires.

I have had the privilege, Sir, of conferring with the leaders of your own Government and with the spokesmen of the Governments of France and of Italy, and I am glad to say that I have the same conceptions that they have of the significance and scope of the duty on which we have met.

We have used great words, all of us have used the great words "Right" and "Justice," and now we are to prove whether or not we understand these words, and how they are to be applied to the particular settlements which must conclude this war. And we must not only understand them, but we must have the courage to act upon our understanding. Yet, after I have uttered the word "Courage," it comes into my mind that it would take more courage to resist the great moral tide now running in the world than to yield to it, than to obey it. There is a great tide running in the hearts of men. The hearts of men have never beaten so singularly in unison before. Men have never before been so conscious of their brotherhood. Men have never before realized how little difference there was between right and justice in one latitude and in another, under one sovereignty and under another.

And it will be our high privilege, I believe, Sir, not only to apply the moral judgment of the world to the particular settlements which we shall attempt, but also to organize the moral force of the world, to preserve those settlements, to steady the forces of mankind, and to make the right and the justice to which great nations like our own have devoted themselves the predominant and controlling force of the world.

There is something inspiring in knowing that this is the errand that we have come on. Nothing less than this would have justified me in leaving the important tasks which fall upon me upon the other side of the sea—nothing but the consciousness that nothing else compares with this in dignity and importance.

Therefore, it is the more delightful to find myself in the company of a body of men, united in ideal and purpose, and to feel that I am privileged to unite my thoughts with yours in carrying forward these standards which we are so proud to hold so high and to defend.

May I not, Sir, with a feeling of profound sincerity and friendship and sympathy,

propose your health and the health of the Queen and the prosperity of Great Britain?

THE GUILDHALL ADDRESS

President Wilson held frequent and intimate conferences with the British Premier and other British statesmen. On Dec. 28 he was presented with an address of welcome in the ancient Guildhall by the officials of the City of London, and later was entertained at the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor. In his address at the Guildhall the President said:

I do not believe that it was fancy on my part that I heard in the voice of welcome uttered in the streets of this great city and in the streets of Paris something more than a personal welcome. It seemed to me that I heard the voice of one people speaking to another people, and it was a voice in which one could distinguish a singular combination of emotions. There was surely there the deep gratefulness that the fighting was over. There was the pride that the fighting had had such a culmination. There was that sort of gratitude that the nations engaged had produced such men as the soldiers of Great Britain and of the United States and of France and of Italy—men whose prowess and achievements they had witnessed with rising admiration as they moved from culmination to culmination.

But there was something more in it, the consciousness that the business is not yet done, the consciousness that it now rests upon others to see that those lives were not lost in vain.

I have not yet been to the actual battlefield, but I have been with many of the men who have fought the battles, and the other day I had the pleasure of being present at a session of the French Academy when they admitted Marshal Joffre to their membership. That sturdy, serene soldier stood and uttered, not the words of triumph, but the simple words of affection for his soldiers and the conviction which he summed up in a sentence which I will not try accurately to quote, but to reproduce in its spirit. It was that France must always remember that the small and the weak could never live free in the world unless the strong and the great always put their power and their strength in the service of right.

That is the afterthought, the thought that something must be done now, not only to make the just settlement—that of course—but to see that the settlements remained and were observed and that honor and justice prevailed in the world.

And as I have conversed with the soldiers I have been more and more aware

that they fought for something that not all of them had defined, but which all of them recognized the moment you stated it to them. They fought to do away with an old order and to establish a new one, and the centre and characteristic of the old order was that unstable thing which we used to call the "balance of power"—a thing in which the balance was determined by the sword which was thrown in on the one side or the other; a balance which was determined by the unstable equilibrium of competitive interests; a balance which was maintained by jealous watchfulness and an antagonism of interests which, though it was generally latent, was always deep-seated.

The men who have fought in this war have been the men from the free nations who are determined that that sort of thing should end now and forever. It is very interesting to me to observe how from every quarter, from every sort of mind, from every concert of counsel there comes the suggestion that there must now be, not a balance of power, not one powerful group of nations set up against another, but a single overwhelming, powerful group of nations who shall be the trustees of the peace of the world.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

It has been delightful in my conferences with the leaders of your Government to find how our minds moved along exactly the same line, and how our thought was always that the key to the peace was the guarantee of the peace, not the items of it; that the items would be worthless unless there stood back of them a permanent concert of power for their maintenance. That is the most reassuring thing that has ever happened in the world.

When this war began, the thought of a League of Nations was indulgently considered as the interesting thought of closeted students. It was thought of as one of those things that it was right to characterize by a name which, as a university man, I have always resented. It was said to be academic, as if that in itself were a condemnation—something that men could think about, but never get. Now we find the practical leading minds of the world determined to get it.

No such sudden and potent union of purpose has ever been witnessed in the world before. Do you wonder, therefore, gentlemen, that in common with those who represent you I am eager to get at the business and write the sentences down? And that I am particularly happy that the ground is cleared and the foundations laid—for we have already accepted the same body of principles? Those principles are clearly and definitely enough stated to make their application a

matter which should afford no fundamental difficulty.

And back of us is that imperative yearning of the world to have all disturbing questions quieted, to have all threats against peace silenced, to have just men everywhere come together for a common object. The peoples of the world want peace, and they want it now, not merely by conquest of arms, but by agreement of mind.

It was this incomparably great object that brought me overseas. It has never before been deemed excusable for a President of the United States to leave the territory of the United States, but I know that I have the support of the judgment of my colleagues in the Government of the United States in saying that it was my paramount duty to turn away even from the imperative tasks at home to lend such counsel and aid as I could to this great—may I not say final?—enterprise of humanity.

AT THE MANSION HOUSE

President Wilson was next entertained by the City of London at the Mansion House. The Lord Mayor, in proposing the President's health, paid tribute to him as a man and statesman. He said that his presence in Europe was the sweeping away of a policy never before departed from on the other side of the Atlantic. When the aged master of ceremonies, in city livery and standing behind the Lord Mayor's chair, proclaimed: "Your Royal Highness, (addressing the Duke of Connaught,) my Lords, your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I pray silence for the President of the United States," there was a burst of hearty although decorous enthusiasm, with hand clapping, waving of napkins, and beating of tables.

In his reply, referring to breaking a precedent in coming to Europe, the President said:

The harness of precedent is sometimes a very sad and harassing trammel. In this case the breaking of precedent is sensible for a reason that is very prettily illustrated in a remark attributed to Charles Lamb. One evening in a company of his friends they were discussing a person who was not present, and Lamb said in his hesitating manner: "I h-hate that fellow." "Why, Charles," one of his friends said, "I did not know that you knew him." "Oh," he said, "I-I-I d-don't. I can't h-hate a man I know."

And perhaps that simple and attractive

remark may furnish a secret for cordial international relationship. When we know one another we cannot hate one another.

I have been very much interested before coming here to see what sort of person I was expected to be. So far as I can make out, I was expected to be a perfectly bloodless thinking machine, whereas I am perfectly aware that I have in me all the insurgent elements of the human race. I am sometimes, by reason of long Scotch tradition, able to keep these instincts in restraint. The stern Covenanter tradition that is behind me sends many an echo down the years.

IN HIS GRANDFATHER'S CHURCH

President Wilson, accompanied by Mrs. Wilson, visited Carlisle, England, Dec. 29. Large crowds lined the streets and cheered the Presidential party lustily as it drove from the station, where the President was received by Mayor Bertram Carr and other local notables, at the Crown and Mitre Hotel, where the President signed the freemen's roll.

The President visited Annetwell Street, where the site of his late grandfather's chapel was pointed out to him, and the house in Cavendish Place that was built by his grandfather. Later he attended services in the Lowther Street Congregational Church. Here, in the course of the services, the Rev. Edward Booth, pastor of the church, requested the President to address the assemblage. This the President did, delivering a short speech, in which he referred simply but eloquently to his mother. In the course of this address he said:

I believe, as this war has drawn nations temporarily together in a combination of physical force, we shall now be drawn together in a combination of moral force that is irresistible. It is moral force as much as physical force that has defeated the effort to subdue the world. Words have cut as deep as swords.

The knowledge that wrong has been attempted has aroused the nations. They have gone out like men for a crusade. No other cause could have drawn so many of the nations together. They knew an outlaw was abroad and that the outlaw purposed unspeakable things.

It is from quiet places like this all over the world that the forces are accumulated that presently will overpower any attempt to accomplish evil on a great scale. It is like the rivulet that gathers into the river and the river that goes to the sea. So there come out of communities like these

streams that fertilize the conscience of men, and it is the conscience of the world we now mean to place upon the throne which others tried to usurp.

VISIT TO MANCHESTER

On Dec. 30 the President visited Manchester and was formally made a freeman of the city. His reception was cordial in the extreme, and the welcome was intimate and friendly. Everywhere he was received with unrestrained enthusiasm.

In presenting the freedom of the city to President Wilson, the Lord Mayor said it afforded the City of Manchester supreme satisfaction to have on its roll the chief citizen of the American Republic, "foremost of all Americans who have ever visited England," and one whose clear utterances and earnest acts had been a proof of the real union of sentiment. This man, said the Lord Mayor, now stood before the audience as a living type and model of the friendship of the English-speaking races.

"When the complete history of the war is written," he said, "the world will comprehend more fully than it can today the stupendous character of the effort which the United States made to insure a right decision. The President has come among us equally resolved that the world shall henceforth be better and happier for a well-ordered peace."

President Wilson's fourteen points, he said, had become within twelve months the real basis for a peace settlement and had been accepted by the enemies of the Allies as the preliminary for the permanent peace. "We welcome him," the speaker added, "as President of the United States, as a helper in the battles, and as a worker in the business of peace." The Lord Mayor brought forth loud applause when he applied to President Wilson these words: "What he dared to dream of, that he dared to do."

When the Lord Mayor had completed his oration, the Town Clerk offered the President the morocco-bound volume in which he was to sign his name as a freeman of the City of Manchester. The President sat down at a small table and inscribed his name with a gold pen made

especially for the occasion. In the meantime the assemblage, which was standing, began to sing, "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow." The Aldermen, city officials, and guests joined in the cheers which followed this civic ritual.

ADDRESS AT MANCHESTER

President Wilson replied as follows:

My Lord Mayor, Ladies, and Gentlemen—perhaps I may be permitted to add Fellow-Citizens: You have made me feel in a way that is deeply delightful the generous welcome which you have accorded me, and back of it I know there lies the same sort of feeling for the great people whom I have the privilege of representing.

There is a feeling of cordiality, fraternity, and friendship between the two great nations, and as I have gone from place to place and been made everywhere to feel the pulse of sympathy that is now beating between us I have been led to some very serious thoughts as to what the basis of it all is. For I think you will agree with me that friendship is not a mere sentiment—patriotism is not a mere sentiment. It is based upon a principle, upon the principle that leads a man to give more than he demands.

Similarly, friendship is based not merely upon affection, but upon common service. The man is not your friend who is not willing to serve you, and you are not his friend unless you are willing to serve him. And out of that impulse of common interest and desire of common service arises that noble feeling which we consecrate as friendship.

And so it does seem to me that the theme that we must have in our minds now in this great day of settlement is the theme of common interest and the determination of what it is that is our common interest. You know that heretofore the world has been governed, or at any rate the attempt has been made to govern it, by partnerships of interest, and that they have broken down. Interest does not bind men together. Interest separates men. For, the moment there is the slightest departure from the nice adjustment of interests then jealousies begin to spring up. There is only one thing that can bind peoples together, and that is common devotion to right.

Ever since the history of liberty began men have talked about their rights, and it has taken several hundred years to make them perceive that the principal condition of right is duty, and that unless a man performs his full duty he is entitled to no right. It is a fine correlation of the influence of duty that right is the equipoise and balance of society.

AMERICA'S ATTITUDE

And so, when we analyze the present situation and the future that we now have to mold and control, it seems to me there is no other thought than that that can guide us. You know that the United States has always felt from the very beginning of her story that she must keep herself separate from any kind of connection with European politics. I want to say very frankly to you that she is not now interested in European politics, but she is interested in the partnership of right between America and Europe. If the future had nothing for us but a new attempt to keep the world at a right poise by a balance of power the United States would take no interest, because she will join no combination of power which is not a combination of all of us. She is not interested merely in the peace of Europe, but in the peace of the world.

Therefore, it seems to me that in the settlement which is just ahead of us something more delicate and difficult than was ever attempted before has to be accomplished—a genuine concert of mind and of purpose. But, while it is difficult, there is an element present that makes it easy. Never before in the history of the world, I believe, has there been such a keen international consciousness as there is now.

There is a great voice of humanity abroad in the world just now which he who cannot hear is deaf. There is a great compulsion of the common conscience now in existence which, if any statesman resist, will gain for him the most unequaled eminence in history. We are not obeying the mandate of parties or of politics. We are obeying the mandate of humanity.

"MACHINERY OF FRIENDSHIP"

That is the reason why it seems to me that the things that are most often in our minds are the least significant. I am not hopeful that the individual items of the settlement which we are about to attempt will be altogether satisfactory. One has only to apply his mind to any one of the questions of boundary and of altered sovereignty and of racial aspirations to do something more than conjecture that there is no man and no body of men who know just how they ought to be settled; and yet if we are to make unsatisfactory settlements we must see to it that they are rendered more and more satisfactory by the subsequent adjustments which are made possible. We must provide the machinery for readjustments in order that we may have the machinery of good-will and friendship.

Friendship must have a machinery. If I cannot correspond with you, if I cannot learn your minds, if I cannot co-operate with you, I cannot be your friend; and if

the world is to remain a body of friends, it must have the means of friendship, the means of constant friendly intercourse, the means for constant watchfulness over the common interests.

That makes it necessary to make some great effort to have with one another an easy and constant method of conference, so that troubles may be taken when they are little and not allowed to grow until they are big. I never thought I had a big difference with a man that I did not find when I came into conference with him that, after all, it was rather a little difference, and that if we were frank with one another and did not too much stand upon that great enemy of mankind which is called pride, we could come together.

After paying a friendly tribute to Manchester as possessing many of the characteristics of our great American cities, the President concluded:

I wish it were possible for us to do something like some of my very stern ancestors did, for among my ancestors are those very determined persons who were known as the Covenanters. I wish we could, not for Great Britain and the United States, but for France, for Italy and the world, enter into a great league and covenant declaring ourselves first of all friends of mankind and uniting ourselves together for the maintenance of the triumph of right.

President Wilson's Visit to Italy

Addresses in Rome and Elsewhere

PRESIDENT AND MRS. WILSON left London Dec. 31 on their way to Italy. King George and Queen Mary and the Duke of Connaught accompanied them to the station. Premier Lloyd George was on the platform. The Scots Guards formed the guard of honor, and the band of the Irish Guards played. Notwithstanding the rain, crowds lined the streets from Buckingham Palace to the station and cheered as the procession passed.

The Presidential party reached Paris that evening and departed thence for Italy on Jan. 1, 1919. From the Italian frontier to Rome the journey was like a triumphal procession. Mountaineers and villagers swarmed from the hills and valleys to pay homage to America. They shouted "Vivas," waving hats and handkerchiefs and flags, forming picturesque groups, which were emphasized by the brilliant sunshine, blue sky, luxuriant landscape.

The royal train with President Wilson on board was met at Modane by the Duke of Lante, representing King Victor Emmanuel. Both the French and Italian authorities in the frontier town welcomed the Presidential party. A crowd of the townspeople had gathered at the station and gave the President a greeting. The day was a bright one, with the sun shining on the snow-covered mountains surrounding the village.

The train arrived at Turin in the afternoon of Jan. 2. The President was met at the station by the Prefect of the Province, the Mayor, the General commanding the troops there, and other authorities. Although the reception was unofficial, the station was decorated with the Italian and American colors, while everywhere in the city the Stars and Stripes were flown beside the Italian Tricolor.

An immense crowd welcomed President Wilson with the greatest enthusiasm when he arrived in Rome on Jan. 3, 1919. He was received at the station by King Victor Emmanuel and Queen Helena, members of the Government and representatives of the local authorities. The Duchess of Aosta and Queen Helena greeted Mrs. Wilson and Miss Margaret Wilson with extreme cordiality.

The program of the day included a luncheon with Queen Mother Margherita, a reception by the Parliament, and a state dinner with the King, which followed the visit to the President of a deputation from the Quirinal. In the evening citizenship of Rome was conferred upon the American Executive.

In Parliament a joint reception was tendered the President by members of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The function was impressive. The large and distinguished gathering gave the President an ovation.

During the days of President Wilson's visit Rome seemed transformed into a fairy city of waving flags, green festoons, and decorations of all descriptions, while the brilliant sunshine and blue sky made the scene typically Roman. Every shop decorated its windows with the American flag, while a huge photograph of Wilson dominated everything.

Hundreds of Austrian cannon were exposed in the different squares, decorated with American and Italian flags, while the streets were crowded with soldiers wearing their steel helmets, who had come to Rome from the front to pay the President military honors. Every possible space on the walls was taken up by manifestos containing the following phrases: "From this centre of Latinity, where the right was proclaimed from the Forum, break forth warm vibrating greetings to him who has been the powerful defender of the right. The President of the United States of America, one of the greatest makers of victory, one of the greatest supporters of the right, triumphantly enters the ancient city of the Caesars. It is a day of glory and joy. Viva Wilson! Viva the King!"

ADDRESS TO THE DEPUTIES

President Wilson delivered the following address in the Chamber of Deputies:

Your Majesty and Mr. President of the Chamber:

You are bestowing upon me an unprecedented honor, which I accept because I believe that it is extended to me as the representative of the great people for whom I speak. And I am going to take this first opportunity to say how entirely the heart of the American people has been with the great people of Italy.

We have seemed, no doubt, indifferent at times, to look from a great distance, but our hearts have never been far away. All sorts of ties have long bound the people of our America to the people of Italy, and when the people of the United States, knowing this people, have witnessed its sufferings, its sacrifices, its heroic actions upon the battlefield and its heroic endurance at home—its steadfast endurance at home touching us more nearly to the quick even than its heroic action on the battlefield—we have been bound by a new tie of profound admiration.

Then back of it all, and through it all, running like the golden thread that wove it together, was our knowledge that the people of Italy had gone into this war for the same exalted principle of right and justice that moved our own people. And so I welcome this opportunity of conveying to you the heartfelt greetings of the people of the United States.

But we cannot stand in the shadow of this war without knowing there are things which are in some senses more difficult than those we have undertaken, because, while it is easy to speak of right and justice, it is sometimes difficult to work them out in practice, and there will be required a purity of motives and disinterestedness of object which the world has never witnessed before in the councils of nations.

It is for that reason that it seems to me you will forgive me if I lay some of the elements of the new situation before you for a moment. The distinguishing fact of this war is that great empires have gone to pieces. And the characteristics of those empires are that they held different peoples reluctantly together under the coercion of force and the guidance of intrigue.

The great difficulty among such States as those of the Balkans has been that they were always accessible to secret influence; that they were always being penetrated by intrigue of some sort or another; that north of them lay disturbed populations which were held together not by sympathy and friendship, but by the coercive force of a military power. Now the intrigue is checked and the bands are broken, and what we are going to provide is a new cement to hold the people together. They have not been accustomed to being independent. They must now be independent.

I am sure that you recognize the principle as I do—that it is not our privilege to say what sort of government they should set up. But we are friends of those people, and it is our duty as their friends to see to it that some kind of protection is thrown around them—something supplied which will hold them together. There is only one thing that holds nations together, if you exclude force, and that is friendship and goodwill. The only thing that binds men together is friendship, and by the same token the only thing that binds nations together is friendship. Therefore our task at Paris is to organize the friendship of the world—to see to it that all the moral forces that make for right and justice and liberty are united and are given a vital organization to which the peoples of the world will readily and gladly respond.

In other words, our task is no less colossal than this: To set up a new international psychology; to have a new

real atmosphere. I am happy to say that in my dealings with the distinguished gentlemen who lead your nation, and those who lead France and England, I feel that atmosphere gathering, that desire to do justice, that desire to establish friendliness, that desire to make peace based upon right, and with this common purpose no obstacles need be formidable.

The only use of an obstacle is to be overcome. All that an obstacle does with brave men is not to frighten them, but to challenge them. So that it ought to be our pride to overcome everything that stands in the way.

We know that there cannot be another balance of power. That has been tried and found wanting, for the best of all reasons that it does not stay balanced inside itself, and a weight which does not hold together cannot constitute a makeweight in the affairs of men. Therefore, there must be something substituted for the balance of power, and I am happy to find everywhere in the air of these great nations the conception that that thing must be a thoroughly united league of nations. What men once considered theoretical and idealistic turns out to be practical and necessary. We stand at the opening of a new age in which a new statesmanship will, I am confident, lift mankind to new levels of endeavor and achievement.

FREEDOM OF THE CITY

In accepting the freedom of the city, the President in his address said:

I have rejoiced personally in the partnership of the Italian and American people, because it is a new partnership in an old enterprise, an enterprise predestined to succeed wherever it is undertaken—the enterprise which has always borne that handsome name which we call “liberty.” Men have pursued it, sometimes like a mirage that seemed to elude them, that seemed to run before them as they advanced, but never have they flagged in their purpose to achieve it, and I believe I am not deceived in supposing that in this age of ours they are nearer to it than they ever were before. The light that shone upon the summit now seems to shine almost at our feet, and if we lose it it will only be because we have lost faith. A breath of hope and of confidence has come into the hearts and minds of men. I would not have felt at liberty to come away from America if I had not felt that the time had arrived when, forgetting local interests and local ties and local purposes, men should unite in this great enterprise that will ever tie free men together as a body of brethren and a body of free spirits.

ADDRESS BY THE KING

King Victor Emmanuel spoke in part as follows at the official dinner given at the Quirinal in honor of the President:

When Italy entered into the war, a breath, a precursor of the American soul, penetrated into the rank and file of our army through the means of our workers who returned to the fatherland from America and brought into Italy an echo of their second patria. So, correspondingly, the Italian soul vibrated in the hearts of our people.

You, yourself, Mr. President, are become our welcome and pleasing guest only today, but in the consciousness of our people your personality already for a long time has inscribed itself in an ineffaceable way. It is that which in itself gathers all the powers which go to stimulate a will bent on liberty and justice and gives inspiration toward the highest conception of the destinies of humanity.

The enthusiastic salutations which have accompanied your passage through the streets of Rome today are attestations of the sentiments of admiration and recognition that your own name and labor and the name and labor of the United States stir in the Italian people. The principles in which you in magnificent synthesis have summed up the ideal reasons of the war for liberty find resonance in Italian hearts.

The best traditions of Italian culture, the liveliest currents of our national thoughts, have constantly aimed at the same ideal goal—the establishment of the international peace for which you have stood with tenacious faith. Already before the vicissitudes of war and the fraternity of armies had established today's admirable communion of intentions and purposes between our two countries, legions of our workers had emigrated to your great Republic. They had knitted America and Italy together with strong cords of relationships, and these became reinforced by the spiritual affinity between both peoples, who had a common faith in the virtues of free political government.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY

In his reply the President said:

It has been a matter of pride with us that so many Italians, so many men of Italian origin, were in our own armies and associated with their brethren in Italy itself in the great enterprise of freedom. These are no small matters, and they complete that process of the welding together of the sympathies of nations which has been going on so long between our peoples.

The Italians in the United States have excited a particular degree of admiration.

They, I believe, are the only people of a given nationality who have been careful to organize themselves to see that their compatriots coming to America were from month to month and year to year guided to places in industries most suitable to their previous habits. No other nationality has taken such pains as that, and in serving their fellow-countrymen they have served the United States, because these people have found places where they would be most useful and would most immediately earn their own living and add to the prosperity of the country itself.

In every way we have been happy in our association at home and abroad with the people of this great State. I was saying playfully to Premier Orlando and Baron Sonnino this afternoon that in trying to put the people of the world under their proper sovereignties we would not be willing to part with the Italians in the United States, because we too much value the contribution that they have made, not only to the industry of the United States, but to its thought and to many elements of its life.

This is, therefore, a very welcome occasion upon which to express a feeling that goes very deep. I was touched the other day to have an Italian, a very plain man, say to me that we had helped to feed Italy during the war, and it went to my heart, because we had been able to do so little. It was necessary for us to use our tonnage so exclusively for the handling of troops and of the supplies that had to follow them from the United States that we could not do half as much as it was our desire to do, to supply grain to this country, or coal, or any of the supplies which it so much needed during the progress of the war.

And knowing as we did in this direct way the needs of the country, you will not wonder that we were moved by its steadfastness. My heart goes out to the little poor families all over this great kingdom who stood the brunt and the strain of the war and gave their men gladly to make other men free and other women and other children free. These are the people and many like them to whom, after all, we owe the glory of this great achievement, and I want to join with you, for I am sure of joining with you, in expressing my profound sympathy not only, but my very profound admiration as well.

VISIT TO THE POPE

Mr. Wilson crowded into the daylight hours of Jan. 4 a multiplicity of activities, including a call upon Pope Benedict at the Vatican and a visit to the American Episcopal Church, where he met rep-

resentative Protestants in Rome. He drove from the Palazzo del Drago, the residence of Ambassador Page, to the Vatican, accompanied by Mgr. Charles O'Hearn, rector of the American College. The thousands gathered along the streets cheered and waved their hats when the automobile passed. A continuous shower of flowers fell upon the President, while cries of "Viva America!" rose above the tumult.

As the President entered the Vatican the Swiss Guards, in their multi-colored uniforms, designed by Raphael, presented arms. Crossing the courtyard, the Presidential automobile reached San Damaso, in the centre of the Apostolic Palace, where a detachment of gendarmes heralded its coming with bugles and at the same time rendered military honors.

Proceeding within the palace, President Wilson was met by the whole Pontifical court, headed by the major-domo, Mgr. Tacci, the Master of the Chamber, the Grand Steward, and the Commander of the Swiss Guard.

At the foot of the grand staircase leading to the Pontifical apartments the President was met by Mgr. Canati, Secretary of the Congregation of Ceremonials, with four Swiss Guards in full uniform, and two doorkeepers in their characteristic costumes. The President and Mgr. Canati shook hands, the Secretary extending a formal welcome. Led by pallafrenières, ancient officials who used to hold the bit of the white mule which the Pope rode in processions, they made their way to Clementine Hall, one of the largest and most beautiful in the Vatican, where twenty-four Swiss Guards with halberds presented arms.

The President's arrival was announced by the Master of the Chamber to the Pope, who awaited Mr. Wilson in the Throne Room, where two gilded arm-chairs had been placed. The President was admitted immediately to the presence of the Pope, who was gowned in pure white. No introduction was necessary as the Pontiff came forward to meet the President holding out his hand.

In his conversation with President Wilson the Pontiff expressed to him sentiments identical with those he had

stated previously to American newspaper men concerning his hopes of peace and his appreciation of America's part in bringing this about. To the President he enlarged on these themes.

From the window in the hall where the Pope and the President sat all of St. Peter's Square could be seen. The square was a mass of cheering people. President Wilson, after talking with the Pontiff a few moments, arose, walked to the window and waved his hat in acknowledgment of the shouts of the crowd.

Their conversation lasted about twenty minutes, the President afterward leaving with the same cortège and the same honors to pay a visit to Cardinal Gasparri, the Papal Secretary of State. This visit over, the President was escorted to his automobile with the same ceremonies as on his arrival.

The Pope presented to the President a handsome mosaic reproducing Guido Reni's famous picture of St. Peter. The mosaic was made in the Vatican grounds by the ancient mosaic factory of the Vatican and is a yard square. It has been valued at \$40,000. Cardinal Gasparri presented to President Wilson two copies of the modification of the canon law compiled by himself. One copy is bound in white parchment and contains an autographed dedication to President Wilson. The other is in red leather and bears the following autograph: "Homage to Princeton University from Pietro Cardinal Gasparri, Vatican, Rome."

ACCLAIMED BY 200,000

The popular enthusiasm for the President, instead of diminishing on the second day of his visit, increased every time he appeared in public. His last appearance before departure was when he drove to the Vatican to visit the Pope. This demonstration reached unprecedented heights of enthusiasm.

Hours before the time set for his arrival the immense Piazza di San Pietro was filled. This square, which holds more than 200,000 people, presented a most imposing sight. In the centre rose the Church of St. Peter, while on each side the colonnades were thick with people.

When the Presidential party appeared

at the end of the square a great shout arose. Mr. Wilson looked surprised and was momentarily taken aback, as he did not expect another demonstration. Then his smile broke forth, and his hat was continually waving in salutation. Although the President remained for some time in the Vatican, the crowd did not tire and at his return gave him a last rousing cheer.

GREETED BY PROTESTANTS

After his visit to the Vatican President Wilson returned to the American Embassy, whence he drove, with Mrs. Wilson, to the American Protestant Episcopal Church. He was accompanied by Thomas Nelson Page, the American Ambassador; Brig. Gen. William W. Harts, U. S. A., and Count Bruschi-Falgari, gentleman-in-waiting to King Victor Emmanuel, and Countess Bruschi-Falgari, lady-in-waiting to Queen Helena.

In the vestry of the church the President received representatives of evangelical churches in Italy. They were introduced by Dr. Dexter G. Whittinghill, Superintendent of the American Baptist Mission; the Rev. Walter Lowrie, rector of St. Paul's American Church, and Francis B. Keene, the American Consul General. Other bodies represented were the Waldensian Church, the English Baptist Mission, the Italian-American Methodist Churches, the Wesleyan Missions, the Presbyterian Church, and the British Bible Society.

After the presentation of the various representatives President Wilson had a pleasant talk with his callers. Being told that all were praying for the success of his work, the President answered that he thought the hand of Providence might be seen in the "mobilization of the moral forces of the world" and in the union of all the churches for a high standard of civilization.

In the conversation the President remarked that General Pershing had told him that the war had produced stronger religious feelings among the soldiers, and he added that the manner in which the different peoples throughout the world had responded to the appeal to their idealism had touched him. A vast crowd

awaited the President outside the church and gave him a most cordial greeting.

AT GENOA AND MILAN

President Wilson and his party left Rome for Genoa in the evening of Jan. 4. At Genoa he visited the monuments of Columbus and Mazzini and delivered short addresses.

He proceeded next to Milan, where he met with a demonstration and welcome which exceeded in fervor any that had preceded it. The thoroughfares were choked with humanity and the President's motor car was forced to crawl through with the greatest difficulty and in constant danger of running the citizens down. The balconies, roofs, and every vantage point were black with people, and the route was plastered with posters and pictures of President Wilson, together with quotations from his speeches which could be applied to Italy's position.

At Milan the President attended the opera in La Scala and received delegations at the Royal Palace. While he was at the palace the great square before the cathedral was so jammed that the cathedral had to be closed. The American Secret Service men declared they had never taken any President through such scenes of demonstration or through such great crowds. While the crowds were orderly, they seemed simply wild with enthusiasm and determined to crowd near to the President. The tour about the city was to the accompaniment of virtually one continuous roar of "Vivas," it appearing as if every individual was shouting his greeting.

In an address at Milan President Wilson said:

I am very much touched to receive at the hands of wounded soldiers a memorial in favor of a League of Nations and to be told by them that this was what they had fought for—not merely to win the war, but to secure something beyond, some guarantee of justice, some equilibrium for the world as a whole, which would make it certain that they would never have to fight a war like this again.

This is an added obligation upon us who make peace. We cannot merely sign a treaty of peace and go home with a clear conscience. We must do something more.

We must add so far as we can the security which suffering men everywhere demand.

And when I speak of suffering men I think also of suffering women. I know that, splendid as have been the achievements of your armies and tremendous as have been the sacrifices which they have made and great the glory which they have achieved, the real hard pressure of the burden came upon the women at home, whose men had gone to the front, and who were willing to have them stay there until the battle was fought out. And I have heard from your Minister of Food the story how, for days together, there would be no bread. And when they knew that there was no bread the spirit of the people did not flag.

The world is not going to consist of great empires. It is going to consist for the most part of small nations apparently, and the only thing that can bind small nations together is the knowledge that each wants to treat the others fairly. That is the only thing. The world has already shown that its progress is industrial. You cannot trade with people whom you do not trust and who do not trust you.

The President appeared deeply moved by the character of the demonstrations and responded gleefully. He stated that the demonstration in front of the palace at Milan was the most spontaneous and inspiring he ever saw. On that occasion he led the band as he stood on the balcony of the palace, and threw kisses with both hands to the delight of the people.

ADDRESSES AT TURIN

President Wilson's reception at Turin was a repetition of the demonstrations at Rome, Genoa, and Milan. There was continuous cheering by enormous crowds massed behind the soldiers as he passed from the railroad station to the municipality, where he received the freedom of the city. He was acclaimed by a great throng when he appeared at a window of the Philharmonic Club.

Mr. Wilson delivered five addresses in Turin. In accepting the freedom of the city he said:

The people of the United States were reluctant to take part in the war, not because they doubted the justice of the cause, but because it was the tradition of the American Republic to play no part in the politics of other continents. But as the struggle grew from stage to stage they were more and more moved by the conviction that it was not a European struggle, that it was a struggle for the

freedom of the world and the liberation of humanity, and with that conviction it was impossible that they should withhold their hands.

Their hearts have been with you from the start, and then when the time of their conviction came they threw every resource of men and money and enthusiasm into the struggle. It has been a happy circumstance that America should thus be associated with Italy. Our ties had been many and intimate before the war, and now they constitute a pledge of friend-

ship and of permanent association of purpose which must delight both peoples.

The President, accompanied by Mrs. Wilson and his daughter, Miss Margaret Wilson, returned to Paris on Jan. 7. From that time until the meeting of the Supreme War Council on Jan. 13 he was in constant conference with American and foreign diplomats and delegates who were arranging the preliminaries of the Peace Congress.

Crushing Bolshevism in Germany

Dr. Liebknecht's Warfare on the Ebert Government Leads to Bloody Battles in Berlin, Ending in His Death

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 20, 1919]

TWO main political currents in Germany became swiftly discernible at the close of the year 1918.

The Majority Socialists ran toward a test of strength with the Spartacans. On Dec. 16, the Central Council of Delegates from Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils convened at Berlin, in the palace of the former Prussian Diet, to debate the date and place of the National Assembly. Three women occupied seats among the 450 delegates. A special dispatch to The New York Times picturesquely described the significant gathering of the Congress in the hall reminiscent of the autocratic pride of Prussian Junkerdom:

The delegates came early, like men used to work and discipline, some 450, more than half of them in field gray, war-hardened men, many wearing the black and white ribbon of the Iron Cross. There were a few officers among them, distinguished from the others by their shoulder pieces.

For the first time nine-tenths of the delegates found themselves gathered in work of the Government on business of national importance in an extraordinary time, but they behaved very naturally among themselves. They appeared to be deeply conscious of their enormous responsibility.

Here and there one, indeed, discovered the well-known face of a former Diet or Reichstag member, but the great majority were absolutely new to the political

world. The members of the Executive Committee and the People's Commissioners occupied the seats reserved for the Government under the old régime. Ebert, Barth, Haase, Rittmann, Landsberg, and Scheidemann, all six were there, and their familiar greetings exchanged with members of the assembly contrasted strangely with the haughty airs of the old-time Government chiefs.

THE CONGRESS IN SESSION

The Congress was opened by Richard Müller, one of the two Presidents of the Executive Committee. Müller, a serious looking young man of some thirty years, had attracted attention in the early days of the revolution by his outspoken hatred of the old oppressive system, and his declaration that "the way to the National Convention would lead only across his dead body." It was remarked that his present speech contained no reference to the purpose of the Congress—the forthcoming National Assembly—being chiefly a eulogy of those who had sacrificed their lives for the revolution. Midway, he was interrupted by a comrade who wished to submit a resolution. The newcomer announced that he represented 250,000 workmen who were then gathered outside the Diet Building. He read a list of demands identical with the Spartacus program. It included retention of all power by the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils, no National Assembly, and the

formation of a Red Guard. This aroused a storm of protest. In the general uproar the intruder left the Chamber. The 250,000 workmen he asserted to be outside the building proved to be 7,000 temporary strikers engineered by Liebknecht agents.

Müller was followed by People's Commissioner Ebert. His address was a panegyric on the future Socialist republic. He also omitted mention of the National Assembly, though on the previous day he had asserted in a notable speech that it must come much sooner than at first planned. Ebert was listened to respectfully but with evident disappointment until he warned the Congress that the nation would perish unless every one co-operated with good-will for its salvation. This was hailed with vigorous applause.

While the Congress was proceeding to organize, a determined attempt at intimidation was made by the Spartacus group. A resolution was submitted that Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg be invited to attend the Congress, with advisory powers. Presentation of the resolution caused a great tumult in the hall. The followers of Dr. Liebknecht and spectators in the gallery joined in a twenty minutes' disturbance, momentarily threatening violent personal encounters. The resolution was voted down by five to one, an initial defeat for the Spartacus group.

Meanwhile, a small dark man had forced his way in through the Diet Building and appeared on the roof overlooking Prinz Albrecht Strasse. He wore a large red badge and waved a red handkerchief at the thousands collected in the streets. At sight of the little man the crowd increased by more thousands. Such was Liebknecht's entry on the scene. His bodyguard gathered around him. It comprised soldiers, sailors, and civilians with large red badges and handkerchiefs. The comparatively few reached by his voice listened to one of his fiery harangues, but apparently without taking him overseriously.

The result of the first day's Congress demonstrated that the Independent Socialists and the Spartacus group were

greatly outnumbered by the Majority Socialists. Further, it was held to be significant that none of the important posts in the Congress was given to any delegate from Berlin. The National Assembly was regarded as a certainty.

SUPPRESSING THE RADICALS

The 16th was otherwise marked by energetic action on the part of the Government to end Spartacus rule in Neukölln, a suburb of the capital where Liebknecht held his "fortress." The Town Hall and public buildings were occupied by soldiers sent by the Government, together with some local troops that had just returned from the front. The Spartacus Soldiers' and Workers' Council was dissolved and arrested, but subsequently released. Liebknecht's lieutenants were removed from all the positions they occupied. Spectators in sympathy with the Government watched the proceedings. As an indication of the numerical strength of political parties in the provinces, elections to the National Assembly in the former Duchy of Anhalt resulted in a victory for the Majority Socialists. The Socialists polled 92,229 votes, against a total of 66,951 for the combined bourgeois groups. This gave Anhalt twenty-two Majority Socialists, twelve German Democrats, and two Conservatives in the Assembly. The Independent Socialists failed to obtain a sufficient number of signatures to nominate.

STORMS IN THE CONGRESS

The second meeting of the Congress on Dec. 17 was notable chiefly for Ledebour's attack upon People's Commissioner Ebert, dissension among members of the Government, and general disturbance.

The proceedings of the day went to show that not only were there serious differences in the ranks of the Government, but the Government appeared to be on bad terms with the Executive Committee of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council—a kind of supplementary Government. Richard Müller blamed the Government for being weak, as did several other speakers. At times the Ministers were compelled to threaten to

resign in order to obtain a hearing. Commissioner Ebert in an interview said:

We will maintain order so far as this is possible for a Government which has taken over such an inheritance and finds itself placed before such a terribly tangled situation. You must remember that our influence upon the course of events is limited. We cannot create bread for the German people. If the nation is allowed to starve, then the inevitable will follow. That a nation can be brought to such a desperate pass that it bursts through all restraints is shown by the experience of the past year. Such people finally revenge themselves upon the authors of their miseries. Our old system came to the ground finally as a result of Russian events which it had itself provoked. It is a poor consolation, however, in falling one's self, that one drags one's enemy to the ground also. To us any other solution will be preferable.

Early in the session of the 18th another Liebknecht delegation, professing to represent 250,000 workers, forced its way into the House on the threat that the whole 250,000 would strike the next day unless the delegates were admitted. The same chaotic scene ensued that had been witnessed more than once previously.

DEMANDS OF RADICALS

After a wrangle over granting the delegates permission to speak, their leader won assent. He demanded, first, that Germany must be constituted as one single republic; second, that all power be vested in the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils; third, that the highest executive power be exercised by the Executive Council; fourth, the abolishment of the Council of People's Commissioners; fifth, measures for the protection of the revolution; sixth, disarmament of the counter-revolutionists; seventh, arming of the proletariat; eighth, propaganda for the establishment of a Socialist world republic.

These demands were listened to almost in silence. Only at the end a few venerable-looking Socialists applauded. Thereupon the delegates left the House. At 2 P. M. another delegation tried to enter, but Chairman Leinert had given orders to the soldiers and sailors guarding the entrance that no more delegations were to be admitted on any pretext. The delegation then retired. to

harangue the outside crowd. The business of the day transacted by the Congress was epitomized in a dispatch from Amsterdam:

The Congress of German Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils passed a resolution transferring legislative and executive power to the People's Commissioners (the Ebert Government) until other arrangement is made by the National Assembly. The Congress further appointed a Central Council to exercise parliamentary supervision over German and Prussian Cabinets, and with the right to appoint and depose the People's Commissioners of all of Germany, and, until final regulation of State affairs, of Prussia. To supervise the conduct of business in the Imperial Ministry adjuncts will be appointed by the People's Commissioners. They will be selected from the Social Democratic Parties. The Congress rejected a resolution demanding the elimination of the bourgeois class from the Government.

Reports upon other issues indicated great dissatisfaction with the Government's foreign policy in the rupture with Spain and the break in relations with the Polish Government. All papers denounced the latter as a sign of weakness threatening a great loss of territory. The resignations of Dr. Solf and Minister of War Scheuch were attributed to the same cause. In Berlin the strike movement had greatly extended, spreading to all the newspaper offices except the Socialist organs.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CALLED

When the Congress of Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils reassembled on Dec. 19 the galleries were filled with Spartans, but fears of physical violence proved unfounded. After a day of heated discussion and much confusion the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils voted that elections to a National Assembly should be held on Jan. 19, 1919. The last orator was Scheidemann. He told the delegates that if the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils continued in operation unspeakable woe would befall Germany, worse even than what had been suffered already. He asserted they were bound to drift into Bolshevism no matter how little they desired it, and they would transform Germany into a second Russia, but worse than the latter, because in Germany there was much more to de-

stroy. He believed the Spartacans were serious in not wishing to imitate Russia, but, no matter how hard they tried to evade Bolshevism, it was sure to come to them unless there was a change. He was absolutely convinced the German people were behind the present Government.

The vote was taken by the delegates rising from their seats. Some four hundred rose in support of Jan. 19, only about seventy Independent Socialists remaining seated. The most enthusiastic supporters of the National Assembly were surprised with their overwhelming majority. Chairman Leinart was about to announce the vote when a storm broke from parts of the gallery. "Shame! Shame!" some radicals cried, and "Cowards, we shall teach you a lesson yet; you are robbing the people of the fruits of the revolution." Applause from the regular Socialists drowned these shouts of the Spartacans. When Chairman Leinart threatened to clear the galleries the radicals shouted: "Here you have the power, you cowards, but wait until we get you in the streets!" Chairman Leinart cut short further uproar by declaring discussion of the motion before the house closed. The vote was taken at exactly 6 P. M. It was a surprise to many that the Independents did not protest, and had not a single orator to put forward. This shortened the proceedings, and the all-important question of fixing the election date had been voted upon before the Liebknecht agitators could organize their opposition.

They had engineered another invasion by a large number of factory workmen, who were to force their way into the house at the critical moment. Unknowingly the Independents spoiled it by withdrawing their orators. This advanced the voting by more than an hour. Hence the vote had been taken long before the trouble makers arrived.

THE WINNING ELEMENTS

The election of a new Central Executive Committee was completed by the Congress of Delegates of Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils. It was composed of twenty-seven soldiers and workmen, all Majority Socialists, thus eliminating Ledebour and Müller. The pres-

tige of Ebert and Scheidemann was believed to have been greatly enhanced thereby. As finally organized, the committee was largely a parliamentary body with small functions. It could eject obstreperous Cabinet members and had a restricted veto power. The closing hours of the Congress were devoted to problems of socialization. It approved State control for such industries as were "ripe" for the experiment, though general sentiment was in favor of leaving such complex problems to the National Assembly.

The Congress of Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils adjourned on the afternoon of Dec. 20.

AFTERMATH OF THE CONGRESS

On the heels of the Congress a dispatch via Copenhagen announced the formation of a Friends of the People League in Berlin. Upon the committee were the names of Prince Maximilian of Baden, Hugo Haase, Independent Socialist; Count von Bernstorff, former Ambassador to the United States; Matthias Erzberger, Centrist, and Dr. Solf, former Foreign Minister. The German Government accepted von Hindenburg's plan to form a People's Guard, or National Army. The Cassel Allgemeine Zeitung published the Marshal's proclamation, dated "Christmas, 1918." After referring to "the mighty achievements in war of the German Nation in arms, trained in warfare, which did not collapse before a world of enemies," von Hindenburg went on:

It drew this capacity from the holy fire of patriotism, the will to victory, and a spirit of loyalty. The German Army has vanished, dissolved, disbanded, although until the last it was feared and respected by its enemies. To the officers, high and low, as trainers and leaders of the National Army, is undeniably due a great share of the glory, and it is petty revenge to deprive them of their insignia and arms and declare them incapable of exercising command. The utter destruction of the national strength of the German people is the intention of those destructive, disruptive spirits, who are working to impede the reorganization of the empire on a sound political and economic basis.

Berlin's first revolutionary Christmas was gloomy. Never before, even during the war, had beggars and street vendors been seen in such numbers. Professional

beggars and crippled and invalid soldiers multiplied daily; other soldiers sold cigarettes, soap, and sweetmeats brought in from west of the Rhine, where such things were more plentiful than in Berlin. An odd holiday spectacle was an able-bodied soldier in uniform grinding out Christmas music from a street organ. Unter den Linden, Potsdamer Platz, and Friedrichstrasse presented an incongruous appearance with street stalls filled with flimsy wares and substitutes for Christmas pastry and wax candles. There was little encouragement to indulge in holiday travel. Through trains had been withdrawn and local trains were stripped of such ordinary comforts as dining facilities, heating and illumination. Trains were taken off without notice and printed schedules worthless. In Greater Berlin there were said to be 88,000 men out of work.

PLANS FOR A REPUBLIC

Later elections for the National Assembly in Brunswick and Mecklenburg resulted in crushing defeats for the Spartacus group. The bourgeoisie made notable gains. The *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten* stated that the conference held at Berlin to discuss the new Constitution of Germany agreed upon the following fundamentals:

An elected President, to be head of the Government, with powers midway between those of the President of the United States and the King of England.

Parliamentary principles to govern the President in forming a Cabinet, which will be assisted by delegates of the Federal republics to the so-called *Statenhaus*, which corresponds to the American Senate. The *Statenhaus*, however, must not interfere with the independence of the individual Federal republics, which will number fourteen or fifteen.

The participants in the conference included Hugo Preuss, State Secretary of the Interior; Professor Peters, Professor Max Weber of the University of Heidelberg, and the Austrian Minister Hartman, all well-known authorities on constitutional law.

A dispatch from Copenhagen on Dec. 23 reported the arrival in Berlin of a delegation from the Soviet Government at Moscow headed by M. Radek. Excepting M. Joffe, the mission was said to comprise the full staff of the former expelled Russian Embassy.

New strikes broke out in the Silesian coalfield, attributed to the agitation carried on by agents of Dr. Liebknecht. The Silesian output was only half the normal yield. The Rhenish Westphalian coalfields were also partly paralyzed by a strike, which cut down the usual output by one-third. Even in November the coal shortage in Saxony had amounted to 30,000 tons.

THE SAILORS' REVOLT

A brief clash occurred on Dec. 23 between armed sailors—who sympathized with the Liebknecht radicals—and the soldiers who were supporting the Ebert Government. The morning of the 24th witnessed a renewal of the conflict in serious proportions. The People's Commissioners sat all night considering measures to restore order. Overnight the sailors had occupied the royal palace together with the stables opposite. Government infantry decided to drive the sailors out of the palace, and before daybreak were in possession of part of the building. A great deal of shooting went on for about an hour. After a while a truce was observed by both sides. The machine guns were silent, but the Government soldiers prepared for a resumption of the conflict.

Unter den Linden, from the royal palace to Friedrichstrasse, was closed to pedestrian traffic, in fear that machine guns hidden by the sailors might unexpectedly be brought into action. Toward 10 A. M. the Government troops, hearing that the sailors were about to be reinforced by rescue parties of Spartacans, began to attack the royal stables. There was a terrific cannonade from all sides against the castle and stables, which lasted only about a quarter of an hour. About this time a white flag appeared at a window of the stable. Soon afterward another white flag was displayed on the balcony of the castle. The fire subsided, and some six sailors, one carrying a white flag, proceeded unmolested from the stables to the castle, where they were joined by a deputation of Government troops. Negotiations for a capitulation took place without result.

About this time the guard cuirassiers, marching through *Französische Strasse*,

reached the scene with several field guns. The sailors thereupon made a last desperate attempt to drive off the Government troops at the risk of hurting thousands of curious onlookers at the street corners. They placed machine guns on the roofs of the stables, but the first shot fired by the Government troops put a machine gun out of action. The fire of the guard cuirassiers was quick and decisive. In about half an hour all was over.

Again the large door of the stable was opened, and sailors carrying a white flag indicated that they wished to surrender. Rebels attempting to escape were stopped and disarmed. Their casualties were reported to have numbered sixty-four. Amid the general lack of order following the surrender of the sailors, civilian onlookers were seen helping themselves to rifles, bayonets, and hand grenades. A few even tried to carry off machine guns. But a few blocks away from the conflict women went on with their Christmas shopping. Great damage had been done to the palace, the façade being sprinkled with shell holes.

The Government appointed a committee consisting of Reuss for the Central Executive of the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils, Tost for the Navy Council, and Müller for the local Soldiers' Council, to arrive at a settlement with the sailors. Meanwhile the reactionary journals denounced the weakness of the Government and expressed doubt of its ability to cope with the situation. Later advices put the number of killed in this episode at 100.

SPEEDING TOWARD CHAOS

From the 24th onward there were increasing signs that a strong hand of direction was lacking in the German Government. Each day produced a widespread attack of nerves, fear of Spartacus coups being uppermost. Berlin reported that parleys between the Majority Socialists and the Independent Socialists concerning elections to the National Assembly had failed, and that the Independents had decided to nominate candidates in all districts. The Berlin Government decided to retain Marshal von Hindenburg and General Gröner in their offices. Vice Admiral Hipper, Com-

mander in Chief of the German High Seas Fleet; Vice Admiral Bachmann, commander of the Baltic Fleet, and Captain Hinke, Director of the Dockyards at Kiel, were dismissed. A compromise with the revolting sailors was arranged on the basis of granting them more than they sought; they were to remain in Berlin as part of the Republican Soldiers' Guard. The sailors, on their part, agreed not to participate in any future revolt against the Government. The Spartacus faction still held possession of the Socialist newspaper *Vorwärts*, seizure of the offices having taken place on Christmas.

A political crisis developed on Dec. 28. At a co-joint session of the People's Commissioners and the Central Council, Ebert presided and warned that the council must make up its mind to take full responsibility for all measures to maintain law and order which the People's Commissioners should find necessary. Otherwise the Majority Socialists would not remain in the Government. After Ebert had spoken Barth and Haase were heard. As a compromise between the Majority Socialists and the Independents was unobtainable, Haase, Barth, and Dittmann retired from the Cabinet at midnight.

A notable appeal was addressed to Commissioner Ebert by Professor Theodor Schiemann, formerly one of the Kaiser's personal advisers. He besought Ebert "to rescue some sort of law and order from the chaos created by the criminal conduct of the sailors and the consequences of the disastrous armistice." He continued:

I am ashamed of the undignified appearance which our country presents from within and without and its surrender of all feelings of decency. * * * Our petitions to the leading men of the Entente and to President Wilson lack all dignity, are in a whining tone, and only increase the contempt with which the enemy is treating us. Our present Government has done nothing to sustain the justifiable self-respect of the German people, who so long defended their existence against the whole world, but everything possible has been done to suppress the elements standing for law and order.

Reports from Bavaria, Dec. 27-30, showed growing industrial distress and the threat of an acute political crisis.

Premier Eisner's position was said to be seriously shaken. On the one hand the newly formed Spartacus organization was displaying great activity in the purchase of machine guns, with plenty of ammunition, purchased with Russian Bolshevist money; on the other, Prince Rupprecht had intrenched himself in one of the mad King Ludwig's famed mountain castles. Surrounded by a bodyguard of several hundred officers, Prince Rupprecht was believed to aim at overturning the revolutionary Government in Bavaria, and, with the aid of the Centre Party, seating himself on the throne.

Wholesale arrests of prominent men in Munich on Dec. 30 caused the greatest sensation in the city since the revolution. Pressure was brought to bear on Eisner to resign the Premiership in favor of Herr Auer. He replied that if such an event became necessary he would be willing to accept a portfolio in the Auer Cabinet. Meanwhile he wired his support of the Independent Socialists as against Ebert.

SPREAD OF BOLSHEVISM

M. Radek, head of the Bolshevist Mission to Germany, attended a Spartacus congress in Berlin on the 30th. He said he welcomed the prospect of French occupation of Germany, because it would help the wave of Bolshevism to make still further progress westward. The Russian workmen, he added, were filled with pride at the prospect of fighting beside their German comrades of the Rhine against Anglo-Saxon capitalism.

A dispatch of the 31st stated that Bolshevism had broken out in Silesia, and that the province had been declared a Bolshevist republic. Striking miners had seized the officers of the companies, and, under the menace of loaded rifles, had compelled them to sign "all sorts of documents." It was added that the disorders were of a Russian Bolshevist character, and that there had been murder and pillaging in the affected region.

Premier Ebert granted an interview to The New York Times correspondent on Dec. 30, and told him that henceforth any crime against the public peace would be punished relentlessly. He proceeded:

The People's Commissioners have now the full and unreserved support of the Central Council, the members of which were elected by soldiers, sailors, peasants, and workers, and they will fearlessly carry out their task of preserving law and order throughout Germany, and especially in Berlin. Shooting at soldiers, Government emissaries, or people, and destroying public property, are crimes which the Social Democratic Republic regards no more lightly than any other State, and will be dealt with accordingly.

According to advices from various sources dated Jan. 2, a Polish army of 30,000 was making "a tearing raid into Germany." The truth was that Polish forces were undertaking to get military possession of the region formerly belonging to Poland. They successfully occupied Beuthen, in Prussian Silesia, and Bromberg, in the Province of Posen. From Berlin it was reported the Poles had entered Frankfort-on-the-Oder, fifty miles east of the German capital. Gustav Noske, member of the Ebert Cabinet, in charge of military affairs, ordered the 5th German Division to advance against the Poles. According to the Frankfort Nachrichten, several German Army corps had been concentrated on the border between Posen and Prussia.

The German Centre Party, in convention at Coblenz, adopted a platform, of which the most striking plank called for a united Germany composed of a federation of States, which should preserve the individuality of the different German branches. On the other hand, the North Schleswig Voters' Association unanimously passed a resolution that on account of their approaching separation from Germany and reunion with Denmark it would be improper for them to take part in elections to a German National Assembly.

THE EICHHORN REVOLT

A Berlin dispatch of Jan. 5 stated that the Cabinet had deposed Eichhorn, Berlin Chief of Police, and that he refused to vacate his post. He had supported the Spartacans in seizing Vorwärts. Herr Ernst, Director of the Vorwärts Publishing Company, was appointed to succeed Eichhorn. The episode was the beginning of the worst phase of civil war that Berlin had yet experienced.

In the afternoon of Jan. 6 a determined Spartan effort to seize the Government broke loose with greater violence than before. At the opening it centred around Eichhorn, who, backed by Ledebour, held on to his post as Chief of Police. He turned Police Headquarters in the Alexander Platz into a Spartacus stronghold. By evening a furious conflict was raging in the vicinities of Police Headquarters and the Chancellor's palace. Armored cars, machine guns and artillery were brought into use. When night fell it was estimated hundreds of dead strewed the precincts of the Chancellor's palace. Thousands of Spartacans were engaging the Government troops. The telegraph offices and half a dozen of the big newspaper offices early fell into the hands of the Spartacans. While the attack on the Chancellor's palace failed, the radicals maintained their position at Police Headquarters. On the morning of the 7th chaos reigned in the streets adjoining the Chancellor's palace in Wilhelmstrasse and in Kanonierstrasse. The New York Times correspondent described the scene as follows:

"Now and then the leaders of the various columns see a chance to break through the guards forming circles around the Chancellor's palace. Then they rush their people forward with a might that seems irresistible, their lieutenants running backward and forward, urging speed, while their female lieutenants catch women and girls by the hand and extract them from the rush. When by sheer weight of enormous masses they press too hard on the Government guards the latter make a counter-rush with bayonets, whereupon the multitudes retreat with panicky speed, sending up a roar of anger and fright such as human ears seldom have heard before. It is absolutely terrifying."

The day was marked by continuous street fighting. The Spartacans captured the Post Office and the Spandau Arsenal. Dr. Liebknecht established himself at Police Headquarters, where Eichhorn had come to be one of the leaders of the Spartacus group. An effort was made by the Spartacans to confer

with the Government, sending as their representatives Dittmann, a former member of the Cabinet; Karl Kautsky, Herr Breitsheid, former Prussian Minister of the Interior, and Oscar Cohen, a former member of the Reichstag. The Government, however, refused to listen to the delegation until all public and private buildings had been vacated by the counter-revolutionaries. The Government proclaimed a state of siege in Berlin.

STRONGER MEASURES

On the 8th the Government moved to take a strong hand against the rising tide of violence. In addressing a large crowd Ebert said, "the Government was determined to maintain security, freedom and right, and would stand or fall by the National Assembly, which was the way to freedom and a happy future for Germany." Scheidemann added:

You know what the stake is. If these machinations are continued our women and children will be abandoned to worse famine than during the four terrible years of the war. If you men who have had military training will join us, you will get arms. We want you for defense, but we will not be defeated by these people. Be true and hold out. Promise that and we shall do our duty.

Reports from other parts of Germany indicated efforts to produce a condition of civil war. Strikes and demonstrations in sympathy with Liebknecht took place in Dresden, Düsseldorf, Eisen, Dortmund, Brunswick, and Munich. In Munich a mob of several thousand attempted to storm one of the largest banks. Premier Eisner threatened to make war on the Berlin Government unless order was restored.

In Berlin, on the night of Jan. 8, sanguinary conflicts raged in the streets. Government troops succeeded in capturing the Brandenburg Gate after a fierce struggle, in which there were numerous casualties. What was described as a terrible fusillade broke out in the publishing district. Government forces attacked the well-known houses of Mosse, Ullstein, Scherl, and the Wolff Bureau, all occupied by the Spartacans. The battle raged with greatest violence around the Tageblatt Building, on Schützenstrasse, and the Wolff Bureau on Charlotten-



CENTRAL PORTION OF BERLIN, SCENE OF MOST OF THE BITTER FIGHTING BETWEEN THE SPARTACUS REBELS AND THE EBERT GOVERNMENT

strasse. The Government forces were reported to have lost heavily because these buildings had been prepared for a vigorous defense with machine guns. A curious incident of this fighting was the request of some typesetters for a temporary armistice, so that they would not lose the daily wage of the proletarians.

THE REVOLT BROKEN

By dawn of the 9th the situation had changed in favor of the Government, owing to the arrival of reinforcements and the decision of law-abiding civilian elements to support the Government. During the day Government troops defeated the Spartacans and reoccupied the public buildings in Berlin. The Spartacans, however, still held some of the railroad stations and the subways. Reports via Paris on the 10th stated that the Government had won a victory, and the Spartacans were transferring their activity to the provinces. They proclaimed a general industrial strike throughout Germany for Jan. 19, the date for elections to the National Assembly. Eichhorn had fled.

The Spartacans, however, were still conducting a vigorous counter-revolt on Jan. 11. After the Vorwärts Building had been in their possession for a week, Government troops made a concentrated attack on the position with artillery and machine-gun fire. The bombardment lasted two hours. Meanwhile, Government chasseurs broke into one of three large courtyards, where a desperate hand-to-hand conflict raged. Grenades were used with deadly effect. Following rejected attempts at a conditional capitulation, the Spartacans surrendered their Vorwärts stronghold a little after 10 A. M. At the same time the truce agreed upon with the radicals occupying other newspaper buildings terminated, and Government troops advanced to the assault. The Vorwärts battle was said to have cost the Spartacans 300 in killed, and netted the Government 500 prisoners, 1,200 rifles, and over 100 machine guns.

Violent street fighting was in progress at 5 P. M., with looting by the criminal element. During the early hours of night the general cleaning-up process was

pushed vigorously. The region of the Anhalt Station was cleared of nests of Spartacus snipers, and the penalty of a stone wall promptly meted out to captured looters. Spartacus tenure of the Vossische Zeitung, Morgenpost, and Tageblatt offices came to an end when the defenders faded away over the rooftops. Throughout the city the Government was gaining the upper hand.

PROTEST FROM BAVARIA

A Munich dispatch of Jan. 11 announced the arrival there of many wealthy Berliners in hasty flight from the Spartacus terror. Premier Eisner telegraphed to the Berlin Government an appeal for peace. It read:

With growing horror we follow the murderous civil war. It must end, unless all Germany is slowly to perish. Berlin's example is having a demoralizing effect everywhere, and is producing an epidemic of insanity. The only means of salvation appears to be a Government sustained by the confidence of the people, comprising all Socialist parties and resolved to bring democracy and socialism to victory. Everywhere in South Germany the anger against Berlin is growing. At the same time sinister persons here are calling also for fratricidal warfare.

Elsewhere in Germany the Spartacans progressed in attempting a nation-wide reign of terror, but with varying results. In Stuttgart they captured the City Hall and dissolved the Municipal Council. Strikes in the Westphalian region involved 100,000 workers. An effort to capture the Dresden Volkszeitung on the 10th was repulsed with machine guns. Many persons were killed or wounded in Ratisbon during street fighting. A Socialist Republic was proclaimed in Bremen, the Communists having ousted the Majority Socialists on the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council. At Spandau Government troops stormed the City Hall, and subsequently executed Herr Pleser, chief of the Liebknecht forces. Field Marshal von Hindenburg was organizing a small but dependable army. In a confidential order the Marshal directed:

Cadres for these divisions should consist of as many active officers as possible; they should be abundantly supplied with ammunition, possess a sufficient number of ammunition columns, and the machine-gun companies should be up

to strength in men and material. Doubtful elements must be discreetly eliminated.

LAW AND ORDER WIN

Berlin messages of Jan. 12 proclaimed a decisive Government victory over the Spartacans. At 6 A. M. Government troops opened a heavy bombardment with seven-centimeter guns on Police Headquarters from the roofs of houses in neighboring streets. The Spartacans answered with a spirited but futile machine-gun fire. Within half an hour the Government artillery had torn tremendous holes in the Spartacus "fortress," bringing the second story crashing down through the centre of the large building. The hoisting of a white flag shortly afterward signified unconditional surrender. Following the fall of Police Headquarters, Government troops seized without a struggle the Silesian railway station, the last important Spartacus stronghold in Greater Berlin.

Great credit was bestowed on General Noske and War Minister Reinhart for their energetic suppression of the second revolt. Dr. Liebknecht was reported hiding in the city. A thousand non-combatants were estimated to have been killed or wounded during the week of Spartacus fury. Berlin had been more shattered by explosions than London in four years of air raids.

Jan. 13 witnessed a fierce attempt by the Spartacans to recover the Anhalt railway station. Its only success was to delay the arrival of several trains of loyal Government troops. Otherwise, the second revolution had degenerated into mere looting without leadership or cohesive action. A branch office of the Disconto Bank on Frankfurterstrasse was broken into and robbed of 100,000 marks, while from Landsberger's department store valuable goods and 50,000 marks were carried away. All the regular newspapers appeared that morning.

The new Chief of Police, Richter, issued an order declaring invalid all the decrees of the Eichhorn régime. He also rearmed the police, who had been deprived of their weapons in the early days of the revolution. The police thereupon removed their red sleeve bands. Herr Richter said in an interview that the es-

caped leaders, such as Liebknecht and others, must be arrested at the earliest possible moment. He added: "We have in custody Georg Ledebour, Herr Meyer, and Dr. Liebknecht's son, but not Rosa Luxemburg or Karl Radek. The Berlin Government announced its ability to protect the elections for the National Assembly, the decisive issue between the elements of order and those of chaos.

In Munich elections for the Bavarian Constituent Assembly proceeded in an orderly manner. The returns indicated that the Majority Socialists had 50 per cent. of the Assembly membership, the Clericals and Conservatives 32 per cent., the German Democrats 14 per cent., and the remaining 4 per cent. scattered among various factions. The Independent Socialists were completely defeated.

Publication by the Government of Liebknecht's proclamation to "Comrades! Workmen!" dated Jan. 6, showed the confidence of the Spartacans in the triumphant outcome of their revolt. It read:

The Government of Ebert and Scheidemann has made itself impossible. It is hereby declared deposed by the undersigned Revolutionary Committee and representatives of the revolutionary workmen and soldiers, (Independent Social Democratic Party and Communistic Party.) The undersigned Revolutionary Committee has temporarily taken over the Government's affairs. Comrades and workmen, give your support to the measures of the Revolutionary Committee.

Berlin, Jan. 6, 1919.

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE,
per LEDEBOUR, LIEBKNECHT, and
SCHOLZE.

Documents seized in Dr. Liebknecht's house were said to prove that the Spartacus uprising had been inspired from Moscow.

The Berlin newspapers on the morning of Jan. 14 published a Government order demanding that every citizen give up all arms within twenty-four hours on pain of a heavy fine and five years' imprisonment. About 10 o'clock the police proceeded to put it into force by searching every person and house in the factory and tenement district, and by evening large quantities of arms had been surrendered peaceably. On Dec. 15 the revolt had degenerated into comparatively insignificant sniping from housetops.

DEATH OF LIEBKNECHT

Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the leaders of the Spartacans, were killed in sensational circumstances on the night of Jan. 15.

After the red rebellion in Berlin had been suppressed, the two leaders secreted themselves in the house of a sympathizer in the suburbs of Berlin, where they were discovered on the night of the 15th, but both denied their identity. A large crowd gathered and the prisoners were removed under a strong guard to the Eden Hotel in an aristocratic quarter of Berlin.

Here Liebknecht was examined once more, but still denied his identity, insisting that his name was Marcusson. Letters addressed to Liebknecht and initials on his clothing he tried to explain by saying that the latter articles had been borrowed from a friend who had probably been intrusted with letters for Liebknecht. He was then confronted by Frau Marcusson, who identified him as Liebknecht, whereupon he admitted the truth.

Meanwhile news of the arrest of Liebknecht spread like wildfire. A tumultuous throng gathered in front of the hotel despite the late hour. "Hand over the brute! Kill the swine!" howled the people, their yells penetrating to a large room on the first floor where Liebknecht was awaiting his fate. Liebknecht smiled derisively, remarking to the soldiers on guard: "They would kill Jesus Christ Himself." He was very pale, but otherwise showed no fear.

The officer in charge, fearing violence, ordered one of the strongest and largest automobiles available to be drawn up at the side door of the hotel, through which Liebknecht was escorted. Somehow the people got wind of this and Liebknecht had hardly been seated in the car when he was surrounded by a wrathful mass howling "Kill him! Kill him!"

A dozen persons reached the car at the same time, and one of them hit Liebknecht on the head with a heavy cane. At this moment the car started and ruthlessly made its way through the masses trying to cling to it, but it pushed them

away. It was chased for a block or two by the mob hooting and screaming.

The automobile's crew had orders to take Liebknecht by the safest way to the Moabit Prison, which was through the Tiergarten. There was an accident to the car in the Charlottenburger Chaussee, requiring considerable repairing.

It was then after 10 o'clock, very dark, and no vehicles were about. Liebknecht had been bleeding profusely, but had not lost consciousness. The soldiers asked if he could walk as far as Hofjaeger Alley, where possibly some vehicle might be found with which to continue.

Liebknecht asked that his handkerchief be bound around his head, whereupon he declared himself ready to walk. The party left the car in the midst of the meadow, but when they got under some trees, hardly a hundred yards distant, Liebknecht suddenly pushed into a ditch the soldier walking at his side and made a dash for a clump of bushes.

Three times the soldiers shouted, "Halt, or you will be shot!" but Liebknecht sped on unheedingly. He had almost disappeared into the darkness when four rifles were fired and the fugitive dropped, two bullets having pierced his back.

There seemed to be some faint life left in him when he was examined, and a passing cab took the unconscious man to the nearest ambulance station. The physician on duty there found that he had died en route. The body was removed to the morgue.

ROSA LUXEMBURG'S END

Rosa Luxemburg, when arrested, also denied her identity and threatened the officers who held her. She also was removed to the Eden Hotel, and soon an enormous crowd surrounded the building. The crowd became so threatening that the officers tried a ruse by announcing that the woman had been taken away. The crowd refused to accept his statement, and finally rushed the hotel and seized the woman. The officers tried to shield her with their outstretched arms, but they were pushed aside and she was torn from them. She fought furiously, trying to escape into the hotel,

but some half a dozen canes and umbrellas descended upon her head and she dropped unconscious.

The soldiers, having been reinforced, rescued Rosa and placed her in an automobile, which immediately bounded up the Kurfürstendamm. But the news of her arrest traveled faster than the car. All along the streets the people hooted and jeered.

Three blocks further a man jumped aboard, and before the soldiers were aware of what had happened he fired a shot at Rosa, killing her. The car sped on despite the swarms of people trying to stop it. At Hitzigbridge the masses were so dense that it could not proceed.

"Neider, neider, neider mit Rose!" yelled the crowd, but a few strong voices cried: "Hoch, hoch, hoch!" There was a tremendous rush, the soldiers feeling themselves swept away as if by a tidal wave, and before they recovered from their surprise Rosa's body had been snatched from the car and borne away into the darkness.

The soldier sitting by her side was so bewildered by the rapid succession of extraordinary events that he could not say with certainty where she was shot, but thought it was in the neck just above the chest. Her assailant, the soldier says, wore a dark overcoat and eyeglasses. He had fired and jumped off before the soldier could grab his arm. This happened on Kurfürstendamm.

A general strike was ordered in Berlin as a protest against the killing of the two leaders, but it proved abortive.

Liebknecht was born in Leipzig Aug. 13, 1871. As a lawyer, in 1904, he defended German Socialists who had been accused at Königsberg with aiding Russian revolutionists. He lectured in America in 1910 and two years later was elected to the Reichstag from Potsdam. His first act in Parliament was to attack the Krupps, charging a conspiracy between them and the army to inspire the war spirit against France. As a result certain employes of the Krupps and certain army officers were brought to trial.

He became the champion enemy of Prussianism and all that it connoted—junkerism, militarism, and Hohenzollern-

ism, and when the war came he alone of his party accused the Government of premeditated attack. His repeated demonstrations against the war caused him to be imprisoned in August, 1916. He was released owing to the political amnesty issued by the Chancellor Prince Max in November last. Having failed to lead the Soldiers' and Workers' delegates coming from the mutiny ports, he tried to gather a following in the streets of Berlin. He was a thorn in the side of organized Government until the masses whom he was trying to lead rose in indignation and extinguished him.

Rosa Luxemburg was born in Russian Poland Dec. 25, 1870. She married a Dr. Lübeck in Dresden in order to secure German citizenship, which, however, was not recognized by Russia. This kept her out of Russia. In Berlin she became the "enfant terrible" of the Social Democrats, who were constantly fearing the havoc her writings and speeches might create by turning the Government against them or by seducing their comrades to anarchy. During the war she passed most of her time in jail. The amnesty which freed Liebknecht also gave her her opportunity. Her name appeared on the editorial page of the Spartacan Red Flag as coeditor with him.

The people throughout Germany voted on Sunday, Jan. 19, for members of a Constituent Assembly, which was to be convoked to meet on Feb. 10, 1919. The Spartacans had fought to prevent this election, and its success signified the failure of Bolshevism in Germany. All men and women throughout the empire over 20 years of age were eligible to vote. The number of electors was estimated at 39,000,000: the total number of delegates to be chosen was 433. There was some disorder in Berlin during the voting, but generally good order prevailed.

LIGHT ON NAVY REVOLT

Captain Boy-Ed, formerly connected with German intrigues in the United States, gave some particulars regarding the part played by the navy in the revolution. He said:

The revolution in the German Navy was part of a general movement. The Inde-

pendent Socialists and Spartacus adherents prepared for it long ago. Recent revelations by Adolph Joffe, the Bolshevik Ambassador at Berlin, showed that Russian gold played a decisive rôle in the movement. On the other hand, the extraordinary influence exerted upon the resisting qualities of the German people by the propaganda conducted by Lord Northcliffe does not as yet appear to be fully realized.

Independent Socialist leaders declared with almost cynical candor that the outbreak of the revolution was planned for Nov. 4. By a coincidence the German high seas fleet was mobilized on Oct. 13 for an attack on the Flemish Coast, and this put the avalanche in motion prematurely.

Revolutionary leaders used this as a pretext for inciting the men to insubor-

dination, telling them that they were to be led to the shambles at the last moment. Many timid men who had previously been loyal were thus won over.

When the first evidences of insubordination appeared, a meeting was held on a ship of the First Squadron. Conversations between the commander and crew revealed no complaints on the part of the men regarding mistreatment by officers. The men's complaints were based wholly on political and military views.

That insubordination and mutiny in isolated sections of various crews, and the revolution that followed, gained such rapid momentum can be explained only as a general physical and psychological collapse of the people, who, after four years of grinding war with the greater part of the world, had reached the limit of their resources,

The Kaiser's Abdication and Flight

Two Illuminating Accounts

Under the title, "Flight of William the Last," the Berlin Vorwärts of Dec. 6, 1918, published a narrative of the Kaiser's flight to Holland from Spa, Belgium, written by one of his personal attendants; a week later a member of the Kaiser's closest entourage communicated to the Politischer Tagesdienst an account of the ruler's last days at Spa. The latter is as follows:

THE Kaiser said on Nov. 8, "I am not thinking of abdicating. I require of every officer that he remain faithfully at his post. As Supreme War Lord I must stick to my post, for I see the worst Bolshevism breaking over Germany if I go away. A strong hand is necessary to preserve Germany from this disaster. Other strong men, as the circumstances of the day show, are not standing firm in this difficult time; therefore I shall remain. Moreover, I should willingly work with the new order and the new Government. Various gentlemen in it whom I have met are very sympathetic to me to work with."

On the morning of Nov. 9 there were long discussions. Hindenburg was one of the first to announce himself at Fraineuse, the country seat occupied by the Kaiser at Spa. Hindenburg, after his first report to the Kaiser, had had a thorough discussion with fifty head officers of the various armies, each of whom was instructed to send five or six representatives in all haste to Main Headquarters. Each of these officers ex-

pressed his view in writing concerning the fidelity of his troops to the Kaiser, and they subsequently had a discussion all together. Hindenburg in his second report, transmitted about 1 o'clock to the Villa Fraineuse, gave it as the opinion of the head officers, which was fairly unanimous, that the troops could be relied on to fight against the enemy, but that they would never fight against their comrades. Meanwhile the Kaiser's abdication was constantly being urged by telephone from Berlin. It was repeatedly asked if he had not yet done it. Consequently a precisely worded answer was sent to Berlin after the discussion—namely, that the Kaiser abdicated as German Kaiser but not as King of Prussia. When this message was sent about 2 o'clock to Berlin the telephonic answer came: "Too late; we have already published his abdication."

The Crown Prince arrived at Spa about midday, and left again about 3 in the afternoon for his army. As he left the Kaiser said to him: "Tell the soldiers it is untrue that I have abdicated as King

of Prussia—I have not abdicated as King of Prussia.” Later Hindenburg arrived with General Gröner and Admiral von Hintze, and shortly afterward Admiral von Scheer came. It was then put into the Kaiser’s mouth to abdicate as King of Prussia also. When he subsequently left the audience chamber of the villa, he said to Count Dohna-Schlodien, his Aide de Camp: “You no longer have any Supreme War Lord.” He then went up to his study. It does not appear from these words whether he intended to say that he had abdicated the Prussian throne or only abdicated the supreme command over the army in connection with his abdication as German Emperor.

FORCED TO FLEE

The same evening the gentlemen of his most intimate entourage urged him with insistence to go to Holland. The Kaiser was unwilling. He said: “They want to force me to flee. I will not.” He said he would be in the court train about dinner time. On the way to the train the Kaiser said to his Aide de Camp: “I am so awfully ashamed; I cannot find it in my heart to do this—I cannot go away. If there be only one faithful battalion still here, I shall remain at Spa.” In the court train one Job’s tidings followed another—among others, that the Bolsheviks were in Herbesthal, [about fifteen miles distant.] The retreating troops of the lines of communication were also pressing on Spa. Still the Kaiser was unwilling to leave, but he approved of a possible departure being prepared. To those around him he said: “At other times I have always known what to do, but now I cannot save myself.” Expressing his opinion at the Kaiser’s wish, one of his Aides de Camp said: “If I had to decide for myself I should remain, for if the troops are unwilling to fight for your Majesty, we will form a protecting detachment of officers. We can occupy all posts to this end, and act as a service for your safety.”

At 10 o’clock von Hintze and a representative of the Foreign Office again urged his departure, saying: “Your Majesty, it may be too late in an hour’s time.” It was desired to preserve the Kaiser from personal ill-treatment, which

was feared because of the reports arriving from various towns. The Kaiser then decided on flight. The Castle of Brühl, near Cologne, had been first thought of as a place of sojourn for him, but the roads thither were no longer free. Reports also said that access to the Crown Prince’s army was unsafe. The Kaiser must have reflected that the Entente had repeatedly hammered on the point that they refused to conclude peace with him, for he said: “To facilitate peace for the nation I shall go to Holland. If I went to Germany, the supposition would be that I wanted to acquire a new party to help me to make a *coup d’état*.”

It was also thought that from the moment when the Kaiser was no longer Supreme War Lord he had no longer any command. He would then be a mere private person. As the army would not fight for the Kaiser against their comrades who were arriving, he had the feeling that the army had left him in the lurch, by which any possible reproach that he had left the army would be refuted. Moreover, the Kaiser felt himself exempted from the duty to take political decisions for the empire, as the Government out of the plenitude of its own power had announced his abdication.

DESCRIPTION OF FLIGHT

The following from the Vorwärts, written by one of the Kaiser’s attendants, supplements the foregoing at many points:

On Tuesday, Oct. 29, at 2:30 P. M., I received from the castle an order to come immediately. Arrived at the castle, I received a commission to prepare, with the personnel appointed to me, to start at 11 o’clock at night from Wildpark Station, to make the journey to Spa in the court train. I arranged provisions for about ten days from the castle’s war store, where enormous treasures of food of every description are stocked.

On Oct. 30, at 4 P. M., we entered Spa. The Kaiser and his suite of sixteen gentlemen, with about forty-five servants, continued to reside in the train.

On Nov. 3 the Kaiser undertook a journey to the front at Alost, in North Belgium. We left this station with some delay. Had we remained we should have been no more, for ten minutes after the court train's departure (the Kaiser with some of the suite had left in motor cars) the station was bombed by French airmen and completely ruined, also a munition transport and hospital train full of sick and wounded. On the return journey we saw six enemy airmen still above our train, but we were lucky, as they had thrown all their bombs at Alost. We returned to Spa about midday.

On Nov. 4 we were informed that we should leave that evening for Berlin. Our joy was great, but things turned out differently. The Kaiser had not complied with the request of the General Staff to retire from Spa as quickly as possible, as his presence occasioned fears of the worst, but had taken up his quarters in the Villa Fraineuse, where he had previously lived. I had to contend with all sorts of things in the train. The couriers, who should have brought fresh provisions, meat, game, vegetables, &c., from Berlin, had not arrived. What was I to do? I told a court official that he must see that the necessary provisions were obtained. This was done to a limited extent.

CROSSING THE FRONTIER

On Saturday, Nov. 9, at 6 P. M., we received news in the train that the Kaiser was coming down with all his suite, and would remain in the train. What did that mean? we asked ourselves. After some reflection we arrived at the right conclusion—flight. About 10, when the Kaiser had left the restaurant car, I was instructed to have a traveling breakfast ready early the following morning for the Kaiser, six gentlemen of his suite, and about eight members of the traveling service; and about 4:30 the first breakfast must be ready, as at 5 o'clock motor cars for the further journey (the flight to Holland) would be ready. Thus it happened that the Kaiser left the train at 5 o'clock in the morning [Nov. 10] and fled in motor cars across the Dutch frontier, and we followed in the train, reaching Eysden

about 10. Scarcely had the train stopped when we heard people belonging to a factory situated opposite the train asking the mocking question whether we wanted to go to Paris, for if so, we must take the opposite direction.

On Monday, the 11th, at 9:10 A. M., we left Eysden for Maarn, via Maastricht. Our experiences during this journey were simply indescribable. Every single station that we passed swarmed like an anthep with people endeavoring to surpass each other in howling and hissing, holding up their hands, showing their tongues, spitting, and so on. We reached Maarn station at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the Kaiser being received by Count Bentinck at Amerongen.

He seems to feel very comfortable there, for he rides and tours in a motor car as at home; indeed, the gamekeeper told us that the only thing lacking in the Count's castle is dancing.

We arrived at our place of banishment at Amerongen at 8 o'clock, and found a very good reception in a small hotel boarding house, and had supper. We went to our rooms, all of which were without stoves and very cold, but we said to ourselves that it was better than an internment camp. We remained in these quarters, very comfortably looked after by the lady of the house, until the 17th, when K. entered my room early and asked whether I had heard four shots during the night. I answered in the negative. He replied: "Yes, yes; here we sit like a mouse in a trap." Thereupon I said that every mouse that is caught endeavors to escape from the trap. I also should try. He thought there was nothing to prevent this, but I should leave at my own risk. This I did, and through the German Legation at The Hague I was able to steer for home, and in this brilliantly succeeded.

KAISER'S NINETY ESTATES

According to the Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung, the Kaiser's private fortune in cash, mostly deposited at 4½ per cent. with various banks, is estimated at 20,000,000 marks, or \$5,000,000, and his annual income therefrom roughly at \$225,000.

The Revolutionary Government has de-

clared (so far as its declarations have any effective value) that the Kaiser's private landed property will not be seized, though the Crown domains will pass to the Treasury. The newspaper says that of ninety forest, farm, park, and other estates, castles, &c., only seven are Crown domain, all the rest being private property. Thus the Kaiser's private estates include Bellevue Palace in Berlin and Monbijou Palace, within whose grounds is St. George's English Church. In Potsdam he has thirteen palaces, all belonging to him; also Wilhelmshöhe Palace at Cassel, where King Edward paid his last visit to the Kaiser and where Napoleon III. was confined after Sedan. Besides palaces and estates in Coblenz, Wiesbaden, Charlottenburg, Freienwalde, and elsewhere, he owns the experimental farming estate at Cadinen, of which he used to boast when

the Agricultural League met annually in Berlin; also the famous shooting box and forest of Rominten, near the eastern frontier. He has house property at Trouville, and apparently the Achilleion Palace in Corfu belongs to him.

The cash consists largely of savings effected by Frederic William III.—calculated in 1840 at about \$3,750,000; after 1871 William I. received \$1,125,000 as a sort of war bonus. Since this latter sum clearly came from the French indemnity, the Kaiser might possibly have to disgorge when Germany has to repay the indemnity. The Kaiser also received \$2,500,000 from the State for the ground where the Royal Library stands, and for the old Opera House of Kroll, where the late Sir Herbert Tree gave his Shakespeare performances. Most of this, however, was spent in improving the Royal stables in Berlin.

The ex-Kaiser in Exile

In reference to the extradition and trial of the former Kaiser, People's Commissioner Ebert said on Dec. 17:

We have separated ourselves from him after decades of bitter struggle, and now we only desire that guilt for the outbreak of the war should finally be fixed in order that he should be exposed once for all. I cannot think of any provision in law upon which Wilhelm would have to be given up.

An interesting explanation of the hospitality extended to the ex-Kaiser by Count Bentinck was given in a special Hague cable to The New York Times Dec. 21. It stated that Count Bentinck was a member of the German Order of Johanniter, or Knights of St. John, among the Dutch nobility. In both Germany and Holland the order wielded great influence. In Germany the Kaiser was protector of the order as King of Prussia.

Not only Count Bentinck but several other Dutch Johanniters would have felt it in accordance with their knightly vows to extend refuge and hospitality to a fallen Knight in the person of the ex-Kaiser. This, in view of the fact that he was not held by his brother

Knights of St. John to be "such a bad man as people think." According to this source, von Tirpitz was the ex-Kaiser's evil genius, and "really to blame for the war."

Reports from Amerongen indicated that the ex-Kaiser continued to lead a secluded life. He passed what might have been termed a quiet Christmas, following the usual custom of distributing gifts from a candle-lighted tree to his companions in exile. On Christmas morning he attended service in the private chapel of the castle. He was reported to be receiving an extraordinary number of letters and telegrams every day from all parts of the world. Much of his time was occupied in answering them. A dispatch of the 26th stated that the commission appointed by the Dutch Government to investigate the legal aspects of the ex-Kaiser's extradition was still sitting without having reached a decision. An Amsterdam message of Jan. 3 stated that the British and Dutch Governments had arrived at an agreement regarding the status of the former German Emperor. On the 5th the former Emperor underwent a successful operation on one of his

ears, performed by Professor Lang of Amsterdam University.

A document in the form of a letter sent by Emperor Frederick, then Crown Prince, to Bismarck in 1886 threw a side-light on the character of the young Prince William, subsequently William II. It was published by the Berliner Tageblatt Dec. 11, 1918, on the authority of Ernst Goetz of Leipsic and read:

My son, Prince William, without my knowing about it, has expressed to his Majesty [the Emperor William I.] a desire during the coming Winter to make closer acquaintance with the activity of our Ministries. Consequently, as I hear, the plan has already been contemplated at Gastein of employing him in the Foreign Office.

As I have not yet received official information about it from any quarter, I consider it necessary in the first place to address myself confidentially to you, in order to learn what has already been settled, and also in order to say that, although I agree in principle with the initiation of my eldest son into questions of higher administration, I am decidedly

opposed to his beginning in the Foreign Office. For, in view of the importance of the duties which will fall to the Prince, I consider it necessary above all things that he shall obtain knowledge of the internal conditions in his own country, and feel himself fully informed about them, before he concerns himself, even in a minor degree, with politics, especially as he is inclined to exaggeration, and arrives at very rapid conclusions.

His real knowledge is still defective, and he lacks the necessary foundations; for this reason it is extremely necessary that his knowledge should be raised to a higher plane and made more complete. This purpose would be met by giving him a civilian instructor, while at the same time, or later on, he might be employed in one of the administration ministries.

In view of the immaturity of my eldest son, combined with his tendency to conceit, I must describe it as positively dangerous to bring him at once in contact with foreign questions.

While I beg you to regard this letter as for yourself alone and as strictly confidential, I count upon your support in this matter, which is a very serious concern to me.

Count von Hertling's Last Statement

German Felts Sure of Victory Up to the Time of Chateau-Thierry
—Dr. Rathenau on Germany's Ruin

A dispatch of Jan. 5 announced the death of Count George F. von Hertling, the former Imperial German Chancellor, at Ruhpolding, Bavaria. Three days before his death he had said to a correspondent of the Paris *Matin*:

The animosity of a great majority of the Germans toward Prussia will have a decisive influence on the future configuration of Central Europe. At Munich, as at Stuttgart and Cologne, there is resentment against Prussia for having so badly steered the common ship, and let it be understood that by Prussia, not the country, but the caste and the political system, is meant.

Existing Prussia is incomparably stronger than all the other confederated States, but it does not represent a homogeneous ethnical bloc, but an agglomeration of widely different provinces. If the present ideas follow their course, momentous historical events soon will occur, and the name of Prussia will disappear from the map of Europe.

Questioned by the correspondent as to

his hatred for Prussia, which appeared to be of recent date, Count von Hertling replied:

Evidently one reasons very differently when deafened by the clamors of victory, and everybody believed in victory. At the beginning of July, 1918, I was convinced, I confess it, that before the 1st of September our adversaries would send us peace proposals. Certainly, our situation was most dangerous, in the sense that we had played our last card. But what did that matter, since we were sure we were winning.

We were all the more sure of that because of certain information of the most favorable nature which reached us from the Entente, notably from France. It was on account of this information that the high command, notwithstanding the opposition of the Government, was able to continue bombarding Paris. It was obviously hoped to hasten thus the process of demoralization, about which well-meaning agents furnished daily fantastic reports.

We expected grave events in Paris for

the end of July. That was on the 15th. On the 18th even the most optimistic among us understood that all was lost. The history of the world was played out in three days.

RATHENAU SEES RUIN

Dr. Rathenau, head of the German General Electric Company, granted an interview to a foreign correspondent in which he pessimistically viewed the fate of Germany. He said:

Germany is ruined for generations to come. It is the greatest calamity that has happened in any country for 2,000 years. We are ruined politically, industrially, and economically. All our people here do not yet know the truth. I told the German people that they would lose the war, but everybody scoffed at me.

We have a population of nearly 70,000,000. Half of them can live on what grows on our soil or is found below it. The other half live on the industries for which all materials have to be bought and paid for by what they sell. Now our colonies are going, and Alsace-Lorraine, too, with all the ores and the greater part of the potash production. There is danger of losing other parts of our country, the Danish and so-called Polish districts, which in reality are German.

Then comes the question of indemnities. If the indemnities are high, the interest and repayments will take our savings and we shall have nothing with which to expand our industries. Black ruin will face us, and there will be a great tide of emigration probably to South America and the Far East and certainly to Russia. It will be most dreadful, and the result will be the Balkanization of Europe.

The disappearance of Germany from a position of importance will be the most dangerous fact in history. Sooner or later the Eastern powers will press on the Western civilization.

Turning to the food question, Dr. Rathenau said:

Germany has been hungry for three years, but is not yet starving. Everybody who sees Germany will say that she is not starving now, and that is perfectly true. But if you talk of provisions

to be found in Germany, you must say truthfully that they will be exhausted in two months; and if you wait until then to send food, it will be too late, because 70,000,000 people cannot be fed as easily as, say, 7,000,000 Belgians. Ships are the greatest factor in feeding Germany.

Dr. Rathenau said that he had seen the damage done in Belgium and Northern France, and his estimate of the indemnity payable for this was \$5,000,000,000. "That sum would, if anything, be excessive," he added. "It would be a war indemnity."

IMPERIAL GRAFT

Theodor Wolff, in the *Tageblatt*, made the astounding revelation that the German Legation in Switzerland had more than 1,000 persons in its service, most of whom drew considerable salaries. Herr Wolff wrote:

Many of them are employed in the Propaganda Department for enlightening the neutral public. Others happily do not do anything. Von Romberg, the German Minister, does not seem to be responsible for this state of affairs. They simply sent him a lot of protégés who were thought to be too good for the trenches.

In the Berne Ministry they look at the world with monocled eyes. In free, democratic Switzerland, these darling sons of reactionary Prussia to this day are inflicting their statesmanship on a suffering world, with the result that Germany, despite her thousand diplomats, agents, propaganda makers, economic advisers, and military representatives, has lost every friend in that country.

A few months ago the Berne police discovered bombs, and, as alleged, quite a lively breed of bacilli for the purpose of spreading renderpest, (an epidemic among cattle.) It is said that these were intended as a present for Italy. The case will be tried in January.

No matter what the verdict, we advise the Government to write 1,000 letters telling these 1,000 employes in Switzerland that they have been employed long enough. If necessary, ten or twelve might be retained if they are really capable and can act as plausible representatives of republican Germany in Switzerland.

The Allied Armies in Germany

New Commercial Regulations and Civil Restrictions Found Necessary in the Occupied Regions

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 18, 1919]

NO disorder, apart from petty infractions of local regulations, attended the first full month of occupation by the allied armies of the bridgeheads and adjacent districts on the Rhine. The nearest approach to a show of force that was deemed necessary was the dispatch by Marshal Foch of a battalion of French infantry to occupy Mannheim in the neutral zone, to watch the prison camp near that place, where cruel treatment of allied prisoners had been reported.

Special efforts were made to give the American troops an enjoyable Christmas. The Quartermaster's Department and the American Red Cross sent thirty carloads of chocolate and candy, besides four carloads of pastry and material for pies and cakes. Every officers' mess and every company of soldiers had a Christmas tree. The Salvation Army provided three doughnuts for every soldier. There was a lack of turkey, but plenty of other kinds of poultry, as well as roast pig and fish. The Knights of Columbus provided extra tobacco, and the men fared well. Their satisfaction was increased by the announcement that Rhine steamers had been secured for the purpose of giving daily excursions to the soldiers on the days they were off duty.

The morale of the army, despite the natural desire of the men to get home, was excellent and health conditions continued good.

General Pershing on Dec. 27 issued new rules for the guidance of the inhabitants of regions occupied by the American forces. In drafting these rules care was taken to avoid anything that would humiliate the population or that savored of retaliation or revenge. Except minor and specific regulations, the Americans had not previously interfered in local affairs. Cafés had been open and theatres filled night after night. Newspapers had published without restraint such articles

as they desired, while crowds promenaded the streets until midnight, and even later. The Germans had come to believe that such conditions would continue, and, while there were no serious incidents as a result of the tolerant rule of the Americans, it was deemed best to check any tendency toward abuse. The text of the proclamation follows:

Every person above the age of 12 must carry at all times an identification card bearing his signature and address. Such card will, when issued, be stamped by the appropriate civil official. Notification of change of address must be immediately made to the appropriate civil official and indorsed by him on the identification card.

The head of each household must keep posted on the outer door of the building a list showing the name, nationality, sex, age, and occupation of every person of the household.

Circulation will be controlled by the American authorities. The Burgomaster, under the direction of the American authorities, will regulate travel within the district occupied by Americans, and he will be held responsible for strict compliance with all regulations. Authority to leave the American zone will be granted only by a division or higher commander.

The carrying of arms or deadly weapons is forbidden, except by the local police. Every person in possession of arms or ammunition of any kind must deliver them to the American authorities at such time or place as may be appointed. A receipt for each weapon will be given at the time of delivery.

The sale or gift of all alcoholic drinks, except light wine and beer, is forbidden. Alcohol for medicinal or industrial purposes does not come within this prohibition. The sale or gift of light wine and beer is prohibited except from 11 o'clock A. M. to 2 o'clock P. M. and from 5 o'clock P. M. to 9 o'clock P. M. These orders respecting drinks render the offender liable, in addition to other punishment, to confiscation of his stock and the closing of his business.

All gathering of crowds is forbidden. No meeting or assembly of persons shall take place without authority from the local military commander. Sessions of courts, councils, and schools as well as

religious services may be held as usual. A copy of each newspaper or other publication will be delivered to the local military commander immediately upon issue, and the appearance of any matter reflecting upon or injurious to the American military government will render the publication liable to suspension or suppression. Excepting the periodical press, no printed matter will be published without permission from the local military authorities.

Mail is subject to censorship by the American military authorities. The use of the telegraph and long-distance telephone is forbid'en except by permission from the local military commander.

The use of aerial wireless apparatus is forbidden, and all private telephone or telegraphic apparatus, ground or aerial wireless apparatus, must be reported to the military commander at once. No person may, without authority from the local military commander, transmit any message or communication to any person outside the territory occupied by American troops except through the Post Office.

The use of carrier pigeons is forbidden. Owners of carrier pigeons will make immediate report of their pigeon cotes to the military commander, with a list of the marks borne by their pigeons. Pigeon houses must be kept open day and night.

The taking of photographs outdoors, except by permission from the local military authorities, is forbidden.

Special rules: Whosoever attacks, disturbs or impedes any American troops or officer or soldier thereof, or destroys, damages or disturbs any railway, telegraph or telephone installation, any lighting or water-power system or any part thereof, or who destroys, damages, steals, or secrets any property of or in possession of the American Army, or purchases, receives in pawn or has in his possession articles of clothing, equipment or rations furnished to American soldiers or belonging to American armies; or destroys, damages, pollutes or secrets any fodder, water or other things useful to the American Army; or acts as any spy or commits acts of war or treason against the American Army; or commits any act whatever injurious to the American Army, or in obstruction of the military government, or in violation of these regulations or any other regulation orders hereafter made by the American military authorities, or refuses to comply with a requisition, or at-

tempts to do any of the foregoing things, or advises or assists any one else to do or attempt to do any of them, will be punished as a military court may direct.

The congested condition of the railways made it necessary that certain restrictions upon importations from Germany into the occupied Rhine Provinces should be imposed. These became effective Jan. 1.

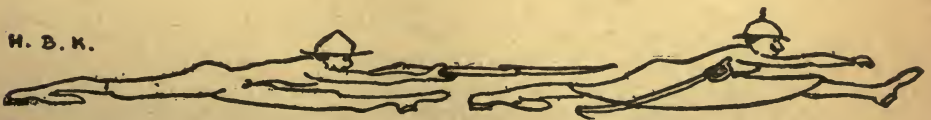
The Interallied Railway Commission of the Rhine Provinces, which issued the regulations, stipulated that the articles which may be imported should include necessary material for the operation of factories, and all kinds of fuel and food. Commercial traffic originating on the west bank of the Rhine and consigned to Germany was forbidden.

Freight trains were permitted to cross into the occupied areas after inspection by the authorities at specified outposts. Passenger service ends at the terminals near the bridgehead lines, where travelers transfer from one train to another.

Passenger travel was authorized only under conditions which conformed to the regulations made by the armies. The agents assigned to the sale of tickets must assure themselves that the passengers possessed the necessary permission to travel, and the agents were held responsible for all infractions of the regulations.

Beginning Jan. 1 all German officers and soldiers in uniform and all railroad workers and policemen in uniform were required to salute all officers of the allied armies in the American zone of occupation. An order to this effect was published in the local newspapers. A corresponding order was issued by the French and English in the first days of occupation. While the American commanders thought at first that such an order was unnecessary, they decided it was best to make the rule alike for all occupied Germany because of the effect on the German population.

H. B. K.



German Armistice Terms Changed

Extension Granted, With New Conditions

THE Supreme War Council of the Allies, in formal session Jan. 13 at Paris, considered an extension of the German armistice and reached an agreement as to the terms on which it would be renewed until Feb. 17, 1919, extending it an additional month.

The armistice delegates met at Treves Jan. 15. Marshal Foch was at the head of the allied delegates. The four American representatives were Admiral William S. Benson, Chief of Operations of the United States Navy; Norman H. Davis, representing the United States Treasury; Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the American Shipping Board, and Louis P. Sheldon, who represented the American Food Administration. Matthias Erzberger headed the German delegation.

The new terms required that Germany should hand over to the Allies all her cargo steamers in German and other ports to enable the Allies to revictual Germany and such adjacent countries as may be decided upon. The German mercantile fleet, virtually in its entirety, was placed at the disposal of the associated Governments, to be distributed among them in accordance with the needs of the various nations. Only some of the smaller steamships were left to the Germans.

The allotment of the steamers among the associated powers was governed partly by the respective needs of the nations and partly by the suitability of the steamers for use on particular routes. The giant liners, like the Imperator and the other big, modern steamers finished during the war, are too deep in draft to pass through the Suez Canal. Hence Great Britain took the moderate-sized steamers for the Australian service. The smaller steamers were left to the Germans for their needs in the Baltic coastal traffic.

Equitable remuneration for the use of these ships is to be paid to Germany. The money will be applied in payment for foodstuffs furnished to Germany under another part of the agreement. The

supplies to be furnished include 70,000 tons of pork to satisfy the urgent needs of Germany for fats. The furnishing of 200,000 tons of cereals was provided for, but for part of this amount condensed milk may be substituted. The terms also require a restitution of all manufacturing machinery, &c., taken from the invaded regions which it is possible to identify. This was decided upon in the view that it would bring about a quicker revival of economic life than the payment of an equivalent in money. Under the terms Germany must deliver by Feb. 17 some 58,000 agricultural machines of various kinds.

A commission of the Allies which inspected German naval bases and airplane and seaplane stations made the trip late in December on the British battleship Hercules, accompanied by the British destroyers Verdun and Viceroy.

The Submarine Commission, under Lieut. Commander Bower, pushed its investigations assiduously at Hamburg, Bremen, and other points, with the result that scores of U-boats, nearly all near completion and hitherto undeclared by the Germans, were found and reported. Admiral Goette protested to the last against giving up these submarines, but at a final conference consented. The German delegation agreed in the new armistice conditions that all submarines which had been found in course of construction by the commission would be destroyed and all others ready for sea would be at once surrendered.

Agreements were also reached regarding the gold reserve of the Reichsbank and the issue of money by Germany. Guarantees were required regarding the removal of the Reichsbank's gold from Berlin in view of the civil strife there. These were acceded to. German gold reserves totaled 2,262,626,000 marks on Dec. 31.

Compilations made from German official reports relative to paper in circulation gave a total of 31,792,313,000

marks. Besides this, there are great quantities of paper which various municipalities have issued.

As a guarantee for the fulfillment of the demands the Entente reserved the right of occupying the sector of the Fortress of Strasbourg formed by the fortifications on the right bank of the Rhine, together with a strip of territory from five to ten kilometers in front of it.

Herr Erzberger protested against the new terms, but in the end signed the agreement.

During the month preceding the extension the terms of the armistice as previously fixed were in part carried out, apparently in good faith.

On Dec. 21 German representatives brought to Brussels from Cologne about \$91,000,000 in gold which was being restored by Germany to Belgium, and by the end of the year they had returned stocks taken from the banks in Northern France amounting approximately to \$1,200,000,000. Several safes, weighing five to seven tons each, which the Germans had not opened, were brought back to Valenciennes.

Up to Jan. 7, 1919, about 5,000 motor trucks had been delivered, also 2,500 locomotives, half the number stipulated, and nearly 100,000 railway cars in good working condition.

The British Royal Air Force up to Jan. 14 had collected 500 German airplanes, of which 170 were not in good condition. At Nivelles the airplanes were handed over in good condition. Nearly all of these were of the newest Fokker type, though there were some Albatross, scout, Pralz, and two Junkers. These last were armored trench fighting machines with wings of corrugated aluminium, and have a pair of machine guns which fire through the floor of the observer's cockpit.

Among the arms surrendered were 100,000 rifles, 20,000 of which were captured from the Allies. The heavy artillery included two six-inch guns manufactured in 1873, but used on the front during the latter days of the war. Both guns were in first-class condition. More than 200,000 yards of gray German uniform cloth came into the hands of the

Americans from the warehouses at Coblenz.

The Germans left so many shells at Mulheim that the work of counting them was barely begun, although American soldiers had been busy at the task for more than a week. Included in the artillery given up by the Germans were 700 guns of large calibre and nearly 3,000 machine guns. It required one train to carry the machine guns alone. The other guns, ranging from 150s to 210s, required three trains for transportation. Metternich, just outside of Coblenz, was the assembling point for this material. Some of it came from east of the Rhine, many of the guns having been sent into the interior of Germany for repairs, as the terms of the armistice require that all the artillery be turned over in first class condition.

Attempts to defraud in the delivery of supplies were detected by American officials in the second week of January, when concealed materials amounting to more than a million dollars in value were discovered hidden in Coblenz and promptly confiscated.

DREADNOUGHT BADEN SURRENDERED

The German superdreadnought Baden arrived in Scapa Flow Jan. 11, 1919, and was interned there with the other vessels of the German fleet. The surrender of this warship was demanded in place of the battle cruiser Mackensen, which was not sufficiently completed to leave Germany.

The Baden is a vessel of about 27,000 tons, similar to the Queen Elizabeth class, mounting eight 15-inch guns and steaming nominally 23 knots.

Another flotilla of German submarines, numbering sixteen, left Germany Jan. 12 to surrender to the Allies. This group comprised thirteen which were in the Mediterranean when the armistice was signed, and three others found by the Allied Commission at Wilhelmshaven.

There were at that time still seven submarines in neutral waters to be surrendered, and forty-four in German ports that must be given up.

Rear Admiral Rodman, who command-

ed the American squadron in the North Sea with the British Grand Fleet, in testimony before the House Naval Committee at Washington on Jan. 3 assumed responsibility for the recommendation that the older types of German capital ships be taken out to sea and sunk "where they could never be raised or salvaged."

He stated in his testimony that when the armistice was signed he recommended to Admiral Beatty, British Commander in Chief, "that the capital ships of the German fleet, with the exception possibly of their very latest craft, be taken to sea and sunk, where they could never be raised or salvaged, and that their fleet cruisers, destroyers, and submarines, and other vessels that would be of use be turned over to the Allies to be used by them as they saw fit.

"My reason for recommending the sinking of their capital ships was this: During this war it has been shown that the British and American Navies have dominated the whole surface of the ocean and that they had sufficient strength at any time to wipe the German fleet out of existence, given the opportunity. Hence I could see no reason for adding to the British Navy or our own these older types of German capital ships that would entail great expense for maintenance and upkeep.

"They were of an entirely different type from ours, had different guns, different ammunition, and different standardizations in all constructive features. It seemed to me that it would be cheaper to sink them, because if we could dominate Germany now, when she had a navy,

surely when she had none we would be all the stronger.

"Then if Germany were to build a new navy, by the time that navy was built (speaking, of course, of capital ships) these present capital ships would be obsolete, and I could see no object in maintaining them for a number of years. Hence I thought it would be cheaper to sink them and so recommended."

This declaration brought a prompt disavowal from Secretary of the Navy Daniels, who officially announced the next day that he was opposed to sinking the warships. This was followed by semi-official announcements that the Administration did not favor the idea. A similar declaration was made by the British authorities.

EDITH CAVELL'S JUDGE REBUFFED

Baron von der Lancken and Dr. Rieth, who were prominent in the German administration of Belgium, wired on Dec. 27, 1918, from Berlin to Walter Lyman Brown, Director of the Commission for Relief in Belgium at Rotterdam, that they had been appointed by the German Government to negotiate with Herbert C. Hoover for food supplies, and that they desired Mr. Hoover to advise them when and where he would meet them.

In answer to the request for a conference Mr. Hoover sent this message:

"You can describe two and a half years of arrogance toward ourselves and cruelty to the Belgians in any language you may select, and tell the pair personally to go to hell with my compliments. If I do have to deal with Germans it will not be with that pair."



War Casualties of All the Nations

Thirty-three Million Men on Casualty Lists Out of a Grand Total of Nearly Sixty Millions Mobilized

By WALTER LITTLEFIELD

[The figures of military losses in this article are all from official data, or, where these were not obtainable, are from official estimates.]

THIS is an attempt to reveal the war's cost measured in terms of human life, with special reference to the millions diverted from the productive industries of peace to the annihilating vocation of mortal combat—to other millions who today are dead, suffering, or helpless because of the war.

Sixteen established nations and three new ones, which the war brought forth, assembled their human powers for the great conflict—fifteen on one side and four on the other. Against one or more of the four, twelve other nations also declared war, but did not actively indulge in it. Of the remaining fifty more or less independent nations of the world, five also severed relations with one or more of the four original aggressors. All were seriously affected.

It has been estimated that the Polish combatants with the Allies numbered 150,000; that the Czechoslovak armies in Siberia, France, and Italy included 180,000 nationals; that the King of Hedjaz fought the Turk with 250,000 Arabs. These three new nations, therefore, employed a combatant force of 580,000 men, which was joined to the Allies' 39,676,864 against the Central Powers' 19,500,000.

Nearly 60,000,000 men at war! Of this huge number over 7,000,000 are dead and nearly 6,000,000 (30 per cent. of the wounded) are permanent human wrecks.

But this only refers to the soldiers who died or were irreparably maimed. Civilians were even greater sufferers, not only by engines of war but by famine, disease, and massacre. There were those who were killed by direct military causes; those who died from indirect causes.

In the first category we have:

- 692 Americans slain on the high seas.
- 20,620 British subjects slain on the high seas.
- 1,270 English men, women, and children the victims of air raids and bombardment.
- 30,000 Belgians butchered or deprived of life in various ways.
- 40,000 French butchered or deprived of life in various ways.
- 7,500 Neutrals slain by the U-boat.

100,082

In the second category* we have:

- 4,000,000 Armenians, Syrians, Jews, and Greeks massacred or starved by the Turks.
- 4,000,000 Deaths beyond the normal mortality of influenza and pneumonia induced by the war.
- 1,085,441 Serbian dead through disease or massacre.

9,085,441

All this gives a military and civilian mortality, directly or indirectly the product of the war, of:

Military deaths	7,781,806
Civilian deaths	9,185,523

Total 16,967,329

And this is not all. Who can even estimate the millions of human beings

*American civilian lives lost by U-boat, mines, &c., include all from the one lost on the British ship *Falaba*, March 23, 1915, till the four lost on the American steamer *Lucia*, Oct. 17, 1918. British lives lost in the same way include 6,500 members of the mercantile marine not listed as naval casualties. The 7,500 neutral lives also lost are led by those of Norway's death list of 5,120 seamen.

The total of 4,000,000 Armenians, Greeks, Jews, and Syrians massacred by the Turks is the latest official estimate of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief.

The number of Armenians massacred has been variously estimated at from one to three

Mobilized Strength and Casualty Losses of the Belligerents United States and Associated Nations

Nation.	Mobilized.	Dead.	Wounded.	Prisoners or Missing.	Total Casualties.
United States.....	4,272,521	67,813	192,483	14,363	274,659
British Empire....	7,500,000	692,065	2,037,325	360,367	3,089,757
France	7,500,000	1,385,300	2,675,000	446,300	4,506,600
Italy	5,500,000	460,000	947,000	1,393,000	2,800,000
Belgium	267,000	20,000	60,000	10,000	90,000
Russia	12,000,000	1,700,000	4,950,000	2,500,000	9,150,000
Japan	800,000	300	907	3	1,210
Rumania	750,000	200,000	120,000	80,000	400,000
Serbia	707,343	322,000	28,000	100,000	450,000
Montenegro	50,000	3,000	10,000	7,000	20,000
Greece	230,000	15,000	40,000	45,000	100,000
Portugal	100,000	4,000	15,000	200	10,000
Total.....	39,676,864	4,869,478	11,075,715	4,956,233	20,892,226

Central Powers

Germany	11,000,000	1,611,104	3,683,143	772,522	6,066,769
Austria-Hungary ..	6,500,000	800,000	3,200,000	1,211,000	5,211,000
Bulgaria	400,000	201,224	152,399	10,825	264,448
Turkey	1,600,000	300,000	570,000	130,000	1,000,000
Total.....	19,500,000	2,912,328	7,605,542	2,124,347	12,542,217
Grand total...	59,176,864	7,781,806	18,681,257	7,080,580	33,434,443

whose bones whiten the roads of Poland or fill the charnel houses of the Bolsheviks?

The table printed above on this page

million. This is probably an exaggeration. An estimate of 300,000 is based on the following facts, published in the *Horizon* of Tiflis and the *Artzakank Parisi*, (Paris;) still the natural increase in population in the unaffected region might tend to increase this total. When the war began there were fewer than three million Armenians in all Turkey, Transylvania, and Galicia. In Transcaucasia the Armenian population increased from 1,000,000 to 1,207,000; in Ciscaucasia, from 30,000 to 80,000; in European Turkey, from 400,000 to 500,000, and in Transylvania and Galicia, from 15,000 to 25,000. Supposing that this increase were entirely due to refugees, we have 367,000. Now for the region affected by massacre: First comes Turkish Armenia, with its predominant Kurd population, where, before the war, there were 650,000 Armenians, and today there are 32,000, a decrease of 618,000; Northern Persia had 100,000 and today has 51,000, a decrease of 49,000, showing a total decrease in two regions of 667,000, and a grand total decrease of 300,000, (667,000 minus 367,000.)

gives the authentic figures regarding the man power employed and the casualties suffered by the sixteen nations which were officially mobilized for the war and took active part in it. There is as yet no record available concerning the casualties suffered by the three new nations which came into being through the war, or by little San Marino, which sent a gallant 300 to help Italy beat their common enemy. The rest, however, is upon record.

ARMY AND NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES

Two elements contributed to make the armed forces of the United States the numerical and dynamic success they had already registered when Germany signed the armistice—the wise laws which brought them into being and the intelligent execution of those laws by both public servants and public sentiment. Under the original selective service law of May 18, 1917, with its subsequent amendments, the man power of the na-

tion between the ages of 18 and 45, inclusive, had registered to the number of 23,709,000, and of these slightly over 2,800,000 had been inducted into military service. These had been added to the Regular, National Guard, and Reserve Corps units, making a total of 3,665,000 men mobilized, of whom there were in Europe, or on the way to Europe, on Nov. 11, 2,053,347 men—less losses—and over 1,700,000 in training at home camps.

On Aug. 7, 1918, the appellations "Regular Army," "Reserve Corps," "National Guard," and "National Army" were ordered discontinued and the military forces of the nation were consolidated into the United States Army. The old volunteer army had numbered on the eve of the declaration of war 190,000 men.

The creation of the National Naval Volunteers by an act approved Aug. 29, 1916, had already made it possible to place the Naval Militia under Federal jurisdiction. The same act also provided for the increase of the enlisted personnel of the Regular Navy and the creation of the United States Naval Reserve Force. On Nov. 11, 1918, the Regular Navy was represented by 5,656 permanent and 4,833 temporary officers and 206,684 men, and the Reserves numbered 21,985 officers and 290,346 men, giving a total of 32,474 officers and 497,030 men, to be added to the United States fighting forces. The total, however, included many women who had been enrolled as yeomen due to the sudden increase of the "business" of the service on account of the war. When war was declared the enlistment and enrollment of the navy numbered only 65,777 men.

Then to the land army and the navy must be added the Marine Corps, who conspicuously upheld the traditions of their caste at Château-Thierry. By an act which went into effect July 1, 1918, the strength of the corps was temporarily increased from 693 officers and 30,000 men to 3,017 officers and 75,000 men. The volunteer enlistments were stopped by Executive order on Aug. 8, when the maximum, showing a total of 78,017, had about been reached.

According to General Pershing's report to Secretary of War Baker, dated Nov. 20, 1918, the losses to the American Expeditionary Force had been as follows up to Nov. 18: Killed and died of wounds, 36,145; died of disease, 14,811; deaths unclassified, 2,204; wounded, 179,625; prisoners, 2,163; missing, 1,160. A supplementary report transmitted Nov. 30 made the following distribution of casualties which the Expeditionary Force of 1,338,169 combat troops had suffered in France, according to data verified up to Nov. 26:

Killed in action, 28,363; died of wounds, 12,101; died of disease, 16,034; deaths unclassified, 1,980; prisoners and missing, 14,290, and 189,955 wounded, divided as follows: Severely wounded, 54,751; undetermined, 43,168; slightly, 92,036.

On Jan. 7 the War Department received a report giving the casualties suffered by the American Expeditionary Force in Northern Russia as follows: Killed in action and died of wounds, 3 officers and 57 men; died of disease, 2 officers and 63 men; accidentally killed, 4 men; drowned, 1 officer and 2 men; missing in action, 16 men; wounded, 15.

Before the United States entered the war 67 members of the navy had lost their lives on armed merchantmen attacked by submarines; during the war the service lost on sea by the sinking of 48 naval vessels and 130 merchant vessels in convoy 1,142 officers and men.

The casualties suffered by the Marine Corps are best described in a passage taken from the most recent report of the Secretary of the Navy:

With only 8,000 men engaged in the fiercest battles, the Marine Corps casualties numbered 69 officers and 1,531 enlisted men dead, and 78 officers and 2,435 enlisted men wounded seriously enough to be officially reported by cablegram to which number should be added not a few whose wounds did not incapacitate them from further fighting. However, with a casualty list that numbers nearly half the original 8,000 men who entered battle, the official reports account for only 57 United States Marines who have been captured by the enemy.

From the foregoing data the totals reached in regard to the American troops

as shown in the table were obtained as follows:

	Total			
	Mobilized.	Dead.	W'ded.	Casual.
Army ...	3,665,000	65,000	189,955	14,290
Casualties				269,245
in Russia	71	15	16	102
Navy ...	529,504	1,142	.....	.....
Marine				1,142
Corps ...	78,017	1,609	2,513	57
				4,170
Total ...	4,272,521	67,813	192,483	14,363
				274,659

BRITISH EMPIRE

In his last report for 1918 Secretary Baker draws an interesting comparison between the development of the British and American expeditionary forces, which contains hitherto unknown facts in regard to the former:

The British forces in France climbed to one million men in the Fall of 1915, and to a high figure of slightly more than two million troops in the Summer of 1917, three years after England entered the war. In nineteen months after the United States entered the war we were represented overseas by an army of two million men. The growth of the American force was twice as rapid as that of the British force. It must be borne in mind that the British, practically from the beginning, used large numbers of men to fill gaps left by casualties, while the American forces could for many months apply practically every man to building up the force.

Prior to the war the land forces of the United Kingdom, which were first affected, consisted of the Regular Army of 160,000 men and the Territorial Army, organized primarily for home defense. At the battles of Mons and the Marne the expeditionary force was of about 60,000; its losses were filled by a special reserve. During 1915 Lord Derby, Director General of Recruiting, managed to maintain the volunteer system and registered 2,829,263 men between the ages of 18 and 40, which brought the total enrollment up to 2,500,000, of which only about 1,000,000 remained effective. The new Military Service act, which came into force on Feb. 10, 1916, added 820,000 men to the army during that and the following year, and then, in January, 1918, it became necessary to withdraw nearly 500,000 men under 24 years of age from essential industries and send them into the army on account of the expected

German offensive which actually began March 21.

It was in explanation of the transfer of 420,000 from industry that Sir Auckland Geddes, Minister of National Service, made an important statement in the House of Commons on Jan. 19, 1918, in regard to the man power of the empire. He said that the British Army was then over 4,000,000 strong on all fronts where it was engaged. The empire as a whole had raised over 7,500,000. England alone had contributed 4,500,000, or 60 per cent.; Scotland, 620,000, or 8 per cent.; Wales, 280,000, or 3.7 per cent.; Ireland, 170,000, or 2.3 per cent., and the dominions, 900,000, or 12 per cent.—significant figures of which all, except the Irish, may be proud.

In 1918 the United Kingdom by a new class of recruits and the diversion of man power from industries to the war had managed to raise the total registration from 5,570,000 to a few hundred over 6,000,000 when the armistice was signed. To this may be added the total registration in the British possessions, which furnished, in round numbers, from the beginning of the war, 2,000,000 men. These, however, include the numerous camp followers of the native Indian Army and the native troops in Africa, concerning which little statistical information has so far been published.

Canada, with a contribution of nearly 1,000,000 men, 800,000 of whom went overseas, lost a total of 220,182, with a mortality total of 60,383. The list, published at Ottawa Jan. 3, follows:

	Other		Total.
	Officers.	Ranks.	
Killed in action	1,842	33,824	35,666
Died of wounds	614	11,806	12,420
Died of disease.....	220	5,185	5,405
Wounded	7,130	148,669	155,799
Prisoners of war.....	...	...	3,575
Presumed dead	142	4,529	4,671
Missing	41	384	425
Deaths in Canada....	...	...	2,221
Total	9,989	204,397	220,182
Total deaths, 60,383.			

Two thousand five hundred and eight prisoners have been repatriated, escaped, or died while prisoners of war.

Australia, with her volunteer system, out of a population of 5,000,000 sent abroad 336,000, which suffered a total

loss of 290,191, including 54,431 dead, 156,000 wounded, and 3,401 prisoners.

India's contribution to the war, in both white and native troops, and the losses these troops sustained are set forth as follows in a report from the India Office on Nov. 27, 1918:

At the outbreak of war the strength of the army in India was: British, 76,953; Indian, 239,561. The number of Indian ranks recruited during the war up to Sept. 30, 1918, was 1,161,789, of which 757,747 were combatants and the rest non-combatants. The number of officers and men sent on service overseas from India up to Sept. 30, 1918, was:

	British.	Indian.
To East Africa.....	5,403	46,936
To France	18,934	131,496
To Mesopotamia	167,551	588,717
To Egypt	19,168	116,159
To Gallipoli	60	4,428
To Saloniki	66	4,938
To Aden	7,386	20,243
To Persian Gulf	968	29,457
	219,534	953,374
Total		1,172,908
British ranks sent from India to England		42,430

Grand total1,215,338

The total Indian casualties in the same period were 101,439, of which more than half were incurred in Mesopotamia. In this theatre there were 14,742 killed and 30,589 wounded. The next largest casualties were incurred in France, with 6,900 killed and 16,380 wounded.

On Nov. 19, 1918, the British Deputy Secretary of War, Mr. Macpherson, made a long statement in the House of Commons giving the total casualties of the British Armies as they had so far been ascertained and tabulated. On Nov. 26 the British Admiralty issued a statement in regard to naval losses. Mr. Macpherson said:

The military casualties in the Expeditionary Forces in the different theatres of war are necessarily incomplete, and I am afraid that some time will have to elapse before the exact figures can be given. Up to Nov. 10, 1918, the figures, including the dominion and the Indian troops, in the various theatres of operations, are as follows:

KILLED		
(Including died of wounds and other causes.)		
	Officers.	Ranks.
France	32,769	526,843
Italy	86	941
Dardanelles	1,785	31,737

	Other	
	Officers.	Ranks.
Saloniki	285	7,330
Mesopotamia	1,340	29,769
Egypt	1,098	14,794
East Africa	380	8,724
Other Theatres	133	690

WOUNDED

	Other	
	Officers.	Ranks.
France	83,142	1,750,203
Italy	334	4,612
Dardanelles	3,010	75,508
Saloniki	818	16,058
Mesopotamia	2,429	48,686
Egypt	2,311	35,762
East Africa	478	7,276
Other theatres	142	1,373

MISSING

Including prisoners of war (including 6,741 officers and 164,767 other ranks known to be prisoners of war and also over 80,000 officers and other ranks whose deaths had been accepted for official purposes):

	Other	
	Officers.	Ranks.
France	10,846	315,849
Italy	38	727
Dardanelles	258	7,431
Saloniki	114	2,713
Mesopotamia	566	14,789
Egypt	183	3,705
East Africa	38	929
Other Theatres	51	908

Totals of killed, wounded, and missing:

KILLED		
Officers		37,876
Other Ranks		620,828

WOUNDED		
Officers		92,664
Other Ranks		1,939,478

MISSING		
Officers		12,094
Other Ranks		347,051

TOTAL OF KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING

Officers	142,634
Other Ranks	2,907,357

Grand Total 3,049,991

The subsequent statement of the Admiralty includes all the various departments of the Royal Navy and the Royal Marines, but excludes the Royal Navy Division used on land, which had been included in Mr. Macpherson's statement. The Admiralty statement is:

	Officers. Men.	
Dead	2,466	30,895
Wounded	805	4,378
Missing	15	32
Prisoners	222	953
	3,508	36,258
Grand Total		39,766

The figures include a number of officers and men of British merchant ships and fishing vessels serving on board H. M. ships and auxiliaries and other commissioned vessels. In addition the following losses have been sustained by men of these classes while pursuing their ordinary vocations:

	Officers. and Men.
Killed	14,661
Captured	3,295

LOSSES OF FRANCE

France was able to place in the field at once nineteen army corps, amounting to 800,000 combatants. By the time of the battle of the Marne in September this force had been reinforced by thirty-six divisions of reserve troops, by territorials, and 20,000 troops from Algiers and Morocco, both white and native.

By January, 1915, France had enrolled in her army, excluding colonial troops, fully 12 per cent. of her population, or 4,800,000, including the classes of 1915 and 1916. Four subsequent classes were added later, producing about 1,500,000, which gave Continental France alone a total of 6,300,000 men enrolled.

During the war France issued no figures in regard to either recruiting or enlistments or casualties. Subsequently, however, French officials have been furnished with data as far as ascertained and audited. Thus M. Abraz, Under Secretary of State, announced in the Chamber on Dec. 26, 1918, that the number of killed up to Nov. 1 aggregated 1,071,300, with 31,800 officers and 1,040,000 men, while the total number of dead, prisoners, and missing reached 42,000 officers and 1,789,000 men; and it was believed that among the prisoners 8,300 officers and 1,789,000 men; and it was This statement had been in reply to a speech made by the Socialist Deputy, Lucien Voilin, which, although a plea for the immediate demobilization of the army, furnished valuable information. Voilin said:

I betray no secret when I say that the problem of demobilization presents itself thus: we have mobilized 6,900,000 men, we have had about 1,400,000 killed, while 800,000 recovered from wounds. We are going to demobilize 1,200,000 reserves, territorials, and heads of families. There are about 3,500,000 men who will remain

mobilized. The question is what does the Government intend to do with 2,000,000 of these who do not belong to the active forces.

Then on Jan. 8 the French High Commission to the United States made the first comprehensive statement showing that France had mobilized in all a number equal to that mobilized by the British Empire as far as combatants were concerned, and that the republic had lost in man power 2,260,000, or nearly 6 per cent. of its population. Some of the principal features of the commission's statement are as follows:

Men killed in action or dead of wounds numbered 1,028,000, and to the total must be added 299,000 listed as missing and given up for lost, making a total of 1,327,000. The number of wounded was 3,000,000, with 435,000 listed as prisoners. Three-fourths of the wounded have recovered, either entirely or at least to such an extent as to be fit to work again.

Slightly less than 700,000 are absolutely unable to work and have been pensioned. To these figures must be added those who will come back from prison camps in Germany unfit for work. The French Government estimates that the total number of unfit and pensioned may finally be between 800,000 and 900,000 men.

The losses among native troops coming from French colonies or protectorates were 42,500 killed or died of wounds, with 15,000 missing and very probably dead. The number pensioned after wounds or illness was 44,000, to which must be added those of the 3,500 held as prisoners of war who will have to be pensioned.

"If one considers only the losses among French citizens," said the commission's statement, "and compares their number to the population of France, about 38,000,000, and to the number of men mobilized, about 7,500,000, one sees that the total killed or dead of wounds, missing, and unfit for work was between 5 and 6 per cent. of the French population and between 26 and 30 per cent. of the men mobilized."

ITALY

Liability to serve in the army or the navy is general and personal in Italy. This liability lasts for nineteen years, and begins at the age of 20. The annual contingent is divided into three categories. The first of these joins the standing army; the second the same, but with unlimited leave; the third is enrolled in the Territorial Militia. Italy

entered the war against Austria-Hungary after ten months of preparation. In that time she had built upon the foundation of 14,121 officers, 250,000 of other ranks, and a cavalry corps of 55,727 until it presented a military establishment of four field armies and one reserve army of something over a million—515,000 in the standing army, 245,000 in the Mobile Militia, and 340,000 in the Territorial Militia. Aside from such corps as the Alpini, Grenadiers, Bersaglieri, and the Carabinieri, or military police, many regiments were locally recruited and preserved their traditional local names, for whose glory they fought. The general inspiration, however, was the King and the House of Savoy.

These conditions and inspiration obtained down to the time of the disaster of Caporetto, in the Autumn of 1917, by which time 3,500,000 combatants had been mobilized. Caporetto changed both the conditions and the inspiration. Three of the old armies were allowed to retain their old organization and preserve the traditions of their old spirit, but seven new armies were mobilized on an entirely different plan—their condition was changed from local—from the “paese” and the “regione”—to the national, and Italy, not the dynasty, became the inspiration. When Austria-Hungary was forced to capitulate, Italy had a concentrated, compact military establishment of about 2,500,000 combatants, the survivors of an original total recruiting of 5,500,000.

So far, on account of the unsettled condition of affairs on the Adriatic littoral, Italy has not begun to demobilize, and data in regard to her casualties have been published in very much the same way that the casualties of the French Army have become known—through Parliamentary utterances. The huge number of prisoners and missing (1,393,000) is accounted for up to 80 per cent. by Caporetto. Emphasis may also be laid upon the enormous number of permanently disabled among the wounded, due to the high altitudes in which Italy conducted the larger part of her operations; these number over 1,000,000, according to Francesco Nitti, Minister of

the Treasury. On Dec. 21, Salvatore Barzilai, former Cabinet Minister, who was then with the King in Paris, made a statement in regard to Italian casualties which was supplemented as follows by Colonel Ugo Pizzarello of the Italian Military Mission in the United States:

Killed in action.....	500,000
Dead by disease in war zone....	300,000
Wounded, disabled, missing, prisoners	2,000,000

Grand total2,800,000

On Dec. 31 the Supreme Command of the Italian Army added these details to the round numbers employed by Colonel Pizzarello: Losses on all fronts during the war, 460,000, of whom 16,326 were officers. Of the 947,000 wounded, 33,397 were officers.

Very little has been officially stated in regard to prisoners, but with the total number of casualties at hand and the number of dead and wounded to be subtracted from the total, the deduction is not difficult.

BELGIUM

In case of war Belgium was prepared to mobilize at once 3 1-3 per cent. of her population, but the unexpected invasion by Germany allowed her to place in the field 117,000 men instead of the expected 250,000. Volunteers increased the original force by 20,000 during August, 1914, but after the battle of the Yser the entire royal army did not, according to a statement made by the Minister of War on Nov. 15, 1917, exceed 60,000. During 1915 the military establishment was entirely reorganized and re-equipped, so that by Autumn of 1917 it possessed a combat strength of 180,000 well-trained men, made up principally of recruits who managed to slip out of the German-occupied territory and reservists who had been abroad when the war began. When Germany capitulated the kingdom's total registration of combatants numbered 267,000.

RUSSIA

Russia had prepared for military service in the Autumn of 1914 8 per cent. of her population of 165,000,000, or 13,200,000. She was able to avail herself at once, and until the Spring of 1915, of

about half that number. By the following Summer she had reached her maximum enrollment of combatants, which numbered at the time of the Brusiloff offensive nearly 12,000,000. It was brought up to that figure between then and the revolution of March, 1917, after which the armies gradually, and then more rapidly, dispersed. After November of that year they ceased to operate as an organized force against the enemy.

Russia's enormous losses in prisoners were principally due to her retreat from East Prussia in December, 1914, and to the great retreat through Galicia and Poland in the following Spring and Summer. On the other hand, there were two periods when her taking of prisoners, principally non-German Austro-Hungarians, was equally extensive. Her initial Galician campaign netted her to the fall of Przemyśl over 1,000,000, while in the first week of the Brusiloff offensive of the Summer of 1916 she captured 271,620.

According to a statement made by Premier Kerensky on the eve of the Bolshevik coup d'état of Nov. 7, 1917, the Russian casualties in the first year of the war had amounted to 3,800,000 men, in the second to less than 3,000,000, and in the third year to less than 2,000,000. As Kerensky at that time was also the War Minister, it is to be presumed that he had access to the archives of his imperial predecessors. The only other information we have on the subject is a statement issued by a Russian statistician in Petrograd on Dec. 22, 1918, which was to the effect that, of the total Russian casualties in the war, amounting to 9,150,000, (the approximate total of Kerensky,) 1,700,000 had been killed; disabled men numbered 1,450,000, while 3,500,000 soldiers had been wounded, and the prisoners lost numbered 2,500,000. According to a dispatch received by the State Department at Washington on Jan. 2, 1919, 750,000 Russian prisoners had died in German prison camps.

OTHER ALLIED ARMIES

Among the remaining associated nations Serbia calls for special mention, as the ravages of the enemy, of disease, and of famine caused her to lose about 50

per cent. of her civilian population. Serbia's army, which had turned an almost inevitable defeat into victory in December, 1914, capturing over 40,000 Austrians and driving the rest from the land, still had 220,000 combatants when Bulgaria entered the war against her in the following Autumn. What then happened is best told in the language of the Serbian Minister of War uttered on Nov. 14, 1918:

Serbia, from July 25, 1914, to July 14, 1916, placed 707,343 men in the field. During the whole of this period Serbia maintained a force of 500,000 effectives. The number of men mobilized amounted to 24 per cent. of the entire population within the old frontiers of Serbia. Only about 100,000 men were drawn from the new provinces, because in the newly liberated (Macedonian) territories the military organization was not yet complete. In the two great Austrian offensives in 1914 the number of men killed in battle was 45,861 and the number of deaths from wounds and sickness 69,022.

In 1915 the number of deaths from sickness was 56,842. The total number of deaths from all causes was 171,725. At the time of the retreat, 139,000 wounded were left behind on the battlefields and in hospitals, or sent home disabled or for convalescence, all of whom were taken prisoner by the enemy. During the terrible retreat across Albania there perished in the fighting and from cold, sickness, and hunger, 150,000 men. The last call-up (old men) and part of the third call-up amounted together to 100,000 men, who were only employed on garrison duty, remained in Serbia, and were taken prisoner by the enemy. The number of men brought to Corfu, Bizerta, and France—the remnant of the Serbian armies—amounted to 150,000.

According to the official returns, the number of those fallen in battle and dead in captivity, up to the last Serbian offensive, amounted to 22,000, which is as much as to say that one-half of Serbia's male population had perished outright in the European war.

The figures which represent the Greek mobilization do not take into account the Greek Army mobilized by King Constantine in the Autumn of 1915, 550,000 strong, and demobilized eighteen months later. They represent the Venizelos volunteers, numbering 80,000, and the new Greek Army of 150,000, all mobilized to participate in the war on the side of the Allies in 1917-18. The casualties are derived from individual official estimates, and do not take into account the 20,000

Greek soldiers interned in Germany or the Greeks who died in the Turkish Army.

The figures dealing with the Portuguese Army were recently published in *O Observador* of Oporto. Those concerning Rumania, with the exception of the figure denoting the number mobilized, 750,000, which is official, are compiled from semi-official reports emanating from Jassy and Bucharest.

ARMIES OF THE ENEMY

The statement that Germany mobilized no fewer than 11,000,000 combatants is based upon the known statistics in regard to her population and a knowledge of the operation of her military laws. The war began with the mobilization of all men having gone through military training, (including the existing active army of 870,000 men and its reserves,) making a total of 4,500,000. From this point onward the accretions are shown in the following table, the yield of combatants of each new class (i. e., not including garrison services and labor battalions) being taken at 450,000, except the class of 1920, which was only mobilized up to 250,000:

1914	August	4,500,000
	From August:	
	Ersatz Reserve.....	800,000
	Class 1914 recruits.....	450,000
1915	Landsturm I. Ban.....	1,100,000
	May-July:	
	Class 1915	450,000
	Rest of Landsturm.....	150,000
	Sept.-Nov., Class 1916.....	450,000
	Oct.-Dec., "Recuperated"	300,000
1916	"Recuperated"	200,000
	Landsturm II. Ban, non- trained	450,000
	Mar.-Nov.:	
	Class 1917	450,000
	"Recuperated"	300,000
	From Nov., Class 1918.....	450,000
1917	"Recuperated"	150,000
	Aug., Class 1919	450,000
	Nov., "Recuperated"	100,000
1918	Class 1920	250,000
Total		11,000,000

Germany's U-boats were recalled on Oct. 25, 1918, and in the morning of Nov. 11 her land hostilities ceased. Up to August, 1917, she had published nearly 1,000 casualty lists, which were of great service in calculating her man losses. Henceforth the lists did not ap-

pear regularly in the German newspapers until the Ebert Government came in. So far the most comprehensive data in regard to Germany's losses in the war are those based on Casualty List No. 1,284, of Oct. 24, 1918, and published in the *Cologne Gazette* of Nov. 25. They include the naval losses, whose relatively high figure, 70,509, was due to the fact that numerous naval brigades were used in the trenches.

Up to Oct. 25 the total casualties reported were 6,066,769, of whom more than 4,750,000 were Prussians. The total includes the naval casualties, which were 70,000, comprised of more than 25,000 dead, more than 15,000 missing, and nearly 29,000 wounded.

Casualty List No. 1,284, published on Oct. 24, according to the *Cologne Gazette*, placed the number of dead at 1,611,104, the number of wounded at 3,683,143, and the missing at 772,522. The paper says that of the number reported missing 180,000 may be considered dead.

The *Cologne* paper uses the word appalling in describing the casualties among the officers. The total on Oct. 24 included 44,700 officers killed, 82,460 officers wounded, and 13,600 missing, a total of 140,760. The loss in officers alone, the paper points out, exceeds the total casualties of Germany in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, when the total losses were 129,698.

The total on Oct. 24, which did not include casualty lists from the fighting on the western front after that date nor the German losses in Palestine, was apportioned by the paper as follows among the various army contingents:

Prussia — 1,262,060 dead, 2,882,671 wounded, 616,139 missing; total, 4,760,870.

Bavaria—150,658 dead, 363,823 wounded, 72,115 missing; total, 586,596.

Saxony—108,017 dead, 252,027 wounded, 51,787 missing; total, 411,831.

Württemberg — 64,507 dead, 155,654 wounded, 16,802 missing; total, 236,963.

Navy—25,862 dead, 28,968 wounded, 15,679 missing; total, 70,509.

Although the man power of Austria-Hungary was organized on lines similar to that of Germany for war, yet two influences contributed to prevent her

from mobilizing her full strength of 8,500,000 men—the contrived absence from the war of large numbers of Austrian Germans and Magyar officers of noble family, and the fact that the troops themselves did not form a homogeneous body. In the first year of the war the casualty lists published by the Vienna War Office showed the following result in killed, wounded, sick, and prisoners on the four fronts on which the army was then engaged:

Position.	Killed.	Wounded and Sick.	Pris'rs.
Russian front.....	431,800	1,741,500	580,000
Serbian front.....	50,400	95,900	78,000
Italian front.....	17,200	73,700	13,500
French front	1,600	4,000	600

Shortly afterward Vienna ceased to publish casualty lists from which calculations could be made that would produce useful general statistics. Early in 1916 the Italian General Staff estimated, on information obtained from the Intelligence Department, the situation of the Austro-Hungarian Army to be as follows:

With the armies.....	2,220,000
Losses after 16 months campaigning at the rate of 180,000 men a month	2,880,000
"Starred" men indispensable to the work of the country.....	500,000
Men abroad	200,000
	<hr/>
	5,800,000

The estimated losses of 180,000 a month were produced after a most elaborate method of checking up reports of deserters. Up to that time the Dual Monarchy had mobilized 6,450,000, and so the balance then available was accounted for in the following manner:

Wounded under treatment who will return to the front.....	250,000
In the depots (wounded who have recovered, Landsturm, and a section of the 1916 class).....	150,000
Class 1917	250,000
	<hr/>
	650,000

After that time, it is believed by competent authority, not more than 50,000

men were added before the capitulation, although the classes of 1918 and 1919 should have produced a minimum of 400,000, and the new law affecting the Landsturm between the ages of 50 and 55 should have produced 250,000 more.

Again, on the eve of Caporetto, the Italian General Staff estimated the Austro-Hungarian effectives to number 2,239,000. According to official statistics received at Geneva, the Austro-Hungarian armies suffered a loss up to the end of May, 1918, of above 4,000,000, and the total number of dead was placed at 800,000.

As the Italians took in all over 700,000 Austrian prisoners, and as the Russians captured over 500,000, the total number of prisoners may be approximately arrived at, while the wounded would be the difference of the sum of prisoners and dead and the total casualty figure, 5,211,000, which is reached by adding to the 4,000,000 the estimate of 1,211,000 Austrian losses suffered since last May—an estimate made by the Italian military authorities.

The Turkish figures employed in the great table are British official estimates except as regards the number of prisoners; that is exact.

On Jan. 6 the Bulgarian Government at Sofia sent out a statement which approximately agrees with expert estimates, except that the the number of wounded is made to exceed the entire number of men mobilized. Evidently the million unit is here a mistake. the statement reads:

"Bulgaria's losses in the war were: Killed and missing, 101,224; wounded, 1,152,399, and prisoners, 10,825. These figures do not include the losses during the retreat from Macedonia, when many died of influenza, exhaustion, and famine and 90,000 were taken prisoner."

Getting Back to a Peace Basis

United States Government's Solution of Many Problems Created by the Ending of Hostilities

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1918]

THE ending of the war brought in its train many pressing problems whose solution was certain to tax the energies of the United States. Chief among these were the demobilization of military and naval forces at home and abroad, the economies necessary after the war's enormous drain on the nation's resources, and the absorption into the economic system of the vast number of workers suddenly returned to it.

On Jan. 4, General March, United States Chief of Staff, issued the following statement:

The designation of men for release from the army has reached a point now where we have come to the combatant divisions, and during the week I have authorized orders to be issued to begin the discharge of men from the combatant divisions, and to proceed through them gradually. The number of men designated for discharge in the United States is now 1,004,000.

The number of men that have been designated for early return to the United States, in addition to those which have already sailed, is 292,000. In addition to those, the 30th, 37th, and 91st Divisions and 2d Corps Headquarters, totaling about 83,000 men, have been put on priority and will be released as shipping becomes available. This makes a total available for early discharge of 1,379,000 men.

Reports show that, according to latest data on hand, up to and including Dec. 28, 1918, the discharge of 592,245 men in the United States was accomplished. The number of men actually released in the United States, as reported to us, is 630,369. The number of officers who have been discharged, up to and including Jan. 3, is 40,491.

WORK FOR SOLDIERS

Various organizations, some Federal and others State and Municipal, actively interested themselves in securing work for returning soldiers, and in the main with excellent results. The United States Employment Service, in the week ended Dec. 7, 1918, reported that it had found employment for 84,284 applicants.

The methods adopted were described in the following official statement by the Department of Labor:

Telegraph reports from camp representatives of the United States Employment Service in the demobilization camps of the country, to the department, indicate that the replacement of soldiers is proceeding rapidly and effectively. The work being done by the camp representatives has an illustration in the report from Camp Devens. * * * Every soldier up for discharge is personally interviewed by the representative forty-eight hours prior to discharge proceedings, the data gained from him are sent on to the Federal director of his home State and by the latter forwarded to the Employment Service Bureau in the community where the soldier lives. The local employment bureau then seeks to place the soldier there.

Since Nov. 29 the camp representative at Camp Devens has interviewed 11,907 men. Of these, 801 have been placed in new jobs, 2,590 have been referred back to old jobs, 1,975 have been referred to service offices, 6,721 convinced the army and service interviewers that they needed no assistance. A careful record of name, address, and serial number of the soldier, as well as the name, address, and character of the employer, was obtained in each instance.

Group replacements are not uncommon in Camp Devens and other field bureaus. In one instance a Captain and practically his entire company were placed on a construction job, with the Captain as foreman of the gang. Many officers also are obtaining positions through the United States Employment Service. Nine such were sent from Camp Devens to one employer. Reports from the demobilization camps indicate that the soldiers about to be discharged are coming to depend more and more on the service, at their disposal, of the camp bureaus.

SOLDIERS' PAY

Considerable criticism was caused in Congress and in the press by complaint on the part of soldiers that their pay was in arrears, sometimes to the extent of many months. It was admitted at

the War Department that this was true in some cases, owing to lost records, insufficient data, and the rapid changes in the war zone due to military exigencies. An explanation was issued, Jan. 3, by the Finance Division of the Quartermaster Corps, which read in part:

Finance officers are available at every port of debarkation, at every cantonment, camp, and headquarters, and at every hospital, and instructions are explicit and comprehensive that if a soldier has no papers he is to be given a partial payment on his own statement, and final payment, so far as the record shows; all discharged men are given their travel allowances, which, with reduction in railroad fares secured by the War Department, insure a comfortable journey to their homes, while in most cases discharged men receive every penny which they claim is due them.

The division announced that to date a total of \$1,694,114,660 had been paid to officers, soldiers, and soldiers' dependents since the declaration of war.

PROVISION FOR DISABLED

Thomas B. Love, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, gave a résumé of the provision made for soldiers and sailors who had incurred disability in the line of duty. The salient features of the statement are here appended:

The War Risk Insurance act provides that officers and enlisted men in the army and navy who are discharged from the service and who are disabled as a result of personal injury suffered or disease contracted in the line of duty and not caused by the man's own willful misconduct shall after discharge be paid the prescribed monthly compensation so long as the disability continues. These monthly payments are to be graduated in amount according to number and relationship of the man's dependents and the extent of his disability.

If and while the disability is total a man having no wife or child is to receive \$30 a month, a wife and no child \$45 a month, a wife and one child \$55 a month, a wife and two children \$65 a month, and a wife and three or more children \$75 a month; or, if he has no wife but one child \$40 a month, with \$10 a month for each additional child up to two. If the man is totally disabled and in addition so helpless as to be in constant need of a nurse or attendant he is to receive such additional sum, not to exceed \$20 a month, as the Director of the bureau may deem reasonable, and if a man has lost both

feet or both hands or both eyes, or has become totally blind or helpless and permanently bedridden, he shall receive \$100 a month, provided that in such cases no additional allowance shall be made for a nurse or attendant.

If the disability is partial the monthly compensation shall be the percentage of the compensation for total disability equal to the degree of reduction in earning capacity.

In addition to this fixed compensation the law provides that the injured person shall be furnished such reasonable Governmental medical, surgical, or hospital service, and with such supplies, including artificial limbs, trusses, and similar appliances, as the Director of the bureau may determine to be useful and reasonably necessary.

The law provides that this compensation shall be payable only after a claim therefor is filed, and such claim may be filed at any time within five years after discharge or resignation from the service.

THE NATIONAL GUARD

Nearly half a million National Guardsmen in the Federal service as officers and enlisted men of the United States Army will be completely freed from military service, both Federal and State, when discharged from the army, under an opinion by Acting Judge Advocate General S. T. Ansell, approved by Secretary Baker, and promulgated by General March, Chief of Staff of the Army, Jan. 4, for they will not automatically revert to their former status as National Guardsmen.

On June 30, 1918, there were 16,978 National Guard officers and 417,431 National Guard enlisted men in the United States Army, a total of 434,409, every man of whom will be affected by the decision.

This decision grew out of the fact that the Federal military authorities take the position that when National Guardsmen were "drafted" into the Federal service they ceased to be National Guardsmen, and that when mustered out they must revert to a civilian status. Under this ruling it will be necessary for the various States, desirous of so doing, to create by voluntary enlistment new National Guard forces, or to enlarge the National Guard forces that have been created since the old guard was drafted, inasmuch as it is wholly optional with discharged National

Guardsmen whether they will re-enter the guard after leaving the American Army.

Immediate legislation authorizing resumption of voluntary enlistment in the regular army and the repeal of provisions of the Selective Service act limiting enlistments to the period of the war was urged by Secretary Baker in a letter to Chairman Dent of the House Military Committee on Dec. 26.

The War Department on Dec. 23 recommended that the permanent rank of General should be bestowed on John J. Pershing, Commander of the American forces in France; Peyton C. March, Chief of Staff, and Tasker H. Bliss, military representative in the Supreme War Council, and that the permanent rank of Lieutenant General should be conferred on Hunter Liggett and Robert Lee Bullard, commanding the First and Second Armies.

RECORD OF AIR FIGHTERS

An official report received at the War Department, Jan. 10, showed that there were sixty-three "Aces"—men who had downed five or more enemy machines—in the American Army when hostilities ceased. Of these, the leader was Captain Edward V. Rickenbacher of Columbus, Ohio, who had twenty-six enemy planes to his credit.

When the armistice went into effect on the western front on the morning of Nov. 11, the American Army had in operation on the front forty-five airplane squadrons. This statement was made in a brief review of the operations of the American Air Service in France, up to Nov. 12, which Major Gen. Harbord cabled to the Director of the Air Service.

Major Gen. Harbord reported that 845 enemy planes were brought down by American fliers. Of these the destruction or capture of 491 was confirmed. Eighty-two enemy balloons were reported as destroyed, confirmation being available in the cases of fifty-seven. The United States lost 271 planes and forty-five balloons.

Concerning commissioned personnel casualties the dispatch reported that 109

were killed, 103 wounded, 200 missing, twenty-seven were taken prisoner and three were interned—a total of 442.

The Air Service included, in the zone of advance, 2,161 officers and 22,351 soldiers—a total of 24,512 at the actual front. There were also 4,643 officers and 28,353 soldiers in the service of supply. With the French armies there were detailed eight American flying officers, and with the British Expeditionary Forces there were forty-nine officers and 525 soldiers. The total personnel in France consisted of 6,861 officers and 51,229 soldiers, a total air strength of 58,090. Air Service mechanic regiments with the French Army included 109 officers and 4,744 soldiers.

The flying personnel under instruction on Nov. 11 included 1,323 pilots, assigned as follows: Preliminary, 126; advanced, 29; pursuit, 850; observation, 140; day bombing, 77, and night bombing, 101.

Observers in training included 563 artillery, 65 day bombing, and 61 night bombing—a total of 689 officers. This made the aggregate in training 2,012. The flying personnel awaiting instruction included 155 pilots and 59 observers. Graduations up to Nov. 11, 1918, included 6,069 pilots, divided as follows: Preliminary, 1,573; advanced, 2,359; pursuit, 1,160; observation 723; day bombing, 329, and night bombing, 25.

Two thousand and forty-five observers were graduated, as follows: Pursuit, 88; artillery, 1,425; day bombing, 390, and night bombing, 142. A total of 159 is reported as having been killed in training.

The number of planes, by type, received from all sources by the American Expeditionary Force, between Sept. 12, 1917, and Nov. 16, 1918, was as follows:

Pursuit—For service, 3,337; for schools, 90.

Observation—For service, 3,421; for schools, 634.

Day Bombing—For service, 421; for schools, 85.

Night reconnoissance, 31.

Among other planes received were 2,285 training planes, 30 experimental planes and 108 miscellaneous, making a total of 10,472.

NAVAL AFFAIRS

An event that stirred the country was the entry into New York Harbor, Dec. 26, of the American dreadnought squadron from abroad under Admirals Mayo and Rodman. The warships were given a great welcome, and the tribute from Secretary Daniels, who reviewed the fleet, echoed American sentiment. The Secretary said:

In welcoming home the powerful American dreadnoughts, which have been engaged overseas during the war, the American people will greet the officers and men with pride and congratulations. These powerful ships, the equal of any in the world, in co-operation with the powerful British fleet, gave such predominance of sea power in the North Sea that the German fleet dared not invite suicide by coming out and offering battle. They did not try conclusions because they knew there never was a fleet in being that could have had a chance of victory against the British and American fleet, working together with the same signals and the same strategy as if they were of the naval power of a single nation. Their mission was as single as if they had represented only one instead of the two great English-speaking nations. Their united service typified and cemented the ties between our country and Great Britain. The silent vigils protected commerce, secured safe passage of troops and supplies, and effectually bottled up the German fleet, rendering it as impotent for harm as if it had never been constructed.

Secretary Daniels made public on Dec. 22 a dispatch from Admiral Sims transmitting an official letter received by him from the British Admiralty, expressing Britain's admiration of the work done by the American naval forces in British waters.

NAVAL PROGRAM TO 1920

The American Navy will number a total of 1,291 vessels, including 40 battleships and 329 destroyers, on July 1, 1920, according to a statement prepared by Rear Admiral Griffin, Chief of the Bureau of Steam Engineering, for the House Naval Committee, and made public Dec. 24.

This statement showed that when war was declared there were 364 ships in the navy, while on Nov. 1, ten days before hostilities ceased, there were 777, exclusive of privately owned yachts and other vessels taken over for patrol service.

The greatest increase was 300 in submarine chasers. The increase in destroyers was 41, to a total of 92, and that of submarines from 44 to 79.

Only two Eagle boats had been completed on Nov. 1. Ninety-eight others were contracted for, but Rear Admiral Taylor, Chief of the Bureau of Construction and Repair, informed the committee that the Navy Department had given orders that only sixty of the vessels be completed. Keels for eighty of the Eagles had not been laid, but material for most of them had been fabricated.

Only two battleships were added to the fleet during the war, and only one would be added between this time and July 1, 1920. Six others, however, actually are under construction, and two, the Tennessee and the California, are approximately half completed.

SHIPBUILDING IN 1918

American shipyards built 1,882 vessels of 2,721,281 gross tons in 1918. Reports of the Bureau of Navigation of the Commerce Department made public Jan. 4 showed this total, of which all but 124,000 tons represented seagoing ships. The seagoing steel tonnage alone aggregated 1,861,321 gross. The bureau's figures for 1917 construction showed 1,034,000 gross tons were constructed by American shipyards.

The armistice brought about a decided setback in the yards' output. November was the month of greatest construction in the history of American shipbuilding, 171 vessels of 357,668 gross tons of seagoing ships being produced. In December only 153 ships were completed and the tonnage amounted to 283,359.

Troops continued to stream homeward over stormy seas during December and January. What might have been a serious disaster was averted when the American troop transport, Northern Pacific, grounded on the sands near Fire Island, N. Y., Jan. 1. There were over 3,000 returning troops on board, of whom 1,700 were wounded. The seas were rough, and great care was required in transferring the wounded to shore, but after several days this was successfully accomplished without serious injury or loss of life. The steamship, too, was

pulled by tugs into deeper water and ultimately saved.

PRODUCTION OF MUNITIONS

Figures were furnished by the Ordnance Department of the Interallied Bureau of Statistics, showing that the production of munitions in this country had grown so rapidly that in the last months of the war the United States was far ahead of Great Britain and France. Average monthly production of machine guns and machine rifles for July, August, and September, 1918, in the United States was 27,270, against 10,947 for Great Britain and 12,126 for France. In the same period the United States produced monthly an average of 233,562 rifles, against 112,821 for Great Britain and 40,522 for France. With respect to small arms ammunition, production in the United States was 277,894,000 rounds, in France 139,845,000, and in Great Britain 259,769,000.

Total production from April 6, 1917, to the date of the signing of the armistice, Nov. 11 last, was given as follows:

Machine guns and machine rifles: Great Britain, 181,404; France, 29,238; United States, 181,662.

Rifles: Great Britain, 1,971,764; France, 1,416,056; United States, 2,506,742.

Rifle and machine-gun ammunition: Great Britain, 3,486,127,000; France, 2,983,675,000; United States, 2,879,148,000.

LOANS TO ALLIES

More than one-third of the cost of the war to the people of the United States up to Dec. 31, 1918, was represented by cash advanced to the Allies. The disbursements by the Treasury from April 1, 1917, to Dec. 31, 1918, amounted to \$24,589,986,000. If the nation had been at peace during this twenty-one months, the normal expenditures would have been about \$2,000,000,000, which means that the cost of the war to the United States so far was \$22,589,986,000. Of this sum \$7,685,000,000 represented cash advanced to various foreign Governments. Thus from April 1, 1917, to Dec. 31, 1918, the United States had spent on its own account in the war about \$14,904,986,000.

These loans to allied Governments were made under authority of four separate acts of Congress. They vested the

Secretary of the Treasury with authority upon approval of President Wilson to establish credits in favor of foreign Governments. An appropriation of \$10,000,000,000 was provided. Under these authorizations credits were established up to Nov. 15 in favor of eleven countries. The credits to these up to Dec. 31, 1918, were as follows:

Country.	Amount.
Belgium	\$252,895,000
Czechoslovaks	7,000,000
Cuba	15,000,000
France	2,436,427,000
Great Britain.....	4,175,981,000
Greece	39,554,036
Italy	1,310,000,000
Liberia	5,000,000
Rumania	6,666,666
Russia	325,000,000
Serbia	12,000,000

Total\$8,585,523,702

On Nov. 15 credits of \$8,171,966 had been established, leaving \$1,828,023,334 of the \$10,000,000,000 still available. The balance now is \$1,414,476,298.

CESSATION OF RESTRICTIONS

Wartime regulations requiring that confirmations of cablegrams should be in plain language instead of code were revoked on Dec. 31 by the Government Censorship Board. Announcement was made by the Federal Food Administration on Dec. 22 that, beginning the following day, all food restrictions would be abolished.

One of the most important cogs in the nation's war-making machine—the War Industries Board, whose head was Bernard M. Baruch of New York—passed out of existence in the evening of Dec. 31, 1918. The great task performed by the War Industries Board had been nothing less than putting the nation's business on a war basis. Among its services was the fixing of the price of copper so far below the market level that millions of dollars were saved to the American and allied Governments. To this board had fallen the task of taking an inventory of the country's industries, finding out who could make each kind of war supplies, slowing down non-essential industries and speeding up essentials, encouraging the conversion of plants from peace-time products to war necessities,

and solving the problem of supplies for the fighting forces in general. When it went out of existence its few unfinished activities were handed over to the War Trade Board. The Capital Issues Committee, which had controlled the issuance of new securities during the war, also went out of existence on Jan. 1.

The question of how to give up Government control of the railways without leaving undesirable results was the subject of a lively discussion as the year closed. Mr. McAdoo, then still Director General of Railroads, on Dec. 11 issued a statement urging that Government control be extended for five years, on the ground that no fair test could be obtained in a shorter period. It met with strong opposition. On Jan. 11, Mr. McAdoo's resignation went into effect when President Wilson cabled the appointment of Walker D. Hines of Kentucky as Director General of Railroads. Mr. Hines had been one of Mr. McAdoo's assistants for more than a year, and had devoted his entire time to railroad administration.

The fifth change in President Wilson's Cabinet, and the second resignation from his official family since the signing of the armistice, was announced Jan. 12,

when the White House made public correspondence between President Wilson and Attorney General Gregory showing that the latter would quit the Department of Justice on March 4, after a little more than four years of service as Attorney General.

INFLUENZA IN ARMY CAMPS

The War Department authorized the following statement:

"A summary of the results of the influenza epidemic in the army camps and military centres in the United States shows that a total of 338,257 cases of the disease were recorded, with approximately 17,000 deaths.

"Due to the fact that deaths resulting from influenza and pneumonia were not separately grouped, only approximate figures can be given for deaths resulting from the epidemic. Since Sept. 13, the date of the outbreak, to Dec. 1, 19,694 deaths from all causes were reported from military stations in the United States. It is estimated that approximately 2,000 of these were due to causes other than influenza and pneumonia. This estimate is based on the figures for the same period last year."

Deeds of the American Battle Squadron

By REAR ADMIRAL HUGH RODMAN

Rear Admiral Rodman commanded the Sixth or American Battle Squadron of the Grand Fleet throughout the last year of the war. On board the flagship New York on Dec. 26, 1918, he gave an informal summary of that year's achievements:

AS soon as we were in the war our destroyers got under way and headed straight for the submarine nests to take part in the hunt for those pests. Later we added patrol boats and then aircraft for the same purpose, and in the end they, too, came through with flying colors, the duties they were called upon to perform most creditably accomplished. The overseas transport service landed our army in France and kept that army supplied; the mining force laid the great mine barrage in the North Sea, and a splendid battery of naval guns co-

operated with our army in France. I should also mention our naval forces in the Adriatic, which bore a conspicuous part in the naval operations in those waters.

And now I come to the Grand Fleet, of which the New York, Texas, Nevada, Wyoming, Arkansas, and Florida, which formed the Sixth Battle Squadron, were a part. A few months after our entry into the war it became necessary to strengthen the Grand Fleet of Great Britain; and, accordingly, a division of battleships, under my command, was

sent to co-operate with it. This was just one year ago, and since that we have been constantly on active service in the North Sea as a squadron of the Grand Fleet. There were good and sufficient reasons why this information should have been kept secret during the war, but now that it has ended there can be no objection to making public its operations.

The Grand Fleet was the very backbone of the structure which made a victorious peace a certainty. Without it the war would long ago have been disastrously concluded, with just the reverse conditions obtaining from those which now exist. No mention can be made of the Grand Fleet without my thoughts turning to its Commander in Chief, Admiral Sir David Beatty, a man of rare accomplishments, a natural-born, tried, trusted, and gallant leader. Under him our combined forces operated, just as later all the allied armies were placed under the direction of Marshal Foch.

PERFECT TEAMWORK

Now as to our operations with the Grand Fleet. When we joined we were at once, thanks to our home training, able to co-ordinate and co-operate with the British fleet. In order to work homogeneously we adopted their signals and methods of communication, their plans, policies, manoeuvres, and tactics; we took our share of the work, patrol, search, protecting the convoys, mining, and other activities. Sometimes we were commanded by British Admirals, sometimes they served under my command; there was never the slightest friction, misunderstanding, or petty jealousy. In fact, our mutual association in this war's work has drawn us so close together that in the Grand Fleet it was instrumental in ripening friendship with brotherhood.

Within a very short time after our first operations with the Grand Fleet we were assigned to one of the two places of honor and importance in the battle line. We were known and designated as the Sixth Battle Squadron, and, as one of the two so-called fast wings, would take station at the head or rear of the whole battleship force, dependent upon certain conditions, unnecessary to mention, when

going into action. As a matter of fact, when, on one occasion, we came within a few miles of cutting off from its base and engaging the German fleet, the disposition was such that the American Battleship Division would have been in the van and have led into action, had the enemy not avoided action and taken refuge behind his defenses, as usual, before we could catch him.

It was our policy to go after him every time he showed his nose outside of his ports; no matter when or where, whether in single ships, by divisions, or his whole fleet, out we went, day or night, rain or shine, (and there was mighty little daylight and much less shine in the Winter months,) blow high or blow low, and chase him back in his hole. So persistent was this performance on our part, so sure were we to get after him, that, toward the end, he rarely ventured more than a few miles from his base.

Every inducement was offered him to come out. Inferior forces were sent down into the Heligoland Bight to induce him to attack; valuable convoys were dispatched apparently without protection, and other devices to tempt him out; but he would not come. It is needless to add that such expeditions, on every occasion, were well guarded, and we were ready to pounce on him with unseen forces had he attempted to take advantage of the seeming small force or unprotected vessels.

THE NEW YORK RAMMED

In our operations in the North Sea we were frequently attacked by submarines, and our battleships had numerous narrow escapes, often only by prompt and skillful handling. On one occasion a submarine rammed the flagship *New York*, dented the bottom, and demolished the starboard propeller. But there is every reason to believe that the blows from the propeller sank the submarine. En route to drydock to make repairs and install a new propeller three torpedoes in rapid succession were fired at her by hostile submarines. But again she avoided them by clever manoeuvring and escaped. Once when guarding or supporting a convoy of

thirty or forty vessels, on the coast of Norway, in midwinter, a bunch of hostile subs fired six torpedoes at us. Again only our vigilance and instantaneous manoeuvring saved us, but by a very narrow margin. There were still other attacks by submarines which necessitated quick action to avoid them.

It would be superfluous to go into the details of our operations in the North Sea; or to mention the rigorous climate, when the latitude is north of Sitka in Alaska, or about equal to that of Petrograd in Russia; or the terrific weather, the cold, sleet, snow, ice, and heavy seas; the arduous and dangerous navigation; the continuous cruising in close formation at high speeds, without lights, where the Winter nights lasted eighteen hours. Or the dangers of mine fields, our own sometimes, as well as those of the enemy; or the repeated attacks of hostile submarines on our battleships, and the never-ending readiness and vigilance of the whole fleet to put to sea on all but instant notice.

ALWAYS READY TO FIGHT

Let it be sufficient to say that during our absence of a year there was no other condition than that of constant and continuous readiness for action. There was no liberty or leave worth mentioning; no one allowed away from the ships after dark, nor for a period longer than four hours, and then only in the immediate vicinity of the ship, in signal or telephone communication, subject to recall. All ships were completely closed and darkened from sunset to sunrise, as a precaution against air and other attacks; in Winter this meant from fifteen to eighteen hours a day. This, in an all but arctic climate, was one of our many hardships. But there was no complaint; on the other hand, every one seemed happy and contented, and all eager to go to sea every time the occasion demanded in the hopes that we would meet the German fleet and engage it. Let me add that with all the demands which have been placed upon the ships of this division they could steam around the world as they are now and still be ready to go into action.

To give an idea of the immense size and number of vessels employed in the Grand Fleet, it might be of interest here to state that, entering or leaving port, our column of ships, excluding destroyers, was on an average about sixty-five miles long; on one occasion, seventy-six miles. Its length was dependent upon weather and other conditions, as well as upon the number of ships.

THE GERMAN SURRENDER

After four years of war for the Grand Fleet, and after we had been a part of it for the last year, there came the débâcle, the last scene of the great drama. Not as we had all expected, as the successful termination of a great sea battle, but as an ignominious surrender without firing a gun. Surely no more complete victory was ever won, nor a more humiliating end could have come to a powerful and much-vaunted fleet than that which came to the German High Seas Fleet.

The Commander in Chief of the Grand Fleet demanded and received what actually amounted to an unconditional surrender of the whole German Navy. Under his orders the enemy's ships were disarmed, ammunition landed, torpedo warheads sent ashore, breechblocks and fire-control instruments removed, and every offensive utility rendered innocuous. Then, with reduced crews, under the command of a German Admiral, in one long column, the heavy battleships leading, the German fleet sailed for a designated rendezvous, to arrive at a specified time, just outside of the Firth of Forth in Scotland, where the Grand Fleet lay at anchor.

Before daylight the Grand Fleet was under way and proceeded to sea, heading east, in two long columns, six miles apart, our American battleship force being in the middle of the northern line. * * * At a prearranged signal our forces swung symmetrically through 180 degrees, and, still paralleling the enveloped Germans, conducted them into a designated anchorage in the entrance of the Firth of Forth. Then came a signal from the Commander in Chief to the surrendered fleet: "At sundown lower your

colors and do not hoist them again without permission."

After an inspection by British and American officers to gain assurance that the ships were disarmed, they were sent in groups, under guard, to Scapa Flow, in the bleak harbor in the Orkneys, where the Grand Fleet had spent many a dreary month and year, waiting like ferocious dogs in leash, watching and waiting, to pounce on the German fleet should the opportunity ever occur.

Here the Germans now lie at anchor in long symmetrical lines, helpless, innocuous, harmless; coralled like wild and cruel beasts that have been hobbled, guarded by a single division of battleships.

Our mission has been successfully accomplished; the German fleet is a thing of the past; the seas are safe and free to our own and our allies' ships. The value of sea power could have no better demonstration.

CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 20, 1919]

THE results of the general election held in the United Kingdom on Dec. 14, 1918, were published a fortnight later. The election was the first held under the new act of 1918, which changed constituencies, raised the number of seats in the House of Commons from 670 to 707, and allowed women to vote. The results gave the Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, a majority of 235 seats—472 out of 707. It was a great victory for the coalition, with coalition Unionists and Liberals—and especially some Laborites—still subordinating party to national issues. In Ireland, however, the Sinn Feiners had overwhelmed the Nationalists.

On Jan. 10 the Prime Minister announced a new Cabinet. It was mainly a shuffling of the cards, with a majority of Unionists still in high places, and the single innovation of an Indian as an Under Secretary. The chief members, aside from the Premier as First Lord of the Treasury, are as follows:

Lord Privy Seal and Leader in the House of Commons—ANDREW BONAR LAW.

President of the Council and Leader in the House of Lords—Earl CURZON of Kedleston.

Ministers Without Portfolio—GEORGE NICOLL BARNES and Sir ERIC GEDDES.

Lord Chancellor—Sir F. E. SMITH.

Secretary for Home Affairs—EDWARD SHORTT.

Foreign Secretary—ARTHUR J. BALFOUR.

Secretary for the Colonies—Viscount MILNER.

Secretary of War and the Air Ministry—WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL.

Financial Secretary to the War Office—HENRY W. FORSTER.

Secretary for India—EDWIN S. MONTAGU.

First Lord of the Admiralty—WALTER HUME LONG.

President of the Board of Trade—Sir ALBERT STANLEY.

Department of Overseas Trade Development and Intelligence—Sir ARTHUR STEEL-MAITLAND.

Secretary of Agriculture—R. E. PROTHERO.

Minister of Education—H. A. L. FISHER.

Secretary of the Ministry of Munitions, (Later Ministry of Supply)—ANDREW WEIR.

Food Controller—GEORGE H. ROBERTS.

Minister of Shipping—Sir J. P. MACLAY.

Minister of Labor—Sir ROBERT STEVENSON.

Minister for National Service and Reconstruction—Sir AUCKLAND GEDDES.

Attorney General—Sir GORDON HEWART.

Postmaster General—ALBERT HOLDEN ILLINGWORTH.

Chancellor of the Exchequer—AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—General Viscount FRENCH.

Chief Secretary for Ireland—Sir JAMES IAN MACPHERSON.

Secretary for Scotland — ROBERT MUNRO.

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MINISTERIAL CRISIS IN ITALY

ALTHOUGH the speeches President Wilson made in Italy were said to have cleared the air there, in reality they precipitated a Ministerial crisis

which was only relieved on Jan. 18 by a reconstruction of the Government under Premier Orlando, the meaning of which is that Italy will adhere to the Treaty of London of April 26, 1915, under whose terms she entered the war, unless the projected League of Nations shall otherwise decree. Last Spring a large portion of public opinion was ready to throw overboard the treaty and make concessions to the Jugoslavs on the Adriatic littoral. Since the Diaz armistice of Nov. 4, however, there has been increasing friction between the Italians and Jugoslavs.

To stem the tide the Socialist Minister of Military Aid and War Pensions, Leonida Bissolati, resigned in the last week of December. His subsequent attempts to justify his policy aroused demonstrations against him. Each side interpreted President Wilson's speeches in its favor. Yet it is likely that only one man knew their true significance—Conte V. Macchi di Cellere, the Ambassador at Washington, who had accompanied the President abroad—and he passed on his knowledge to his chief, Baron Sidney Sonnino, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the uncompromising advocate of the Treaty of London.

Signor Nitti, Minister of the Treasury, relying on his own supposed great popularity, followed the example of Bissolati, believing that the other Ministers would also resign and that he would be called by the King to form a Government, which, with strong Socialist and Clerical backing, would repudiate the Treaty of London and institute a policy of concessions toward Jugoslavia. But how mistaken Signor Nitti was the following official communiqué, issued Jan. 18, will reveal—Orlando is still Premier and Baron Sonnino is still Minister of Foreign Affairs:

King Victor Emmanuel accepted the resignation of Signor Sacchi, Minister of Justice; Signor Nitti, Minister of the Treasury; Signor Milani, Minister of Agriculture, and Signor Villa, Minister of Transport. He has designated Signor Facta, former Minister of Finance, to be Minister of Justice; Signor Stringher to be Minister of the Treasury, General Caviglia as Minister of War, General Girardini to be Minister of Pensions, Signor Riccio, former Minister of Posts

and Telegraphs, to be Minister of Agriculture, and Signor de Nava, a member of the Boselli Ministry, to be Minister of Transport.

There has been created a post of Vice Premier during the absence of Premier Orlando. Signor Villa has been designated for this place. A Ministry of Reconstruction for invaded territory has been created, and Signor Fradeletto, former Minister of Public Instruction, will be chief.

* * *

NATIONAL PROHIBITION

ON Jan. 16 the American Nation voted "dry" when the Legislature of Nebraska ratified the following constitutional amendment, making the necessary three-quarters of the forty-eight States to do so:

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all Territories subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes are hereby prohibited.

Sec. 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Sec. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

It will be known as the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The ratification by Nebraska was instantly followed by that of Wyoming and Missouri, and then by Minnesota and Wisconsin, leaving eight States still inactive: Connecticut, with its prohibition of liquor advertising in dry districts, Nevada already dry, New Jersey with local option, New Mexico already dry, New York with an attempt to ratify the amendment by popular vote, Pennsylvania partly dry by judicial action, Rhode Island with local option, and Vermont with local option.

On Nov. 21, 1918, nation-wide prohibition from June 30, 1919, until the United States military forces should be demobilized, was enacted by President Wilson signing the Food Stimulation bill. This was a war measure. The new amendment goes into effect Jan. 16,

1920, but prohibition will be the law throughout the United States beginning July 1, 1919.

* * *

DEATH OF AMBASSADOR PAGE

WALTER HINES PAGE, who died at Pinehurst, N. C., Dec. 21, nearly five months after he had resigned his Ambassadorial post at the Court of St. James's, was the second of our war Ambassadors to die. The first was George W. Guthrie, who died at his post at Tokio in the Summer of 1917. Mr. Page was born at Cary, N. C., sixty-three years ago, and received his appointment April 21, 1913.

He studied at Randolph-Macon College, Virginia, had been a Fellow of Johns Hopkins University, and during his diplomatic career received degrees from the Universities of Cambridge, Aberdeen, Oxford, and Edinburgh.

Early in his London sojourn he began to lose health. During the period of his country's neutrality his position was most trying. His embassy took over the diplomatic interests of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Complaints flowed back and forth between London and Berlin, where Ambassador Gerard had taken charge of the British interests. Both sides complained that illegal implements of war were being used, that atrocities were indulged in. Aside from these cross-charges Mr. Page was obliged to pour oil on the troubled waters aroused by England's drastic methods of applying the right of search and designating contraband which threatened to turn neutrals against the Entente. How well he discharged his difficult duties is shown by the praise he received from both British and German Governments, although the latter never forgave him for not placing the U-boat murders lower in crime than the British confiscations of ships and cargoes. When the United States entered the war he had a force of seventeen secretaries and attachés to help him. His work became less arduous and more congenial. Still, the change was too late to benefit his health.

His life before he entered diplomacy was a strange mixture of profound scholarship, editing, and publishing, to

all of which he applied a strict business sense. As editor he rebuilt both *The Atlantic Monthly* and *The Forum*, and started *The World's Work* for Doubleday, Page & Co., of which firm of publishers he was a member when he went to London. His speeches abroad were considered models of their kind by the British press, long accustomed to the English of Lowell and Choate from an American mouth.

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THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, the twenty-sixth President of the United States, died at Oyster Bay, Jan. 6, 1919, at the age of 60 years and 4 months. His unique personality had probably impressed upon mankind more than any other in history—intimately or remotely he was known to more men—and from royalty and statesmen to the humblest and lowest the whole world rose to do him honor and to mourn. In many ways and through varied vehicles of expression and activity he had touched all vital chords in humanity. He was politician and statesman, naturalist and explorer, and the author of over thirty books, whose range of subjects covered history, travel, biography, science, and belles-lettres. The reputation he achieved in each vocation would have made him distinguished if he had done nothing else.

In a proclamation issued Jan. 7 President Wilson thus enumerated some of his offices and the distinction he received in them:

As President of the Police Board of his native city, as member of the Legislature and Governor of his State, as Civil Service Commissioner, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, as Vice President and as President of the United States, he displayed administrative powers of a signal order and conducted the affairs of these various offices with a concentration of effort and a watchful care which permitted no divergence from the line of duty he had definitely set for himself.

In the war with Spain he displayed singular initiative and energy and distinguished himself among the commanders of the army in the field. As President he awoke the nation to the dangers of private control which lurked in our financial and industrial systems. It was by thus arresting the attention and stimulating the purpose of the country that he

opened the way for subsequent necessary and beneficent reforms.

His private life was characterized by a simplicity, a virtue, and an affection worthy of all admiration and emulation by the people of America.

* * *

THE HARNESS MAKER WHO BECAME A GERMAN CHANCELLOR

FRIEDRICH EBERT has conducted the Provisional Government of Germany since Nov. 9, when he was placed in charge as Imperial Chancellor by the last official act of the Kaiser and Prince Max, who, then resigning from the Chancellorship, had not the temerity to reveal his new office of Regent which he had received by imperial mandate. Ebert had been the majority Socialist leader in the old days and the President of the Reichstag Main Committee at a later period. His masterpiece was the famous resolution of July 19, 1917, which so sorely afflicted the neutral world with the belief that the German Government was ready for a just peace and quite convinced Pope Benedict XV. to that effect.

Friedrich Ebert, formerly called Fritz by his associates, is a Heidelberg harness maker, 47 years of age. He is a typical example of how a man can rise to the top of a political party by solid commonplace gifts of head and character, coupled with indefatigable industry and keen interest and ambition to succeed. His career previous to July, 1917, is interesting only for its obscurity and restraint. From the tailor's shop of his father he was apprenticed to a saddler and thence drifted into journalism, writing for the *Bürgerzeitung* in 1892 on labor topics. In 1900 he became secretary of the artisan organization and finally, five years later, was seated in the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party. It was not until 1910 that he was elected to the Reichstag.

Down to the time of the war he was for the most part one of the silent majority of the parliamentary faction; since that time he appears to have distinguished himself mainly as the consistent champion of orthodoxy—in the sense of fidelity, not to the doctrines of Marx,

but to the views of the majority of his colleagues.

Almost any day after Nov. 9 he had the alternative of leading the proletariat or of slaughtering the Spartacans and becoming dictator. He chose a middle course; he asked the support of the proletariat, of the intellectuals, of the capitalists, of the military, and then eliminated the Spartacans with the least possible bloodshed. He possessed none of the spectacular attributes of leadership which characterized Kerensky in Russia, but he used the machine guns at the propitious moment, as Kerensky did not.

* * *

BELGIUM AND LIMBURG

BELGIUM is asking the Peace Congress for the Dutch province of Limburg, which juts into Belgian territory. Limburg has 850 square miles of area and its population numbers 300,000, most of whom are Flemings. The Germans found it a short cut to the front in West Flanders and passed over its railway the sand and cement used in making the famous "pill boxes" and other more obvious contraband commodities. On Nov. 13 a force of 25,000 Germans concentrated at Maeseeyck, or Maasejik, in the Belgian province of Limbourg, attempted to return through Limburg, but were disarmed by the Dutch before they were allowed to do so.

Limburg is bounded on the east by Rhenish Prussia and on the other sides by the Dutch province of North Brabant and the Belgian provinces of Liège and Limbourg. Its capital is Maestricht, where in the Church of St. Sevastius (Hoofdkerk) it has the oldest ecclesiastical edifice in Holland. Under the town is a labyrinth of ancient chalk quarries stretching for fifteen miles. Maestricht is fifty-six miles east of Brussels and fifty-two southwest of Cologne, where the British have their bridgehead on the Rhine.

Lying in the expanding valley of the lower Meuse, Limburg is under a high state of cultivation, and by barge, canal boat, and rail is within easy reach of the markets of both Belgium and Rhenish Prussia and even of Northern France.

On Jan. 16 the Dutch press accused the

French of fathering a campaign in favor of Holland's giving up Limburg to Belgium.

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POLAND'S NEW GOVERNMENT

JOSEPH PILSUDSKI, who received the full powers of the Polish Regency Council when it resigned on Nov. 14, 1918, surrendered his authority on Jan. 18, to a coalition Government of which the famous pianist, Ignace Paderewski, was Premier and Foreign Minister. For a while it seemed as if Paderewski would not succeed in satisfying Pilsudski that he intended to establish a democratic republic, and an armed conflict was narrowly averted. A period of strain and danger of permanent misunderstanding ensued, aggravated by falsified dispatches originated in Germany. A compromise was at length effected and the new Government formed, representing all factions, the Ministers of Justice, Food, and Public Works, having previously been members of the Moracrewski Government. The Government summoned a Constituent Diet to meet Feb. 9. The first decree of the Paderewski Ministry was to order the obligatory recruitment of men of the class of 1898.

The formation of a stable Government and the composing of the bitter factional fights was due to the yielding of Pilsudski, one of the most picturesque figures in the fight for Polish freedom. Joseph Pilsudski, who comes of very good Lithuanian Polish noble stock, was born in 1867. In 1885, as a student of medicine at the University of Kharkov, he became connected with the Socialist movement, and in 1888 was banished for five years to Siberia. In 1893 Pilsudski returned to Poland and became one of the chief founders of the Polish Socialist Party in Russian Poland. During the following eight years he managed to elude the Russian police, though constantly sought for. Caught in 1900, he successfully simulated madness, inventing novel forms of mania, and, after about a year in a lunatic asylum, escaped to London, which, at that time, was one of the chief centres of the Polish Socialist Party. He returned to Poland in 1902.

Pilsudski was the leader of the group

favoring a national Socialist armed revolution. He was active during the Russo-Japanese war and did make one attack at Ragowa, but did not carry his party with him. When the world war broke out he at first continued his opposition to the Czar, but in 1915 stopped recruiting for the army which he had created to aid the Central Powers. He came in conflict with the Austrian authorities and resigned in the Spring of 1916. His resignation was refused, but he withdrew his brigade from the front.

When the Central Powers declared for Polish independence, Nov. 5, 1916, he was called to aid in the formation of a Polish Army, but insisted that there must be a true Polish National Government to direct it. The Central Powers declined to meet his views, and he prevented the formation of the army. When the Russian Revolutionary Government recognized Polish independence he became an opponent of the Central Powers and ordered his followers to refuse to co-operate with them. He was arrested and deported to Germany and was not released until Nov. 2, 1918. Upon his return to Poland, on Nov. 14, Prince Lubomierski, Archbishop Kakowski, and Count Ostrowski, who composed the Regency Council, transmitted its powers to General Pilsudski and he was in supreme control until he in turn transferred the full direction of affairs to the Coalition Government formed by Paderewski.

A comprehensive review of modern Polish conditions and a digest of earlier Polish history appear on Page 313 and 319 of this number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

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GERMANY'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

THE Ebert Government, having disposed of anarchy in Berlin in the week ended Jan. 18, held elections for the National Assembly the next day throughout the area of the old empire, even including Alsace-Lorraine, but not German Austria and Bohemia, whose status is to be fixed by the Assembly when it convenes on Feb. 10. Meanwhile, Herr Ebert is at work on the new Constitution, which, it is said, will govern fifteen States under a form of

federal administration yet to be determined.

The official instructions for the elections issued by the Government were called "The Electoral Law for the Empire of Nov. 30, 1918." By this law the franchise was given to all Germans over 20 years of age, and it is estimated that about 21,000,000 women and 18,000,000 men either voted or were qualified to vote by secret personal single ballot. The former empire had been divided into thirty-eight electoral districts, and the number of delegates elected to the Assembly was 433—provided Alsace-Lorraine elected its quota of twelve. Approximately there was one delegate elected for every 150,000 of the population.

Of the various parties which nominated candidates only one, the German Socialist Democratic Party—the party responsible for the existence of Ebert and his colleagues—entered the field under its old name. The Centre, or Clerical, Party is now known as the Christian Democratic People's Party and even has affiliated with it Protestant churchmen. The old conservatives (Junkers, Pan Germans, and Agrarians) have united with the anti-Semitic group of the former Christian Socialist Party and now form the German National People's Party.

Under the name of the German Demo-

cratic Party are united the radicals of the old Progressive Party, the radicals of the National Liberals, and many independent Democrats. The Independent Social Democratic Party itself, which was first formed in protest against the war in March, 1916, by twenty Social Democratic Deputies in the Reichstag led by Hugo Haase, Eduard Bernstein, and Karl Kautsky, (one of the German delegates to the Paris Peace Conference,) had only a few candidates in the field. The attempt of Dr. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg to lead it into the Spartacus group proved its ruin. Its surviving extremists, however, still hold that there should be no National Assembly and that the body politic, as well as the Government, should consist of one class, the proletariat, while the intellectual class should be hired to work for it and the capitalists eliminated altogether.

* * *

NUMBER OF U-BOATS DESTROYED

THE Allies destroyed or captured 202 German submarines during the war. In addition to these, fourteen German submarines were destroyed by the Germans themselves—ten in the Adriatic and four off Flanders. Seven others were interned in neutral countries. One hundred and eighty submarines were surrendered to the Allies, and 170 others found in course of construction in Germany were to be destroyed.

A French Tribute to America's Dead

The following interchange of messages of friendship between France and the United States took place on Jan. 7, 1919. Premier Clemenceau of France, at the suggestion of Mme. Siegfried, President of the National Council of French Women, took the initiative by sending through the American Embassy this tribute to America's dead:

The French Government wishes to express its profound sympathy and gratitude to the American families whose sons have met a glorious death on French soil during the war. It wishes to share in their mournings. The graves of the young soldiers of America are as sacred in its eyes as are those of their French comrades, and it will take the necessary

measures to provide that they shall be respected and tended with a reverent and patriotic care.

Acting Secretary Polk of the State Department at Washington sent this reply:

The Government and people of the United States have been deeply touched by the sentiments expressed in your message which gives still further evidence of the warm friendship and close relations existing between the two Governments and their peoples. The loss of the young soldiers of America on the field of battle in France in the fight against autocracy and militarism has made French soil sacred to American families, and it is with the deepest of sentiment we learn of the care the Government of France proposes to give the graves of these fallen heroes.

Neutrals and the Peace Congress

Knotty Problems Touching the Interests of Holland, Luxemburg, Spain, and Other European Neutrals

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1919]

[For boundary problems among the belligerents see Pages 295 and 306]

THE European nations that remained neutral during the war are to be called upon to send representatives to Paris, where they can be invited to be present at the Peace Conference when the subject touching the interests of these nations are taken up. What are these interests? Apart from the general considerations of a League of Nations, freedom of the seas, and similar subjects, which concern all the nations of the earth, nearly every one of the neutral nations has a more direct concern with some old European question involving rights of territory. Even before the peace sessions began, the Spanish Premier, Count Romanones, visited Paris and raised the question of continued British possession of Gibraltar and of the Spanish and French spheres in Morocco. For Denmark there is the question of Schleswig-Holstein, for Sweden there is the greatest significance in the future of Finland and the Aland Islands, lately a Russian outpost. Holland has a special interest in the future colonial arrangements, owing to her great East India possessions, and she has also heard the echo of old claims of Belgium concerning the Province of Limburg and the south bank of the Scheldt. As for little Luxemburg, her whole future rests in the balance.

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM

One of the first acts of the Belgian Government when restored to its rightful heritage was to announce that, henceforth, Belgium was not to exist as a ward of the nations, the place given to her in the famous "scrap of paper" treaty of 1839, but that Belgium claimed complete independence to take her own means to insure her future safety, so brutally violated by the German Empire in August, 1914. Thus Belgium goes

back to where she stood in 1830, after her successful revolution. Already familiar voices of that period have been heard in the unofficial claims that have been put forward for the addition to Belgium of the part of the old Province of Limburg retained by Holland in 1839, and the south bank of the Scheldt, which gives control of the waterway to Holland.

When the conference of powers met in London after the revolution of 1830 to define the limits of the new country, the Belgians presented a memorial dated Jan. 3, 1831, giving their own ideas of what should constitute their State. The memorial declared that "Belgium must be independent, strong, and contented," and set forth four requirements which would have to be fulfilled before the Belgians would consider their desires met. These demands, which are again assuming first importance, were freedom of the Scheldt, possession of the left bank of the Scheldt, possession of the whole of Limburg, and possession of the whole of Luxemburg, subject to obligations of that part of it which was included in the German confederation.

The conference at London, which had undertaken to settle the whole controversy in its own way, and which looked on all revolution with the distrust of the age of the Holy Alliance, rejected the memorial in toto and proceeded to lay down its own boundaries for the new country. The conference decreed that Holland was to get all the territory which belonged to the Republic of the United Provinces of the Netherlands in 1790, and that Belgium was to get what was left out of the Kingdom of the Netherlands as created by the Congress of Vienna, with the exception of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.

On June 26, 1831, the Conference of

London laid down its famous Eighteen Articles, which were to settle the Belgian-Dutch question, and, in the mind of the proposers, the two nations directly concerned were to accept them without question. In that protocol the claims of Belgium received more favorable consideration than they were destined to receive in the settlement that finally became effective. The question of Luxemburg was left open for further negotiation, and as for Limburg and its principal city of Maastricht, Article 4 of the protocol said:

If it is found that the Republic of the United Provinces of the Netherlands did not exclusively exercise the sovereignty of Maastricht in 1790, the two parties shall consider the means of making an amicable arrangement on this subject.

Article 5 opened a way to adjust the Limburg difficulties by providing:

As it would result from the basis laid down in Articles 1 and 2 (making the limits of Holland those of 1790) that Holland and Belgium would possess districts surrounded by the respective territories of each other, such exchanges as may be thought useful to both parties shall be amicably made between Holland and Belgium.

According to Article 8, commissioners of Holland and Belgium were to meet at Maastricht for the demarkation of the territories and the exchanges provided for in Article 5.

These terms the Belgian Government was willing to accept, although there were many in the chamber at Brussels who demanded the full territorial program of 1830 and talked of defying all the powers of Europe. On July 9, 1831, the Belgian Congress accepted the terms, and it was then thought that all that remained was for the powers to gain the signature of the Dutch King to the articles.

But the King of Holland had no intention of letting his affairs be settled in this way. King Leopold of Belgium, in the meantime, assumed his throne in Brussels. On Aug. 4 King William of Holland ordered the resumption of hostilities against the Belgians. A short conflict followed, in which the Dutch, who had prepared for a further struggle and were anxious to retrieve their first failures, won an easy victory over the

Belgians, who had neglected to prepare for a new outbreak of fighting. Any chance of obtaining terms on the basis of the Eighteen Articles disappeared.

THE TWENTY-FOUR ARTICLES

New terms were finally offered by the London Conference in the Twenty-four Articles, which gave to Holland the disputed Limburg district and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg to the ruling house of Holland. These were the terms Belgium finally had to accept, but it was not until 1839, nine years after the revolution, that the little kingdom gave up the struggle to gain the districts which she considered hers. Even then there was the bitterest feeling, and the terms were regarded in Belgium as a most painful surrender. In setting his signature to the treaty which was to give up the disputed districts of Limburg and Luxemburg, M. van de Weyer, the Belgian delegate at the London Conference, said:

His Majesty, my royal master, owed a last effort to the populations which have showed so much devotion and affection, and if he consents to abandon them it is less because of the dangers which threatened the whole of Belgium than because of the evils which must burst upon Limburg and Luxemburg.

Thus Belgium gave up territory she had clung to for nine years. The Belgians acquiesced in the settlement that has since marked the two small countries, receiving a part of the Duchy of Luxemburg, now known as Belgian Luxemburg, and leaving to Holland the narrow neck of territory running along the Meuse and inclosing the important city of Maastricht, with undisturbed possession of the Scheldt River.

The Belgian claim to the whole of Limburg was based on the fact that it had formed a part of the Spanish and Austrian Netherlands, along with the other Belgic provinces. The Dutch resisted the claim because it meant the loss of Maastricht, one of the strongest fortresses on the Meuse, and bound to Holland through very old ties. (The city figured frequently in the long struggle against the Spanish armies.) Besides Maastricht, the Dutch gained the important towns of Venlo and Roermond, both of which have important bridges.

POSITION OF LIMBURG

The position of the Province of Limburg in the Dutch Kingdom has been peculiar. The Netherlands recognize the difference between themselves and the Limburgers. Limburg is solidly Catholic, while Holland as a whole is strongly Protestant. The people speak Flemish and German instead of Dutch. Dutch is not even the language of the schools, which for most of the children are church schools. The complaint of neglect of the province by the Central Government is an old one, and one that The Hague has endeavored to overcome in recent years. As the trouble with the Belgic provinces had been one of religion, as well as of other matters, the Catholic Limburger could not hope for a warm welcome at the capital. The complaints still linger, and the question whether Belgium will now, after nearly ninety years, be allowed to annex the district is once more causing the Dutch some anxiety.

The German Government, for reasons of its own, did not touch this strip of territory when it launched its great drive at the heart of France through Belgium. But the peculiar position of Dutch Limburg was brought out during the retreat of the beaten German armies, when they asked and received of Holland permission to pass through this Dutch territory in going home from Belgium.

The New York Times correspondent at The Hague, writing on Jan. 6, sent the following statement of a prominent Dutchman on the Limburg question:

No one dares to express an opinion, and a referendum taken under present circumstances would be a farce. Wilson's idea of self-determination is all right as a theory, but unless the people are allowed to know and discuss the problem, it is useless. The people are ignorant of the interests, economic and other, at stake. No one dares to explain them. Politicians speaking for our annexation to Belgium would be guilty of high treason, which is punishable by even twenty years in prison.

Just as in Alsace-Lorraine, the officials are not real Limbourgeois. Limburg feels itself a stepchild whose interests have always been neglected. Nothing has been done to further her economic interests or protect her industries, the only thing which is exploited being the coal mines,

and this is done in the interests of the rest of Holland.

LEFT BANK OF SCHELDT

The suggestion that Belgium should have the left bank of the Scheldt affects the district—near the mouth of the river—known as Dutch Flanders. Before the Dutch provinces were won away from the crown of Spain this territory was a part of the old county of Flanders, which extended right up to the river. But the Dutch, in their long struggle with Spain, won the little territory to the south of the river, which they still hold, and thus gained complete possession of the Scheldt. The territory was recognized as Dutch territory when the powers of Europe accepted the fact of Dutch independence in 1648.

But the Dutch control of the mouth of the Scheldt has been ever since a source of unhappiness for the port of Antwerp. When the French revolutionary armies swept over Belgium and took Antwerp, a decree abolished this control on the part of Holland, on the ground that such possession was a "violation of the rights of man." History is full of the complaints of the Antwerpers against the old control by which Holland could blockade the river in time of war and collect tolls on all shipping in time of peace. When the Emperor, Joseph II., in 1781, visited Antwerp, there were many violent appeals to him to free the Scheldt, and a poet of the city addressed to the Emperor a quaint plea in the name of the river:

Sois le restaurateur de mes antiques
droits,
Et de mon lustré éteint ressuscite l'aurore.
Daigne, daigne briser ces funestre liens,
Qu'Amsterdam a forgé de ses avarés
mains;
Songe que de mes flots interdire l'usage,
Au droit des nations est un cruel outrage.
La nature en appelle à ta sage équité.*

The new Belgian Kingdom took up the question of the freedom of the Scheldt in 1856, when M. Auguste Lambermont, head of the Commercial Department of the Foreign Office, put forth the first plan to capitalize the tolls and free commerce by a bulk payment to Holland.

*Quoted in "Luxemburg and Her Neighbors," by Ruth Putnam.

The Belgian Government undertook to pay one-third of the amount necessary and won the assent of the other trading nations to pay the balance on the basis of their commerce with Antwerp. This made the share of Great Britain greater than the share of Belgium. Twenty-one countries signed the treaty, which was finally drawn up and ratified on July 15, 1863. The sum paid was \$7,255,710.

The new order was received with great rejoicing in Belgium, and it did much to remove any lingering hostility toward Holland. The relations between the two small countries have from that time been excellent. One of the questions which the Paris Conference must decide is whether any of these old questions are to be taken up and solved anew.

LUXEMBURG CHANGES RULERS

The future of Luxemburg rests in the hands of the Paris Conference. The grand duchy has, since the Congress of 1815, been a frequent subject for the great European powers to discuss. It was joined by that conference to the Kingdom of the Netherlands, since the guiding principle of that meeting was to create a strong northern neighbor for France. In the revolution of 1830 the Luxemburgers to a man joined the movement against the Dutch ruler and looked forward to joining the new Belgium. But the Conference of London was not willing to weaken the ruler to that extent. It divided the duchy, making the western part into the present Belgian Luxemburg and leaving the present grand duchy to the House of Orange.

On the death of the father of the present Queen of Holland, the throne of Luxemburg, bound by the Salic law, passed in 1890 to a related line, that of the Nassau-Weilburgs and the Grand Duke Adolph, thus cutting the duchy off entirely from the ruling house of Holland. In 1893 Adolph's son, William, married Marie Anne of Portugal. Adolph died in 1905, the son in 1912. The son had six daughters, but no son, and in 1907 the Luxemburg Chamber of Deputies recognized the right of the eldest daughter to succeed. She came to the throne in 1912. Two years later she found her little duchy in the hands of the German Army.

With the withdrawal of the Germans, revolutionary movements arose in the country, which were renewed in stronger form on Jan. 9, 1919, with a proclamation of a republic by the anti-dynastic party and the withdrawal of the Duchess from the capital to her château outside.

INCIPIENT REVOLUTION

The events of Jan. 9 in Luxemburg were thus described by a New York Times correspondent under date of Jan. 10:

Yesterday's doings started this way: Since Jan. 1 Parliament has had under investigation the Grand Duchess's attitude during the war, when Luxemburg was occupied by the Germans. Grand Duchess Adelaide comes from the House of Nassau, which is German. Those opposed to her began, as soon as the allied troops got the best of the four years of argument, to accuse her of being pro-German, harking strongly to a telegram Adelaide is alleged to have sent to the Kaiser praying God for his victory.

Now, the population of Luxemburg is much mixed, being divided among French, Belgians, Germans, and those who are just plain Luxemburgeoise. It seems that yesterday there occurred quite a stormy scene in Parliament during a session of the investigation, as a result of which the Clerical Party put on its hat and left the meeting. The Clerical Party is the Grand Duchess's strongest support, and as soon as it left the chamber the democratic factions came automatically into a majority. Then some opportunist seized the occasion to read a resolution declaring a revolution, deposing the youthful Grand Duchess, and proclaiming a republic.

With many cheers the revolting outfit went across the street and called on the army, which at once, 272 strong, joined the revolutionists. With a brass band going, the revolutionists marched into the square, one side of which holds the City Hall, and called on the Burgomaster to state his intentions. That official quickly sized up the situation and made a rousing speech against the Grand Duchess. Thereupon, with a great flourish, the crowd started for the palace to break the news to Adelaide.

HALTED BY ALLIES

But meanwhile the news had spread to allied headquarters, and a block from the palace the revolution met a regiment, whose Colonel informed the crowd that the revolution was off and stated that the assembled multitude would at once go home, which it did. Marshal Foch's headquarters are in the City of Luxemburg, but American soldiers are in the

lower half of the grand duchy, the 33d Division being there, and they are receiving many reports. * * * The Clerical Party today attended Parliament throughout the session and the revolution lid was on.

It may now be told that the Luxemburg revolutionary factions had decided that it would be a great opportunity to oust the Grand Duchess when the American troops, representatives of the world's greatest democracy, entered their city. It was reckoned a great chance, when foes of royalty came along, to get rid of local royalty. Great preparations were made, an enormous revolutionary parade being organized with great finesse.

But the day before our entrance the revolutionary leaders discovered, to their dismay, that it was planned to have General Pershing and the Grand Duchess review the American troops side by side. Thereupon there went post-haste to American Army Headquarters a delegation, which informed those in charge of the American plans that it was deeply desired that the American Commander in Chief should not stand by the side of the Grand Duchess, because that would interfere with certain plans and might precipitate a riot. I cannot mention his name, but a certain American officer said to the Chairman of this delegation: "General Pershing's plans will not be changed, and if any one starts anything you may be among the casualties."

STATEMENT BY THE GOVERNMENT

The Grand Duchess's past leanings toward Germany, however, had seriously undermined public confidence in her, and on Jan. 10 the Premier, Emile Reuter, made public an important statement regarding the intentions of the Government. It announced the aim of Luxemburg to form close ties with the Entente Powers and to establish the independence of the little State. The text of this statement is as follows:

Fellow Citizens: A revolutionary movement aiming at the proclamation of a republic and the downfall of the dynasty was set afoot yesterday in the capital. Disorders, which are the inevitable consequence of this unhealthy agitation, are seriously compromising the national honor and the independence of the grand duchy at the most critical hour of its history. The Government therefore appeals to all citizens who desire to safeguard these precious possessions to help to the utmost in the maintenance of law and order. This is more important because the country is about to make decisions of the highest importance which will largely affect its future prosperity.

The Government has decided to seek an economic alliance with Entente Powers, especially France and Belgium. Necessary negotiations will be begun shortly. Recent events having established the fact that the presence of a sovereign might, under certain circumstances, prove an obstacle to the negotiations, the Grand Duchess, zealous of her country's interests, has declared her readiness to renounce the throne and instructed the Government to consider measures to guarantee the independence of the country and the preservation of the dynasty.

The Government will get in immediate touch with the Chamber of Deputies with a view to discharging its duties. It is convinced that the preservation of the dynasty constitutes at the present moment a necessary guarantee of national autonomy, and that it does not represent any obstacle to the realization of the desired economic union.

Highest interests of State demand that we should not plunge the country into the deadly throes of anarchy. This is also the desire of a vast majority of our fellow-citizens. Any decision relative to dynastic questions, and all questions affecting the fate of the country, must be reserved until the will of the people of Luxemburg is freely expressed through legal channels.

We urgently beg our fellow-citizens to be united on a basis of national agreement so as to give the country dignity in the eyes of the great friendly powers and restore to it the peace and calm which it so greatly needs.

Grand Duchess Marie retired the same day from the capital, taking up quarters in a château near by, and on Jan. 11 issued a proclamation abdicating the throne. The abdication was accepted on Jan. 14, and the chamber voted, 30 to 19, to make her successor the next younger of the six sisters, Princess Charlotte. The new ruler assumed office on Jan. 15. Grand Duchess Charlotte was born Jan. 23, 1896, and is two years and a half younger than the sister who abdicated. It was the Princess Antoinette, the fourth sister, born in 1899, whose engagement to Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria was announced last Summer.

SPANISH INTERESTS

The Spanish Government, under Count Romanones, has begun to take an active part in the proposed League of Nations. Following the visit of Romanones to Paris just before the holidays, a commission was named to study the question of Spain's entry into a world league.

The commission consists of General Weyler, ex-Premier Maura, de la Cueva, Cambó, Alba, de Alhucemas, all former Ministers, and Gasset. Public expressions by the Premier and King Alfonso have shown the Spanish attitude to be in favor of the league and friendly toward the Entente Powers now in session in Paris.

Paris dispatches indicated that the Spanish Premier, in his conferences with English and French statesmen, raised the question of the future of Gibraltar and Spanish Morocco. The proposals were said to have included the return to Spain of Gibraltar, the cession by Spain to France of her Moroccan territory for a consideration of \$200,000,000, and the passing of Ceuta, across the strait from Gibraltar, to Great Britain. A later report said that an agreement had been reached between France and Spain on the Moroccan question, but there was no indication that Great Britain would consider any change regarding Gibraltar, which has been a British possession for more than 200 years.

In her internal affairs latest developments point to a peaceable settlement of the crisis brought about by the threatening stand of the Catalan leaders claiming autonomy for Catalonia. In an interview with *The Associated Press* correspondent at Paris, Count Romanones said that it was proposed to grant the autonomy of Catalonia and thus settle the only serious question confronting the Government.

The reply of the Ministers to the Catalan Party recognized the fact that autonomous organization of the provinces of Spain was not incompatible with the national unity and sovereignty of the State. The Government assumed that the regional powers would be exercised with regard for the rights of the Cortes and the King. The Government proposed to appoint a commission to study the extent of the powers to be granted to the Regional Governments. Thus the Catalan question is tending toward a reshaping of the whole Spanish Government in the direction of a system of greater "State's rights."

The German envoy to Spain, Prince Max von Ratibor, has at last left the Spanish capital, where he had been

shown to be deeply involved in machinations similar to those carried on by the German Embassy in Washington before our entry into the war.

SWITZERLAND

The new President of Switzerland, Mr. Ador, has announced himself as a partisan of the Wilson program for a League of Nations. Immediately after the notification of his election he said to a French correspondent:

"Called by the confidence of the Federative Assembly to preside over the confederation, I ardently hope that the year 1919 will consecrate a definite peace and the triumph of all those principles of right and justice proclaimed by President Wilson, and which ought to be the basis of the future society of nations. Switzerland will be glad to form a part of it."

SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

In Denmark the celebration of the reunion of the Danish part of Schleswig with Denmark has already begun. H. P. Hanssen, the former representative of that district in the German Reichstag, recently arrived in Copenhagen to receive an ovation. At a dinner in his honor given by many officials and prominent Danes, Mr. Hanssen said:

"The great hour has arrived when the posts of the frontier are to be replaced and many are asking how far they ought to be put back. Through our political organization we have tried to give an answer, and this answer has been considered in all its relations; if the line of demarkation is established in conformity with our efforts, the new frontier of the kingdom will correspond exactly with our ideal. A map of Denmark, where all that is Danish is restored to us, that is what we desire, and nothing more. The Minister has spoken of the necessity of a plébiscite on both sides of the border. I am of the same opinion. The Minister has said that the day when the Danish flag floats over Northern Schleswig will be a day of rejoicing for all Denmark. We Schleswigers are rejoicing in advance, like children who are awaiting the fête of Christmas."

A great meeting was held in Copen-

hagen on Dec. 15 in honor of President Wilson's visit to Europe. Great enthusiasm was shown for the President's peace principles.

Norway's bill for ships taken over by the United States during the war has been partly settled by the agreement made by E. N. Hurley of the Shipping Board with representatives of the Norwegian ship owners in London. The United States agrees to pay at once \$11,000,000, which is the amount the owners actually had tied up in property and contracts when the ships were requisitioned. The final settlement is left open, as the full claim of the Norwegians is much greater. The necessity of the Norwegians to replenish their exhausted capital was responsible for the partial settlement. Ships also form Norway's chief interest in the Peace Conference at Paris, where a bill for the heavy loss of

Norwegian ships and lives of seamen will be entered against the German Government. The latest figures give Norway's total loss in shipping during the war as 829 vessels of a total gross tonnage of 1,240,000, and the number of sailors who lost their lives as 1,155.

Sweden's part in the peace negotiations remains undefined. The collapse of Russia and the arrival of an independent Finland profoundly affect Sweden's outlook on the world. Of special interest to her will be the disposition of the Aland Islands, lying near her coast, and formerly a constant reminder of the westward expansion of Russia. Occupied by the Germans after the Russian débâcle, the fate of the Alands now rests with the Paris Conference. In the meantime Sweden holds to the agreement with Norway and Denmark to act together during the discussion of a League of Nations.

The Bolshevik War in Russia

Attitude of the Allies

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1919]

THE fighting on the Ural front in Russia at the end of 1918 was marked by two events of importance. On Dec. 24 native Siberian troops, assisted by two Czechoslovak regiments and commanded by General Gaida, captured the City of Perm from the Bolsheviks. In the battle the Soviet Third Army was practically wiped out. General Gaida's booty included a large amount of war munitions and rolling stock and also 31,000 prisoners, prominent Bolshevik leaders among them. The remnant of the Red Army was driven across the Kama River. A week later the Soviet forces achieved a victory by taking Ufa, recently the seat of an anti-Bolshevik Government, and another city south of Ufa.

On Dec. 30 the allied forces advanced fifteen miles up the Onega River, west of the Archangel sector of the northern front, and recaptured the village of Kadish, in the middle sector of the front, thus improving their outpost positions.

The attacking forces consisted of the American troops, a Polish legion, a French detachment, Canadian artillery, and Russian volunteers. Fighting around Kadish continued for several days, the American forces being outnumbered by the Bolsheviks three to one. The objective of both the allied and Siberian forces was Vologda.

A report, dated Jan. 11, by Colonel George E. Stewart, commanding the American troops in the Archangel sector, stated that the general health, discipline, and morale of the men were excellent, and their clothing and equipment ample. Total of deaths from all causes among a force of 8,000, six officers and 121 enlisted men. The American command was scattered with allied troops over a front of 400 miles at distances from Archangel varying from 100 to 300 miles, with small detachments at various places in the line of communication.

An allied movement against Kiev was

taking shape in the south during the month. Odessa had become the chief base of operations of the Allies on the Black Sea, and a Russo-French army advancing from this base was trying to



POINTS GAINED ON ONEGA RIVER

unite with a Cossack army under General Krasnov which was advancing toward Kiev from Rostov-on-Don.

On the other hand, two Bolshevik armies were advancing from Petrograd into Esthonia and Lithuania, looting and burning as they went. One of these armies captured Wenden, and the other, in the vicinity of Riga, was opposed by British, Esthonian, and German troops. They were reported to have captured Riga on New Year's Day. The Bolshevik armies continued their destructive progress into Poland, capturing Vilna on Jan. 7, and massacring many civilians.

A Warsaw cablegram of Jan. 10 stated that the Bolshevik troops were moving along the railway from Vilna toward the Polish capital, with Bialystok as their objective. They had seized seventeen locomotives in Vilna and had come

into possession of much rolling stock. General Falkenhayn's Tenth Army was reported to be concentrated at Bialystok for demobilization. Grodno was to be evacuated by the Germans on Jan. 15; the soldiers were reported to be receiving 6 marks a day and were allowed to send 120 pounds of food home each month. The German troops on Jan. 13 evacuated Mitau, capital of Courland.

The same day the Ukrainian Government sent an ultimatum to Rumania demanding the evacuation of Bukowina, and asked President Wilson to permit two American Ukrainians to represent that country at the Peace Conference.

British troops landed at Riga Jan. 14 after fighting the Bolsheviks successfully. General Wetzler had left for Reval to study the situation and to assume eventually the chief command of the Finnish Army in Esthonia.

The evacuation of German troops from the Ukraine proceeded under difficulties. A dispatch of Jan. 6 stated that some of the regiments from the Kiev forces had abandoned important stretches of railway, thus endangering the lives of their comrades. The last of the German troops in the Caucasus, with the exception of those of General von Kress, embarked at Poti on the Black Sea. On Jan. 9 General Denekine inflicted a sharp defeat on the Bolsheviks on the River Kuma, in the Caucasus, taking 1,000 prisoners.

Along the Trans-Siberian Railway General Semenoff became active. Stung by the attempt on his life at Chita, he ordered his forces to capture the strategic centre of Verkhne Udinsk, midway between Irkutsk and Chita. When he came into possession of the town he seized Colonel Baronovsky, the military commander of the region, with his staff, all accused of being pro-Bolsheviks. The Colonel and some of his fellow-prisoners later made their escape from the hands of the Cossacks and reached the borders of Mongolia.

On Dec. 27 the Japanese Government announced the withdrawal of 24,000 troops from Siberia, stating its intention to maintain only a diminished force in that country.

Unity of command on the Siberian



CONCENTRIC MOVEMENTS OF ALLIES AGAINST BOLSHEVIST STRONGHOLD

front was arranged, and the French General, Jules Janin, the former commander of the Czechoslovaks, was appointed to the chief command of the allied forces in Russia.

Both in England and in America the month brought some strong parliamentary protests against continuing to maintain troops in Russia. In the British Parliament a criticism of this kind was answered on Dec. 19 by Lord Milner:

You ask me what right we ever had to send British troops to Russia to meddle with the internal affairs of that country, and how long we mean to keep them there now that war is over. The question itself shows that you misapprehend the facts of the case, as well as the motives of the Government.

The reason why allied, not merely British, forces—indeed, the British are only a small proportion of the total allied

troops—were sent to Russia is that the Bolsheviks, whatever their ultimate object, were in fact assisting our enemies in every possible way. It was owing to their action that hundreds of thousands of German troops were let loose to hurl themselves against our men on the western front. It was owing to their betrayal that Rumania, with all its rich resources in grain and oil, fell into the hands of the Germans. It was they who handed over the Black Sea Fleet to the Germans, and who treacherously attacked the Czechoslovaks when the latter only desired to get out of Russia in order to fight for the freedom of their own country in Europe.

The Allies, every one of them, were most anxious to avoid interference in Russia. But it was an obligation of honor to save the Czechoslovaks, and it was a military necessity of the most urgent kind to prevent those vast portions of Russia which were struggling to escape the tyranny of the Bolsheviks from be-

ing overrun by them, and so thrown open as a source of supply to the enemy. I say nothing of the enormous quantities of military stores, the property of the Allies, which were still lying at Archangel and Vladivostok, and which were in course of being appropriated by the Bolsheviks and transferred to the Germans till the allied occupation put an end to the process.

And this intervention was successful. The riot was stopped. The Czechoslovaks were saved from destruction. The resources of Siberia and Southeastern Russia were denied to the enemy. The northern ports of European Russia were prevented from becoming bases for German submarines from which our North Sea barrage could have been turned. These were important achievements and contributed materially to the defeat of Germany. I say nothing of the fact that a vast portion of the earth's surface, and millions of people friendly to the Allies, have been spared the unspeakable horrors of Bolshevik rule.

But in the course of this allied intervention thousands of Russians have taken up arms and fought on the side of the Allies. How can we, simply because our own immediate purposes have been served, come away and leave them to the tender mercies of their and our enemies, before they have had time to arm, train, and organize so as to be strong enough to defend themselves? It would be an abominable betrayal, contrary to every British instinct of honor and humanity.

You may be quite sure that the last thing the Government desires is to leave any British soldiers in Russia a day longer than is necessary to discharge the moral obligations we have incurred. And

that, I believe, is the guiding principle of all the Allies. Nor do I myself think that the time when we can withdraw without disastrous consequences is necessarily distant. But this is a case in which the more haste may be the less speed. If the Allies were all to scramble out of Russia at once, the result would almost certainly be that the barbarism which at present reigns in a part only of that country would spread over the whole of it, including the vast regions of Northern and Central Asia, which were included in the dominions of the Czars. The ultimate consequences of such a disaster cannot be foreseen. But they would assuredly involve a far greater strain on the resources of the British Empire than our present commitments.

The Russian question was debated in the United States Senate on Jan. 9 for fully three hours. Senator Hitchcock, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, defending the Administration for keeping American soldiers in Russia, told the Senate that Marshal Foch was responsible for the allied troops being at Archangel and along the Murman coast. They were needed there, he said, to prevent, among other things, the Germans from establishing a submarine base. Senator Borah of Idaho wanted the American troops withdrawn and Russia to be allowed to work out her own problems. Senator France of Maryland declared that the United States had no more right to invade Russia than had Germany to invade Belgium.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ARMISTICE PERIOD

Dec. 20, 1918, to Jan; 20, 1919

UNITED STATES

Major Gen. Charles T. Menoher appointed to succeed John D. Ryan as Chief of Aircraft Production, Dec. 21.

All restrictions except the right to enter and depart from the country freely and the Government's power of internment removed from German enemy aliens, Dec. 25.

The American dreadnoughts which operated with the British Grand Fleet entered New York Harbor Dec. 26 in a great naval parade.

Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee and four other leaders of the Socialist Party, Adolph Germer, William F. Kruse, J. Louis Engdahl, and Irving St. John Tucker, found guilty of sedition and

disloyalty under the Espionage act, Jan. 8. Berger's conviction barred him from Congress.

Walker D. Hines appointed to succeed William Gibbs McAdoo as Director General of Railroads, Jan. 11.

Attorney General Gregory resigned from the Cabinet, asking that his resignation take effect March 4.

The prohibition amendment to the Constitution was ratified by the affirmative action of the thirty-sixth State on Jan. 16.

AERIAL RECORD

In raids on England by the Germans during the war 5,511 persons were killed or injured, of whom 4,750 were civilians. The deaths numbered 1,570.

ARMISTICE

Drastic conditions were demanded of Germany in renewal of the armistice for a month to Feb. 17, 1919. They included retribution for cruelty by Germans to prisoners, the restoration of machinery and goods stolen from France and Belgium, the removal of German gold from Berlin to a safe place, the giving over of German shipping to carry food supplies to European countries, and the surrender of U-boats on the stocks.

PEACE CONFERENCE

The Supreme Council of the Peace Congress met at the French Foreign Office, Paris, on Jan. 12, to make arrangements for the procedure of the conference.

The first formal session of the Peace Conference was held Jan. 18 in the French Foreign Office at Paris. It was opened freely to the press of all nations.

RUSSIA AND SIBERIA

Word was received on Dec. 20 that the Bolsheviks had arrested Roger C. Tredwell, the American Consul at Tashkent.

Allied forces advanced up the Onega River and on Dec. 30 American troops took Kadish from the Reds. The Bolsheviks took Ufa on Jan. 1. General Denekine inflicted a sharp defeat on the Bolshevik forces in the Caucasus, and on Jan. 9 took Alexandrovsk Grushevsky, after two days' fighting.

Nikolai Lenine, the Bolshevik Premier, was reported to have been arrested at the command of Leon Trotzky, Minister of War and Marine, who made himself Dictator, Jan. 8.

The peasants in Central Russia rose against the imposition of excessive taxes by the Bolsheviks and against the "Committees for Fighting Poverty." Members of the committees in the Tula Government were killed.

Siberian troops took Perm from the Bolsheviks, Dec. 27.

General Semenoff captured Verkhne Udinsk and ordered officials friendly to Kolchak deposed, Dec. 30.

Unity of command on the Siberian front was arranged, and the French General Jules Janin was named in supreme command of the allied forces in Russia.

BALTIC PROVINCES

The Bolsheviks invaded Esthonia and Livonia. On Jan. 4 they captured Riga, arrested all members of the bourgeoisie, and established a Soviet Government. A proclamation was issued announcing that Livonia was subject to Soviet laws and that all private ownership of land had been abolished. British troops again landed in Riga, Jan. 14.

The Prussian Lithuanians rebelled from German sovereignty and under the leadership of Dr. Gaigalaitis seized several cities.

Mittau, Courland, was occupied by the Bolsheviks.

POLAND

The Polish Government issued an ultimatum to Germany demanding the right of passage over German-held railways to Vilna, which was threatened by the Bolsheviks, Dec. 27. Germany refused to accede to the demand. Vilna was captured by Bolshevik forces, Jan. 8. A massacre of civilians began at once. The Bolsheviks then moved on toward Warsaw along the railway. They occupied Lida.

German officers in Posen fired on an allied automobile carrying an American flag, Dec. 27. Street fighting followed, and the Polish Guards defeated the Germans after 138 persons were killed.

Ignace Jan Paderewski went to Poland as the representative, he said, of 4,000,000 Poles, from whom he received plenary powers. Paderewski was slightly wounded by a shot fired by a would-be assassin, Jan. 12, at Warsaw. Several Bolsheviks implicated in the plot to kill him were arrested.

Paderewski formed a coalition Cabinet on Jan. 18, after an agreement with General Pilsudski, and became Premier.

Ukrainians who were besieging the Poles attacked Przemyśl by land and air. Two thousand persons were killed in the bombardment of a few days, ending Jan. 14.

SOUTH AMERICA

A plot on the part of Russians to instigate a Bolshevik movement to overthrow the Governments of Uruguay and Argentina and institute Soviets in both countries was discovered by the police. Isaac Malinoff and four other leaders were arrested. In the disorders attending a general strike in Buenos Aires, 2,000 prisoners were taken, many of whom were revolutionists from Russia. Montevideo took military measures to check the Reds.

GERMANY

The Revolutionary Parliament adjourned Dec. 20, after giving full power to the Ebert Cabinet.

A joint session of the People's Commissioners and the Central Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies was held in Berlin Dec. 28. The Ebert Government was upheld, and Foreign Minister Haase, Minister of Social Policy Barth, and Demobilization Minister Dittmann retired from the Cabinet after the defeat of their policy. Noske, Loebe, and Wissel were appointed members of the Cabinet.

The Spartacus and Independent groups of Socialists started a revolt in Berlin, Jan. 5, calling on the masses to destroy the Government. Civil war raged in Berlin ten days and the Government, with the aid of the loyal army, won a complete victory; many hundreds were killed.

Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were killed by a mob after their arrest, Jan. 16.

Bremen, Cuxhaven, and Düsseldorf were reported in the hands of the Bolsheviks, Jan. 16.

General elections for a National Assembly were held throughout Germany, Jan. 19.

MEXICO

Heinrich von Eckhardt, the German Minister to Mexico, who figured in the Zimmermann disclosures early in 1917, when the German Government attempted to line up Mexico against the United States as an ally of Japan, was recalled by the Berlin Government, Dec. 20, and his successor was warned that anti-American operations must cease.

RELIEF WORK

President Wilson named Herbert C. Hoover Director General of an international organization for the relief of liberated countries.

The House of Representatives passed a bill appropriating \$100,000,000 for European famine relief.

ENGLAND

The Lloyd George Government won an overwhelming victory in the general elections. The Sinn Féin swept Ireland. The new Cabinet was announced Jan. 10.

ITALY

The Italian Ministry under Premier Orlando resigned Jan. 18, and was reorganized with the elimination of Bissolati, Nitti, Sacchi, Miliani, and Villa; the new members included Signor Facta, Minister of Justice; Signor Stringher, Treasury; General Cavaglia, War, and General Girardini, Pensions.

LUXEMBURG

The Grand Duchess Marie Adelaide abdicated, Jan. 11. Her sister Charlotte succeeded her, Jan. 15. An attempt to establish a republic failed.

JUGOSLAVIA

The United Serbian-Croatian-Slovene Kingdom was formed at Belgrade, Jan. 5, by representatives of all the Jugoslavs, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slovenia.

Air Raids on England

IN raids on England by the Germans during the war 5,511 persons were killed or injured, of whom 4,750 were civilians. The deaths numbered 1,570. An official summary of the casualties caused by German airships, airplanes, and bombardments from the sea shows these casualties among civilians: Killed, 554 men, 411 women, 295 children; injured, 1,508 men, 1,210 women, 772 children. Three hundred and ten soldiers and sailors were killed and 551 were injured.

There were fifty-one raids by airships, causing the deaths of 498 civilians and the injury of 1,236, and the killing of fifty-eight soldiers and sailors and the injuring of 121.

In fifty-nine airplane raids 619 civilians were killed and 1,650 were injured. In these raids 238 soldiers and sailors were killed and 400 injured.

In twelve bombardments from the sea 143 civilians were killed and 604 wounded, while 14 soldiers and sailors were killed and 30 injured.

The greatest losses inflicted by Zeppelins were in raids on Norfolk, Suffolk, and the home counties of London on Oct. 13, 1915, when 54 civilians and 17 sol-

diers and sailors were killed, and in West Suffolk and the midland counties on Jan. 31, 1916, when 70 civilians were killed and 112 injured. The raid on Lincolnshire, Essex, and Suffolk on March 31 of the same year caused the death of 17 civilians and 31 soldiers and sailors.

The most serious airplane raid was that of Margate, Essex, and London, on June 13, 1917, when 158 civilians and four sailors and soldiers were killed. The next in severity was that of Kent, on Sept. 4 of the same year, when 131 soldiers and sailors lost their lives. On this occasion a crowded barrack was hit. Almost as severe as the raid on Kent was that on Folkestone, on May 25, 1917, when 77 civilians and 18 sailors and soldiers were killed. The attack on Kent, Essex, and London on Jan. 28, 1918, caused the death of 65 civilians and two soldiers and sailors.

The only bombardment from the sea in which there were heavy casualties was that on Hartlepool, Scarborough, and Whitby, on Dec. 16, 1914, when 127 civilians and 10 soldiers and sailors were killed and 567 civilians and 25 soldiers and sailors were injured.

Alsace-Lorraine's Return to France

How the Lost Provinces Came Back and Were Recognized as Part of the French Republic

[See Sketch Map of Alsace-Lorraine on Page 296]

IMEDIATELY after the signing of the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918, the French Government began taking the necessary steps for the formal return of Alsace and Lorraine to France. The first step was the appointment of three Commissioners to act for the French Republic in the three chief divisions of the reclaimed provinces—Leon Mirman at Metz, the capital of Lorraine; M. Maringer at Strasbourg, the capital of Alsace, and Henri Poulet at Colmar, the chief city of Upper Alsace. These men were to play a large part in the historic events about to occur in the liberated provinces.

As far back as June 5, 1917, a Presidential decree had placed the administration of the reclaimed portions of Alsace-Lorraine under the direct authority of the Minister of War. At the close of the conflict the war portfolio was held by Georges Clemenceau, who was also Premier, and to him fell the grateful task of superintending the formation of new local Governments with the aid of the newly created Commissioners. All this work of reorganization, of course, was subject to the final approval of the Peace Congress.

By authority of the Act of 1917 President Poincaré promulgated the following decree on Nov. 15:

Article 1. During the period of the armistice and until the signing of the peace preliminaries, the civil administration of Alsace-Lorraine is assured on the spot by three Commissioners of the republic nominated by decree and charged respectively with the territories of Lorraine, Lower Alsace, and Upper Alsace. These Commissioners shall there exercise—under the authority of the President of the Council and Minister of War—all administrative powers, and especially those relating to the Presidents of districts. The Commissioner of Lower Alsace shall at the same time see to the functioning of services common to the three territories and shall have the title of High Commissioner.

Art. 2. In each territory the Commissioner of the Republic shall have control of an administrative military mission, appointed by the President of the Council and Minister of War, by means of which he is specially provided with local administrators.

Art. 3. Instructions will be issued determining the relations between the civil administration of Alsace-Lorraine and the military authorities there in command.

Art. 4. The President of the Council and Minister of War is charged with the execution of this decree.

Done in Paris, Nov. 15, 1918, by the President of the Republic,

RAYMOND POINCARE.

President of the Council and Minister of War, GEORGES CLEMENCEAU.

MARSHAL PETAIN'S ORDER

Meanwhile the armies of occupation were marching toward Germany. On the eve of the advance into Alsace-Lorraine Marshal Pétain had addressed the following order to his troops:

Through long months you have fought. History will honor the tenacity and proud energy displayed during these four years by our nation, which had to conquer in order not to die. That we may the better dictate peace, we are going tomorrow to move our armies to the Rhine. On this ground of Alsace-Lorraine, which is dear to us, you will advance as liberators. You will go further upon German soil, into territory which we shall occupy as a necessary pledge of just reparation. France has suffered in its ravaged fields, in its ruined towns; it has many and cruel griefs. The freed provinces had to suffer intolerable vexations and odious outrages. But you will not avenge crimes with violence that might seem legitimate to you in your anger. You will maintain discipline and due respect for persons and property; after having vanquished your enemy with arms you are going to lay another debt upon him by the dignity of your attitude, and the world will not know which to admire most, your self-restraint in success or your heroism in battle. With you I recall with emotion our dead, whose sacrifice has given us the victory; I send a salutation full of saddened affection to the fathers and mothers, the widows and orphans of France,

who are ceasing for an instant to weep in these days of national joy in order to applaud the triumph of our arms. I bow before your magnificent banners. Vive la France!

ENTERING MULHOUSE

On Nov. 17 the French, under General Hirschauer, entered Mulhouse, in Upper Alsace, amid wild rejoicings. Thunderous acclamations began as they passed the first houses and swelled in a continual crescendo. Old men in frock coats or redingotes and wearing the medal of 1870 on their breasts shouted "Vive la République!" as they waved their hats. When the column paused some came weeping to kiss the fringes of the tattered flag. Young girls and little children, garbed in the local costumes, waved flags, and many of them, choked with sobs, tried to cry "Vive la France!"

A brief reception was given to General Hirschauer and his staff in the City Hall, where, as the bells rang out in wild peals, the Adjutant saluted the arrival of the new garrison of Mulhouse and announced the restoration of the city to France. At the close of further ceremonies the City of Mulhouse sent telegrams to M. Poincaré, M. Clemenceau, and the following to the French Government:

The City of Mulhouse, freed, sends to France, the liberator, the homage of its gratitude. Its inhabitants share the common joy and wish in their hearts to affirm their unshakable fidelity and their profound attachment to the motherland and the republic.

Similar telegrams poured in from a score of other towns and cities in the liberated territory as the armies continued their advance. The Mayor and City Council of Colmar sent the following to the President on Nov. 19:

The City of Colmar has just given an enthusiastic welcome to the French troops for which it has waited so long. Reunited forever under the Tricolor, we give our oath of fidelity to the French motherland and offer our homage to the Chief Magistrate of France.

President Poincaré replied:

France receives with joyous confidence the oath of fidelity which you offer voluntarily under the protection of the victorious flag of the republic. She has never doubted the sentiments of the people of Colmar, and she is happy to respond with the most constant affection.

FRENCH TROOPS IN METZ

Marshal Pétain, Commander in Chief of the French Armies in Alsace-Lorraine, made his formal entry into Metz on Tuesday, Nov. 19, amid indescribable enthusiasm. The Tenth Army, in the absence of General Mangin, victim of a slight accident with his horse, was commanded by General Leconte. The whole population was out to greet the troops, and the old Lorraine city, after a captivity of forty-seven years, celebrated its return to France with unforgettable demonstrations of love.

A review took place in the Esplanade before Marshal Pétain and Generals Fayolle and Buat. General Leconte presented the infantry, artillery, and cavalry of the Tenth Army. After the review Marshal Pétain and his staff proceeded amid popular jubulations to the City Hall, where he was received by representatives of the city and of local societies. Later came the installation of M. Mirman, Commissioner of the Republic, at the prefecture, where he was attended by General de Maud'huy, Governor of Metz.

General Mangin, though he had been prevented by an accident from entering Metz at the head of the Tenth Army, posted up the following proclamation:

FRENCH REPUBLIC

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity

People of Lorraine: My dear compatriots, at last there has sounded the hour of deliverance that you awaited for forty-seven years with a fidelity that has been the admiration of the world.

Beaten on all the fields of battle from the North Sea to the Vosges, after having lost in four months more than 400,000 prisoners and more than 5,000 guns, the German armies have had to beg for an armistice which is a complete capitulation. The earth is freed from Prussian militarism, the colossus of the German Empire is crumbling in anarchy. You are freed forever from the yoke of the stranger. The régime of oppression and vexation which you endured for half a century is ended forever.

The army of the republic is bringing liberty and justice to the soil of Lorraine. Your families, your goods, will be protected, your institutions, your traditions will be respected. Let those have no fear who by necessity had to bow beneath the German yoke. France, whose ransom you were, opens wide her arms to all her recovered children. Those whom

she loves most are those who have suffered most. Long live France!

The General commanding the army,
MANGIN.

MESSAGE OF LOYALTY

The City of Metz sent this telegram to President Poincaré:

The notables of Metz, assembled by the Commissioner of the Republic in order to designate the members of the first French Municipal Council of the city, after having selected these members unanimously are unanimous also in addressing to the President of the French Republic an expression of the immense joy they feel in being at last united to their mother country. They affirm before him their desire to remain patriotically united in order to carry on successfully the necessary work of restoration. They proclaim their unalterable attachment to the French Republic and its institutions. They beg him to transmit the expression of their unutterable gratitude to the heroic army of France and to the allied nations which have delivered Alsace-Lorraine from the hateful German yoke and have re-established the reign of right and liberty in the world.

Long live France! Long live the Republic! Long live the French Army!

.President Poincaré replied:

Profoundly moved by the memorial which the City of Metz sends to France and to the allied armies, I address to that city the felicitations and vows of the motherland. Very often in the course of this long war I have paused in the midst of our troops on some Lorraine hill to scan the horizon for the silhouette of the captive city. It will be very sweet to me to be able to go soon and express to you the joy which your deliverance has brought us. Metz is awakening today from a long nightmare, and all France smiles upon her.

The new City Council of Metz on Nov. 23 unanimously elected Victor Prevel as Mayor, and he was attached to the Cabinet of Commissioner Mirman for the settlement of civil questions. He named five men and one woman as his assistants. One of the first acts of the council was to create a commission charged with restoring to the old streets of Metz the names that they had borne before 1870, to give the new streets the names of distinguished French Generals, and to banish every name recalling the German régime.

Mayor Prevel on Nov. 25 posted the following proclamation:

Our dear City of Metz is living through

historic and unforgettable times. After the sorrows of the annexation and forty-three years of oppression by a nation that has never understood us and which knows only one principle, "Might makes right"; after four years of unprecedented terror, during which it was a crime to speak the mother tongue, the brave soldiers of the Allies have at last brought deliverance and liberty in the folds of the French flag that now floats forever over our walls. Honor and thanks to these heroes! Our joy is immense and legitimate. Let us not, however, be intoxicated by it; let us remain worthy of the sympathy of the whole world, which is watching us.

You are French in your hearts, which means that you know how to act calmly and nobly; and I am counting upon you all to aid me in my task and to make my labors easy. As for myself, my devotion to you is complete, and you will always find me ready to prove it to you.

And you of German origin who are also inhabitants of Metz and, as such, subject to my administration, perhaps you are asking with fear and trembling what awaits you. In 1914 I was one of the first of the many victims of the brutality of your Government, which was not ashamed to throw into infested prisons and treat ignominiously peaceful citizens who had always shown themselves respectful to your laws. Who would dare to say that a harsh vengeance would not be legitimate today? But, as I have just said, we are French, and a Frenchman knows how to place duty, equity, and justice above everything else.

You are subjects of my administration, and I will treat you loyally as such. I do not ask of you hypocritical manifestations of a French patriotism which you do not feel. I will watch over and safeguard your legitimate rights until the conclusion of the peace treaty, which will fix your final status. Until then I ask of you only one thing: that you, too, remain worthy of respect, meditating in privacy upon your situation as conquered men. In that way you can enjoy liberty, which is the essence of France.

But to those who will not follow that method I here give a solemn and public warning. If any one of you thinks to stir up trouble, to poison public opinion or to defy it, to create disorder in any manner whatsoever, I shall know how to proceed to energetic and pitiless repression. Fomenters of disorder will be arrested immediately and taken before a court-martial, where they will learn to their cost that in France liberty does not exclude the necessary severity for the maintenance of order.

German inhabitants of Metz, do not forget that we are still under the rule of war, and that martial law and war courts

remain in action. Do not expose yourselves to making their acquaintance or it will be the worse for you. Vive la France! Vive la Republique!

The Mayor of Metz,
V. PREVEL.

M. Mirman, the Commissioner, promulgated an order restoring all the old French names throughout the region under his control, and the Mayor of every city was ordered to abolish, as far as possible, all the German names that had been forced upon communities and individuals. Not only were the names of cities, villages, streets, and squares changed under this order, but also the names of thousands of families and of commercial firms, and even the names on tombstones.

PROCLAMATION TO LORRAINE

A proclamation to the whole Province of Lorraine was posted up in Metz and other cities on Nov. 19 by Leon Mirman, Commissioner of the French Republic. It was printed as a large poster, about 29 by 46 inches, with a red, white, and blue border. Translated, it was as follows:

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

THE COMMISSIONER OF THE REPUBLIC TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE OF DISANNEXED LORRAINE.

Brothers and sisters of Lorraine, Citizens of France: In 1871, by a hateful abuse of force—which she is expiating to-day—Germany had wrenched your families from the bosom of tender France. For nearly fifty years the brutal conqueror kept you under the yoke.

After having accumulated lies and crimes, German imperialism has seen the indignant consciences of all free peoples rise up against it. They have joined together to overthrow her. They have overthrown her. They will henceforth prevent her from doing harm. The name of Germany will no longer be feared in the world. Your servitude is ended. Your long nightmare is dispelled.

You are again taking your place today at our hearthstone, at the moment when France has just acquired a magnificent prestige in the eyes of the entire world. This prestige France does not owe only to the incomparable valor of her armies, which you acclaimed yesterday, or to the intelligence and energy of her civil and military chiefs, or to the suppleness of her democratic institutions, or to the fecund action of her Parliamentary assemblies, or to the work, the civic firmness, the sacred union, the beautiful moral bearing of the whole nation; she owes it also to

the fidelity of her children of Alsace and Lorraine.

You continued at the price of great misery to love France after she was conquered. How could you not love her in the splendid radiance of her victory!

France, after fifty years, has learned much. She remained and she still is—that is her glory, and it is, perhaps, the secret of her strength—the champion of idealism; but she acquired and strengthened in herself the sense of reality. You will find her tomorrow powerfully equipped in the various economic domains, developing each day her institutions and her laws relative to common welfare, accomplishing each day some social progress, advancing in that direction boldly but methodically, without disturbance, without disorder, as becomes organized democracy, which is conscious of the duties imposed by liberty.

Immediately after the signature of the preliminaries of peace the French Parliament, in its sovereignty, will make arrangements for the definite organization of the disannexed territories of Alsace and Lorraine. In making these laws it will be inspired by the feelings of the most tender affection for the liberated French population.

In the meantime, and from this very day, the immediate and urgent necessity must be recognized here of provisioning the country, of relieving the suffering, of healing many sores, then of restoring economic life, and finally, of rewelding the moral chain which is to join you to the rest of Lorraine and of France.

To the accomplishment of this noble material and moral task, I will give all my strength and all my heart, with the joyful passion of a man who, for more than four years, from the heights of the Couronné de Nancy, contemplated the Cathedral of Metz, and dreamed of being called soon to the honor of bringing together the two portions of the Lorraine flesh that were severed in 1871 by the sword of the conqueror.

Tolerant of all beliefs, I invite all French people to unite in the cult of the motherland. I shall know, here, and wish to serve, but one party, that of France.

The Republic asks its Commissioners to rule with zeal and equity. According to the abominable Prussian doctrine—which ended by deforming the very soul of the German Nation—"all that is useful to the State is just." Our French doctrine, on the contrary, declares: "Only that which is just is useful to the State." That justice will reign here; the benefits thereof will be assured to everybody.

To work! Brothers of Lorraine, rich or poor, workman or employer, peasant or bourgeois, conservative or Socialist, I greet you all cordially. Sisters of Lor-

raine, I salute you with warm-hearted and tender respect.

LONG LIVE LIBERATED LORRAINE!—LONG LIVE THE REPUBLIC!—LONG LIVE FRANCE, ONE AND INSEPARABLE!

LEON MIRMAN,
Commissioner of the Republic.

TO GERMANS IN LORRAINE

At the same time M. Mirman posted up in Metz and other cities of the region the following proclamation, addressed to the Germans who had remained in Lorraine:

France accepts the homage only of those who love her. I am sure that you will love France when, regenerated morally by a long and salutary exercise of liberty, you shall have become capable of knowing and worthy of comprehending her. But today, in her name, I repel your hypocritical acclamations. I shall esteem you more if you are silent and sad, bearing with dignity the grief of your monstrous delusions. I ask and exact of you only one thing: respect for France and her laws. Any one who is inclined to create disorder will be punished. Those of you who conduct yourselves like honorable men will not be molested, or, if you should be, you may claim my protection against any offender in the name of the republic.

None of you will be disturbed for having given public expression, in the past, to joy over temporary successes, or, more recently, to sorrow over the final disasters of your country. But if France, in the noble pride of her victory, remains the servant of right, she does not forget—and that very right makes it her duty not to forget—the crimes committed against her children. Those of you who were content to applaud those crimes will not be pursued; if you perceive today the moral aberration into which you allowed yourselves to be led by the keepers of your conscience, France leaves you with pity to your remorse; if you do not yet comprehend, she leaves you with disdain in your abject state.

But for those who have taken part in any crime it will be otherwise:

(a) Every sale of objects belonging to French or allied subjects, made without the consent of the owner, is null and void; the objects thus acquired must be returned within twenty-four hours to the original owner or his representative, or to the Mayor; after twenty-four hours the holder of said objects will be prosecuted on a charge of theft. Every right of the proprietor to claims for damages, besides, is reserved.

(b) Every holder of objects sent from the front and obtained by pillage must, within twenty-four hours, hand them over

to the Mayor, who will give a receipt for them; after the period named, the responsibility for retaining them will be seriously increased.

(c) All those who, after a regular inquiry and cross-examination, shall be convicted of having, either by incitement or denunciation or by an overt act, participated in cruelties inflicted on a French citizen or an ally of France, especially upon a wounded soldier, a prisoner, or an evacuated civilian, will be immediately arrested and punished according to law: that will be justice!

All functionaries will remain at their posts until I shall have decided otherwise for each of them. All public services are to be maintained; I shall hold the chiefs responsible. Anarchy is the hideous caricature of liberty. Under the imperative condition that they shall be exercised in an orderly way, the liberties of the workers are guaranteed. I have spoken. In the name of the republic, in the name of France, one and inseparable!

LEON MIRMAN,
Commissioner of the Republic.

FRENCH AT STRASBOURG

The French troops under Marshals Foch and Pétain entered Strasbourg, the capital of Alsace, on Nov. 25 at 1 o'clock. Ever since early morning innumerable little groups clad in Alsatian costumes had been flowing into the city from distant points; Saverne especially, where German militarism had fallen afoul of the people and hurled at France the insulting defiance of General Deimler, furnished a large contingent to the joyous army of Alsations who poured into the capital that day to acclaim the entry of the French troops. And at the moment of that entry the famous Statue of Strasbourg in the Place de la Concorde at Paris was freed at last from all the mourning wreaths and ex-votos with which it had been covered for nearly half a century.

What their return to French allegiance meant to the people of Strasbourg that day may well be described in the words used by a London Times correspondent two weeks later when he saw Strasbourg's reception to President Poincaré. He wrote that only twice in the whole war period had he felt it utterly hopeless and beyond words to describe what he saw. One was at the climax of Verdun, the other was when he stood and watched the endless procession of the

people of Strasbourg filing solemnly and gayly past to show their abiding love for their mother country. After the procession was over he asked his French chauffeur what he thought of it all. "Oh, monsieur," he said, "no words can express what one felt. I wept the whole day." The correspondent continues:

"For something like an hour and a half a stream of young men and maidens, old men and children, five or six deep, flowed along between two compact banks of lookers-on, all apparently sympathizers, through all the main streets and squares of Strasbourg. Some of them walked or marched, whole companies of them skipped and danced to the time of the marches played by the scores of bands by which the members of each guild or trade or religious fraternity or village or musical or gymnastic society was headed. There seemed to be no end to them. The crowds through which they moved were so dense that the wonder was how any Alsatians were left to make a procession.

"Why each fresh rainbow of girls dancing along hand-in-hand should make you catch your breath and bring tears to your eyes I do not know. I only know that for me they did, and that every man that I know who was there, English or French or American, was affected in exactly the same way. And it was not only the troops of girls and women and children that pulled at one's heart-strings. It was the universality of the whole thing—the numbers of the gorgeously embroidered banners of the different villages and guilds, the constant succession of butchers and bakers and candlestick-makers, the unity of the French heart, that has never ceased, through all the suffering of the war and the German dominion, to beat in the breasts of the whole population under an apparently German exterior. The language that most of them spoke might be, and was, German or Alsatian. Their thoughts and memories and hopes and rejoicing were emphatically French."

STRASBOURG'S NEW MAYOR

At the time of the armistice the City Council of Strasbourg was controlled by a majority of immigrant Germans, who

did not represent the population, as all the native-born citizens had abstained from taking part in the elections. The City Government, executing itself, disappeared in the whirlwind of the revolutionary movement that broke out the next day after Nov. 11; and when the French troops entered the Alsatian capital the Mayoralty was held by a Socialist member of the Council, with another Councilor or his assistant. The rest of the Municipal Board had evaporated and did not reappear even for a moment during the historic days of the return of the lost province to France. Marshals Pétain and Foch, and Generals de Castelnau and Gouraud were saluted in the name of the city by the two Councilors who were acting for the Mayor. As this curious situation could not last, M. Maringer, Commissioner of the Republic, named a Municipal Commission, consisting of Strasbourg notables, to take the place of the City Council. This commission elected as its President M. Ungemach, who thus came to perform the functions of Mayor.

The French Government on Nov. 27 issued a new decree providing for the fuller co-operation of the three Commissioners, and placing most of the executive power in the regained provinces in the hands of the Under Secretary of State, at the same time creating a Superior Council of Alsace and Lorraine, made up of all the minor provincial officials and a dozen leading citizens from the three districts. A decree fixing the commercial relations of the provinces with neighboring regions was also promulgated.

Meanwhile the German Government was still trying to keep alive its claims on the disputed provinces, as indicated by this radiogram from Berlin, dated Dec. 19, "addressed by the Government of the Empire to the Soldiers' Council at Strasbourg":

The occupation of Alsace-Lorraine by the Entente does not prejudice in any respect the solution of the Alsace-Lorraine question in conformity with the principles of international law regarding the free self-determination of peoples.

EBERT-HAASE.

The members representing Alsace and Lorraine in the Prussian Diet, having

withdrawn from that body on Nov. 12, met at Strasbourg as a National Assembly, and on the eve of their adjournment on Dec. 5 unanimously passed the following declaration:

The Deputies of Alsace and Lorraine, elected by universal suffrage and organized into a National Assembly, salute with joy the return of Alsace and Lorraine to France after a long and cruel separation. Our provinces will be proud to owe to the refound mother country, with the safeguarding of their traditions, beliefs, and economic interests, which have been solemnly guaranteed to them by the heads of the victorious army, a new era of liberty, prosperity, and honor.

The National Assembly, concerned to see that there shall not remain, either in France or in the allied nations, nor yet in allied or enemy nations, the slightest doubt regarding the true sentiments of Alsatians and Lorrainers, affirms that the neutralist agitation was the work of a base minority or of German agents, and declares solemnly that, as a faithful interpreter of the constant and unbreakable will of the people of Alsace and Lorraine, expressed as far back as 1871 by its representatives in the Bordeaux Assembly, it considers as forever inviolable and inprescriptible the right of Alsatians and Lorrainers to remain members of the French family.

The National Assembly regards it as a duty, before adjourning, to proclaim in its turn the re-entry of Alsace and Lorraine into their right, their unquestionable and final reunion (*rattachement indiscutable et définitif*) with France.

Abbé Delsor, the Deputy from Marlenheim, read the foregoing declaration and then spoke as follows:

The applause which has just welcomed this reading proves to you that you have faithfully translated the sentiments of Alsace and Lorraine. This applause will have its echo throughout our dear country of France, in the allied, neutral, and enemy countries of Europe, and beyond the ocean. The statesmen who are most energetically defending the right of peoples to the free disposition of themselves have reason now to be fully satisfied.

There is no longer any need for a referendum. One has been held in the last few days by the whole Alsatian people. We are now the only legal representatives of our beloved country. It remained for us to place our seal upon the act of

disannexation and annulment of the odious treaty which wrested us from France.

You would be justly aggrieved if I ended without sending a greeting across the years to the Deputies who protested at Bordeaux. They were in disfavor with the prevailing power, and had not, like us, the joy of being honored.

President Poincaré made an official tour of the recovered provinces Dec. 8-10, and delivered a series of eloquent speeches in the various cities, notably in Metz and Strasbourg. The enthusiasm and emotion with which he was greeted by the population everywhere made the episode memorable in the annals of France. Of the many eloquent descriptions of the popular outpouring of gratitude in those days there is space here to give only that of Mr. Sharp, the American Ambassador, who accompanied President Poincaré on this tour, and who said on his return:

"The popular demonstration offered an unforgettable spectacle in its fervent emotion. If any doubt as to the sentiments of these people toward France, after half a century of forced separation, had survived in the minds of those who have just visited these recently liberated cities, the spontaneous and almost frantic enthusiasm of the human masses that filled the streets and public squares has swept away the last vestige of that doubt. Words can scarcely describe the depth of the emotions experienced. The feelings manifested by these people can be compared to nothing more aptly than to the mutual joy felt by members of a family that is reunited after long separation. When M. Poincaré, in one of his speeches, said: 'The plebiscite has been taken,' he expressed a truth amply demonstrated in every incident of these historic scenes. The President and M. Clemenceau were both the objects of great ovations. The tens of thousands of handkerchiefs waved in the narrow streets, as well as from every window and housetop, seemed so many winged messengers bearing to France their love and loyalty."

Conditions in Liberated Regions

Mr. Hoover's Stupendous Task of Feeding Millions of War Victims in Belgium, France, and the Balkans

IMMEDIATELY after the Germans had been driven out of France and Belgium the American Government sent Herbert C. Hoover to Europe to make a general survey of conditions among the liberated populations and to arrange for relief work throughout Europe. The Allies, under the leadership of the United States, were undertaking the enormous task of saving the war's victims from starving until the harvest of 1919. The regions affected were scattered from Belgium to Palestine, from the Balkans to the Baltic; the destitute numbered 125,000,000. The United States alone of all the belligerent nations still had food to spare, and its people were called upon to save and ship to hungry Europe millions of tons of foodstuffs.

When President Wilson arrived in Paris the results of the investigations in the war-wasted countries, neutral, allied, and enemy, were laid before him. The allied Governments had advised the President that in behalf of unified action they desired the United States to take the lead in the relief work. It was arranged that each Government should appoint two representatives to co-operate in the matter of food, finances, and shipping for relief work.

DIRECTOR GENERAL OF RELIEF

On Jan. 3, 1919, President Wilson appointed Mr. Hoover as Director General of the International Relief Organization, with Norman Davis as the other American representative. The French Government named Etienne Clementel, Minister of Commerce, and M. Vilgrain, Minister of Food, as its representatives, and the British and Italian representatives were announced a few days later.

Mr. Hoover summarized the European food situation in a brief statement on Jan. 7, 1919. The investigation of conditions in Germany was not yet complete enough to warrant definite conclusions,

but it had been decided that the German population had enough food to carry on for a while, with the exception of fat supplies, which were very short, and were undoubtedly developing some conditions of disease and a great deal of social discontent. Regarding the other countries Mr. Hoover cabled that the reports showed the following specific conditions:

Finland—The food is practically exhausted in the cities. While many of the peasants have some bread, other sections are mixing large amounts of straw. They are exhausted of fats, meats, and sugar, and need help to prevent renewed rise of Bolshevism.

Baltic States—The food may last one or two months on a much reduced scale. They sent a deputation to our Minister at Stockholm imploring food.

Serbia—The town bread ration is down to three ounces daily in the north not accessible from Saloniki. In the south, where accessible, the British are furnishing food to the civil population. We are trying to get food in from the Adriatic.

Jugoslavia—The bread ration in many towns is three or four ounces. All classes are short of fats, milk, and meat.

Vienna—Except for supplies furnished by the Italians and Swiss, their present bread ration of six ounces per diem would disappear. There is much illness from the shortage of fats, the ration being one-and-one-half ounces per week. There are no coffee, sugar, or eggs, and practically no meat.

Tyrol—The people are being fed by Swiss charity.

Poland—The peasants probably have enough to get through. The mortality in cities, particularly among children, is appalling for lack of fats, milk, meat, and bread. The situation in bread will be worse in two months.

Rumania—The bread supply for the entire people is estimated to last another thirty days. They are short of fats and milk. The last harvest was 60 per cent. a failure.

Bulgaria—The harvest was also a failure here. There are supplies available for probably two or three months.

Armenia is already starving.

Czechoslovakia—There is large suffering on account of lack of fats and milk.

They have bread for two or three months and sugar for six months.

"We have each country under investigation," added Mr. Hoover, "as to the total amounts required to barely sustain life and their resources to pay. The preliminary investigation by Dr. Alonzo Taylor and his staff in connection with allied staffs shows the total of the above areas will require about 1,400,000 tons of imported food to get through until next harvest, costing, say, \$350,000,000 delivered."

EMERGENCY MEASURES

In an earlier report, Jan. 3, Mr. Hoover had thus stated the situation:

"The determination of measures necessary to relieve the liberated territories must be our first concern. These territories comprise Belgium, Northern France, Trentino, Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland and Finland and the Baltic States, besides Russia, and Armenia and Syria, comprising altogether populations aggregating probably 125,000,000 persons.

"In order that there should be no delay in providing food during the period of investigation and the creation of an organization by co-operation between our War Department and the Food Administration, we have dispatched to date approximately 150,000 tons of food to various ports in Europe. Some of this food is now being issued, and in addition, the steady stream of 10,000 tons per month is being maintained into Belgium and Northern France.

"In the meantime we have, in co-operation with the Allies, sent commissions into these various countries to study transportation and to endeavor to set up financial arrangements. The transportation problem is one of extreme difficulty, because of the general demoralization of railways and rolling stock all over this area. Rumania, for instance, has under 100 locomotives, and Poland has probably not over 250 locomotives. So that even after landing of foodstuffs at seaports we are in further difficulties as to inland distribution.

"In numerous places we have had to make provisions for distribution with

motor trucks, as in the case of Belgium and Northern France, and we will probably need to put in motor truck services in other localities.

PROBLEM OF FINANCE

"One of the most difficult problems involved in the whole matter is that of finance. Our farmers and manufacturers must be paid for their food supplies. Those liberated regions which have been engaged in war against Germany, such as Belgium, Serbia, and Rumania, have been given from time to time loans by the United States Government with which to purchase food, and as a military measure it is vitally necessary that these populations should be continuously fed in order to save the necessity of further military action by the United States. These loans are being continued in some special instances, and, in fact, amount to selling our food on credit.

"On the other hand, large areas exist, such as liberated Poland and some of the former States, where our Governments are unable, under present legislation, to make any loans. Furthermore, in some of these areas the Governments have so disintegrated that it is difficult to set up any financial circle for lack of Government. These people are all looking with hope to the United States for salvation from starvation. It is a matter beyond private charity; yet, if they are to be saved, and if there is any hope of their building up for themselves freedom and stability of government, it becomes either a matter of practical charity or long-time credits from the United States.

"At the present moment we are in the extremely difficult position of having foodstuffs in the neighborhood of certain peoples who rely on America, but we are unable to deliver this food, except such as we can allow from the \$5,000,000 placed at our disposal from present private funds and such other food as the Allies can advance from their own stocks."

On the same day Mr. Hoover told an Associated Press representative at Paris that food worth \$1,500,000,000 must be imported into Europe to meet actual needs between Jan. 1 and July 1, and that many of the liberated communities

had not enough money to pay for the food needed to keep them from starving. "The financing of the project," he said, "is a stupendous task, and most of the necessary food must come from the United States."

Acting on Mr. Hoover's presentation of facts President Wilson on Jan. 4 cabled an appeal to the United States Congress—through the Secretary of the Treasury—for an immediate appropriation of \$100,000,000 for use in supplying food to destitute people outside of Germany during the current Winter, as "a remedy for starvation and absolute anarchy." Meanwhile special commissions named by Mr. Hoover in co-operation with the allied Governments were at work appraising the situation at Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Warsaw, and various central points in the Balkan region, as well as in such parts of the new Baltic States as were accessible.

DEVASTATION IN BELGIUM

Assisted by William B. Poland, European Director of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, Mr. Hoover first made a survey of the physical damage done in Belgium by the Germans, and on Dec. 24 sent a report to Washington. He said that while the enemy had destroyed a zone twenty miles wide before the evacuation, little damage had been done to the transportation systems after the armistice was signed, so that the movement of food in Belgium was not as difficult as might have been expected. He continued:

"The Germans in their final retreat removed but little of the relief supplies. Their action toward the native harvests and cattle in their withdrawal differs widely in different areas. They started to take all remaining hogs from the western part of Belgium, except those hidden by the peasants in underground caves. After the armistice, however, and with the demoralization of the German Army in its final retreat many of these beasts were abandoned or sold by soldiers to the peasants further back, and in practical results there appears to have been no widespread cattle stealing in the retreat, although during the

four years of occupation there has been a great diminution—probably more than one-half—in the total number of cattle and hogs. It can be said almost literally that horses have disappeared out of Belgium, there probably not being 15 per cent. of the original animals left.

"Investigation proves that industrial and residential destruction in Belgium varies greatly in different localities, and with different industries. For instance, out of the steel furnaces in Belgium thirty-five or forty have been deliberately destroyed by the Germans in their determination to end the Belgian steel industry. Many of the textile mills have been put out of commission, either through deliberate destruction and removal of machinery or by removal of the copper and brass parts and electric motors. Some of the textile mills of the more antiquated type of equipment apparently did not appeal to the Germans, and they can be gotten into action at an early date. The Germans seem to have focused themselves on the modern equipments.

COAL INDUSTRY SAVED

"The glass industry has been but little interfered with, and the stern promise of retribution by President Wilson seems to have saved the coal industry except for very few mines, although actual explosives and wires were laid in place for the destruction of a large number of the mines. The President's warning seems to have created a sudden change of heart.

"There are some three hundred thousand French refugees in Belgium, driven out of Northern France by the Germans. They have been cared for out of the meagre stores of the Belgians and by the Commission for Relief in Belgium. They are, however, like homing pigeons in their resolve to return to their native villages. As there is no transportation, the roads southward into France are a continuous stream of these pitiful groups of men, women, and children, pulling their carts and trudging through the cold and wind toward their destroyed homes. Everything is being done that is humanly possible, but in the present state of demoralization, with moving

armies, the necessity of using every truck and horse with which to feed the population—their plight is heartbreaking. They refuse all persuasion to wait in the crowded Belgian villages until their affairs can be organized.

"The Americans of the Relief Commission are working night and day providing shelter stations, clothing, and food for them, but like many other human migrations in Europe today, there is no solution to the suffering that must go on.

"One of the great difficulties of the Belgians lies in the enforced currency circulation imposed upon them by the Germans. This currency runs into millions of paper money and presents an extremely difficult financial problem to the Government.

"The Belgian Government is rapidly taking hold, the Belgian manufacturers are engaged everywhere in the rehabilitation of their works so far as materials are available, and the spirit of Belgium was never better than today. The Belgians are resolved to find a solution of their manifold difficulties with as little assistance as possible from the outside. They are, of course, dependent upon continued Government financial advances for the provision of imports pending German indemnity and the reconstruction of their export business."

FAMINE PRICES IN BELGIUM

The following details regarding conditions in Belgium had been cabled by Mr. Hoover on Dec. 28:

"During the German occupation there was an effective control not only of distribution by the Commission for Relief in Belgium, but also of the native food supply. With the retreat and demoralization before the re-establishment of the Belgian Government, there ensued a period when there was but little control over foodstuffs. This breaking down of the rationing control in such commodities as meats, butter, &c., has resulted on the whole in the very limited supply of such foodstuffs gravitating toward the rich through the fearful rise in prices.

"The Belgian Government has established a food administration, and these problems are being taken in hand just as rapidly as possible under the condi-

tions. In the meantime it is possible with sufficient money to buy almost any kind of food in Belgium. For instance, meat is \$2 a pound, eggs \$1 each, and butter \$2.50 a pound. Supplies are, of course, available to any one who can pay these prices.

"This gives an appearance to the casual observer of sufficiency of food, but the fact is that over one-half the population of Belgium today has an income under \$4 a week per family, and they, of course, are not participating in these kinds of food, but are practically dependent upon the distribution of controlled imports by the Commission for Relief in Belgium.

"An examination of the population proves that the shipments of food by the Commission for Relief in Belgium during the last four years have brought this people through their ordeal without irreparable damage to the national health. There exists among certain classes undernutrition, but continued supplies of food will rapidly rectify this.

"There has been a considerable spread of tuberculosis as a result of this undernutrition, but the Belgian authorities believe that this can be stamped out without great loss provided adequate supplies of food arrive.

SAVED BY AMERICA

"The most cheering factor in the situation is the condition of the two million Belgian children who have been the object of the utmost solicitude of the whole world during the four years of occupation. Because of the supplementary meals furnished by the Relief Commission and the many children's institutions which have been largely supported by the magnificent outpouring of the world's charity these children have come through this period in a state of health perhaps even better than could be expected.

"This will be a cause of great satisfaction to the hundreds of thousands of people who have given liberally to save the child life of Belgium. Because of America's ready response to the appeal of the Relief Commission to save the future generation of Belgium we may be duly proud of this result.

"Prior to the evacuation something like 3,500,000 people were destitute, and were dependent, not only on the ration of imported commodities from the Relief Commission, but on further supplemental rations through the soup kitchens throughout Belgium. The energy of the Belgian people in getting back to work is rapidly diminishing the number of people in the soup lines, until today they probably do not exceed two million people, and it is hoped that within another month this will be diminished to not more than a million.

"It is a point of fact that there has been no loss of life by starvation among the 10,000,000 people of Belgium and Northern France. Poland and Serbia, also under German occupation, have lost one-fourth of their people. The difference was the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which has shipped to these stricken people in the last four years more than four and a quarter million tons of food, costing \$600,000,000."

FRENCH OFFICIAL FIGURES

Edward de Billy, Deputy High Commissioner of the French Republic, in an address at Baltimore on Dec. 28, stated that, while France had not been "bled white," 2,500,000 of her ablest men had been killed or maimed, and she had lost upward of half of her industries and shipping through the war. Though France had regained Alsace and Lorraine, even this was outweighed by the losses.

Resorting to figures, he declared that 26,000 factories in the French districts occupied by the Germans were destroyed or stripped of their machinery; that almost 12,000,000 head of cattle were lost by France during the war; that thousands of miles of farm land, devastated by shells, was made unfit for cultivation; that the net loss in ship tonnage, through sinkings and enforced curtailment in production, was 670,000 tons, and that the money cost of the conflict, in appropriations and public debt, aggregated 158,000,000,000 francs, or \$31,600,000,000.

"Our army had to stand," he said, "the first rush of the invasion, while the other armies were being prepared. And, however wonderful was the effort

of the British, some months later, and afterward that of the American Army, the front held by the French has never been less than two-thirds of the total line from the North Sea to the Swiss border. Thus our losses were greater than those of any other army. A part of our country has been invaded, its population treated as slaves, their houses looted, their factories destroyed; while on the fighting line the soil of France has been plowed so deep by shells that no agriculture is possible. Some sentimental people have been lamenting over France as bled white. Nonsense! France is not bled white. She has men filled with renewed and splendid energy. But here she stands, facing the problem of recuperating her place on the economic markets of the world, with a part of her industrial and agricultural power destroyed, and with her men killed and maimed to a number that exceeds imagination. May I give you some figures on these subjects?

1,400,000 MEN KILLED

"Besides 1,400,000 of our young men who were killed or died of wounds or illness in this war, we have a great number whose physical ability has been seriously impaired. Add to these the number of our prisoners who came back in such a terrible physical condition as to render them unfit for any sustained effort, and we come to a total loss, for the work to be started in France, of about 2,500,000 men, who were mostly among the youngest, ablest, and strongest, as well as the most spirited, of our people—a terrible loss for a country of less than 40,000,000 inhabitants.

"Our agriculture has perhaps suffered more heavily if possible than any other branch of our economic activity. The number of cattle, which in England increased by 4 per cent., has in France decreased by 18 per cent. The production of milk has decreased by 63 per cent. The number of sheep has decreased in France by 38 per cent. The number of pigs has decreased by 40 per cent. The soil of France is also in an impoverished condition, having been, for four years, mostly tilled by very young and elderly men, below or above the age of

military service, and by women, whose physical strength was not equal to the splendid spirit they have shown in this war."

MILLS DELIBERATELY DESTROYED

He then referred to the heavy losses through the destruction of mills and factories.

"The part of France occupied by the Germans," he said, "produced four-fifths of our woolens and included 80 per cent. of our weaving industry. During the four years of their occupation the Germans willfully and methodically destroyed all that was in their power to destroy. They not only requisitioned as at Roubaix and Tourcoing, where they commandeered stocks of wool worth 300,000,000 francs—requisition is one of the rights of war, and of that we cannot complain. But what is against all right, and against all international law and agreement, is the destruction and stealing of property; and this is what the Germans did.

"As to our cotton industry in the north, the German invasion has cost us 2,100,000 spindles and 13,200 looms, and in the east, 125,000 spindles and 6,905 looms. This robbery was not carried on in cotton and wool factories alone. Iron works, machine works also, were looted, the useful equipment, engines, rolling mills, machine tools, even structural steel, having been methodically taken away and set to work again in the iron works in Germany. Mines were flooded, the surface plants dynamited, the workmen's dwellings destroyed.

"Taxes have been raised to an unprecedented level. While in 1914 the total of our national budget was slightly above 4,000,000,000 francs, the taxes will have given in 1918, without the invaded regions, which were, as you know, by far the richest, over 9,000,000,000 francs. In 1917 the civilian population in France paid in taxes \$38 per capita, as compared with \$9 paid in 1916 by Americans.

"France, before the war, had a public debt of 34,000,000,000 francs. The interior debt has increased, during the war, by over 100,000,000,000, the last public loan having produced 27,000,000,000. We

have received from Great Britain and the United States loans amounting to 25,000,000,000 francs.

"So that France starts on this new period of her history with a burden of public debt increased, on account of the war, by more than 125,000,000,000 francs, a figure which will certainly be further increased in order to liquidate the war expenses.

"I had to give you these figures in order to make you realize the seriousness of the situation in which France stands. We are all ready to face our problems with the utmost confidence and will to succeed, but we are aware that they are grave problems.

"First, while the whole world jumps into peace work and resumes trade, we have a part of our territory which is unable to produce. We cannot maintain our place in the markets of the world. We cannot get our own supply of coal. We are obliged to maintain restrictions in order to protect our industry while in course of rehabilitation, and as long as a normal order of things is not re-established.

"Secondly, in order to get from outside markets the raw materials and finished products we need, we depend largely upon foreign ships.

SHIPS THE BIG ITEM

"Thirdly, trade and shipping are closely connected. We have to rebuild our foreign trade, which has been stopped during the war on account of lack of tonnage and lack of industrial production.

"Fourthly, one of our best assets is our colonial empire. We have pacified and established our rule in vast countries, whose natural supplies are enormous, and whose populations are willing to work, and are loyal, as they have shown by giving us a total contribution of 918,000 men during the war, of which 680,000 were fighters, and 238,000 workmen in our war factories. With her possessions, France is actually the fourth of the great countries of the world as regards territory, the fifth as regards population. But we must develop these possessions. In order to perform that

duty, we want ships. And again, our merchant fleet has fallen to almost nothing. So, in order to fulfill her duties, France has two great objects to achieve—to rehabilitate her devastated regions and to build ships.”

THE DEVASTATED ZONE

In a cablegram received in Washington on the first day of 1919 Mr. Hoover told of the wanton destruction wrought by the German armies in Northern France. He stated that the work of rehabilitation had been made so difficult by enemy outrages that the whole region would have to remain for a time under the care of the Commission for Relief in Belgium.

“The entire industrial life of the region,” he said, “has been destroyed by the Germans. There is scarcely a single factory that can be operated without a very large portion of new equipment. The coal mines are totally destroyed, and the network of railways in this region has been rendered almost hopeless of reconstruction for many months.

“The German method of destruction was to bend every single rail by exploding a hand grenade under it, rendering it useless for all time. The Grand Canal du Nord, which connects this section of France with the Belgium canal system and is the natural entrepôt for goods for Antwerp or Rotterdam, was itself practically the fighting line for months, and is so badly damaged that it will take fully a year for its complete reconstruction.”

Discussing the general conditions, Mr. Hoover stated that the relief was based upon the allowance of food to the value of about 35 cents a day to the destitute, those having any resources or employment being required to pay. The whole extent of destitution was not yet known, but appeared to include fully 60 per cent. of the people. His cable added these details:

“The population of this area at the moment of the retreat was about 1,500,000, there being also about 300,000 refugees in Belgium who are returning and some 500,000 refugees in France, all of whom are anxious to return to their native soil.

“The destruction of some twenty principal towns and literally hundreds of

villages renders the return of these refugees a stupendous problem. Every effort is being made to restrain them from going back until some systematic provision for shelter can be completed, but they evade all official urgings and the roads are a continuous procession of these pitiable bodies. Thousands of them reach their villages to find every vestige of shelter destroyed, and finally wander into the villages further back from the acute battle area, which are themselves already overcrowded to a heart-breaking degree.”

“In order to remedy this situation to some extent the Commission for Relief in Belgium has obtained the services of 150 volunteers from the American Navy, and is taking over a large amount of second-hand barrack material from the navy and army. Those barracks are in course of erection adjacent to the destroyed villages under the superintendence of the navy volunteers.”

REBUILDING THE RAILWAYS

Train service between Paris and Brussels, which had been stopped by the beginning of the war in 1914, was resumed on Sunday, Dec. 29, 1918. The task of restoring the railway lines in the direction of Berlin, however, was a much more difficult matter. Officials of the Compagnie du Nord sent the following statement to the Paris Temps on Dec. 8:

“The section of railway from Namur to Liège is restored, it is true, because it was only slightly damaged. But it is different with the sections on this side, and it will be a long time before the service can be fully restored. It is on this side of Namur and even of Charleroi that one finds the beginning of the systematic destruction adopted by the enemy and executed in such style that the re-establishment of traffic is extremely laborious. In the whole zone of their retreat—speaking only of the one line from Paris to Berlin beyond Compiègne—the Germans blew up all the bridges with vast quantities of explosives, which destroyed not only the arches and metal flooring, but the piles and abutments to their very foundations; they blew up the switches and even the tracks for dozens of kilometers at a stretch, either by putting a

bomb under every other joint, thus making every rail useless, or by tearing the rails from the ties with a sort of plow dragged by a locomotive, which put the road into such a state that nothing can be done but clear the ground completely and replace the wreckage with entirely new construction.

"While they were in the very act of negotiating the armistice, that is, up to Nov. 10, the Germans continued this work, and—still speaking only of the line from Paris to Berlin—it was in these very last days that they blew up, among other works, three of the large bridges by which the line crosses the curves of the Sambre, between the French frontier and Charleroi.

DESTROYED 1,731 BRIDGES

"This systematic destruction extended to 1,731 bridges, of which 371 exceeded ten yards in length; it included 338 railway stations, almost all the telegraph and telephone lines, waterworks, warehouses, etc. It may be said that, by means of slow mines, this destruction still continues. Recently there was an explosion in our station at Seclin that cut our road with a chasm twenty-five feet in diameter and ten feet deep. In this regard Belgium has suffered less, or at least has suffered in a much less extensive region, corresponding to the much smaller distance over which the enemy was driven back by force before the armistice.

"Thousands of French and English railway builders, thousands of employes from all over the system, are rivaling each other in eager activities to repair these damages. Thanks to their stubborn industry we have been able to carry travelers to Lille since Oct. 27, 1918, to Laon since Nov. 28, to St. Quentin since Dec. 5, and we are hoping soon to carry them as far as Douai, Valenciennes, and Cambrai. Months of work, however, are still necessary before the Nord system can offer anything resembling the complete service it furnished before the war."

George Ford, head of construction work for the Red Cross in France, after

a long and careful study of the facts, began a series of articles in the European edition of *The New York Herald* with these statements on Jan. 3:

"The devastated area in France covers approximately 6,000 square miles, in all about 2 per cent. of France, with a total population in normal times of about two million persons. This is about equal in area to Rhode Island and Connecticut.

"Along the route of the German retreat during the last four months in the Somme, the Aisne and the Oise region the devastation is complete. The area southwest of Ham, which before this time had been only partly destroyed, was wholly laid waste. Cities like Ham, Noyon, Nesle, Roye, Soissons, Dormans, and Fismes are almost completely destroyed.

"In the Marne region 258 communes are damaged, including a total of 3,500 buildings entirely destroyed and 12,000 destroyed in part. In the Meuse region 59 communes are damaged, with about 1,800 buildings completely destroyed and nearly 700 destroyed in part. In the Vosges 53 communes were damaged, with a total of 1,256 buildings completely destroyed and nearly 2,000 partially destroyed.

"In the Marne and Meuse regions nearly all the destruction occurred during the battle of the Marne along both sides of the line, where the fighting was heaviest. It began at Meux and did not really get serious until near Sezanne and the farming villages south of Chalon-sur-Marne and west of Vitry-le-François, running past Revigny, Bar-le-Duc, Verdun, and down to St. Mihiel and Commercy. The destruction by shell fire was intense. This makes a belt about 150 miles long, wherein the destroyed area is anywhere from five to ten miles wide.

"North and east of Nancy it again is very serious, almost all of it done by shell fire. In this area are included cities like Lunéville, Gerbéviller—which was systematically burned—and a part of St. Dié. Thence the line runs down to the border of Alsace, where buildings, and especially those in the town of Thann, were destroyed."

German Maltreatment of Women

Story of French Hostages

A NARRATIVE contributed by Mme. V. to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of Nov. 1, 1918, reveals anew the baser side of the German character. Mme. V. was one of six women who were told to leave Laon at a moment's notice and go to Germany, "as a reprisal for the unjust retention of women of Alsace and Lorraine by the French Government." These were of all classes—the wife of the Divisional Chief of the Prefecture, an officer's wife, wives of shop people and of common laborers.

On Jan. 12, 1918, the "hostages" were taken away. They traveled in third-class carriages, without any toilet accommodations, to an unknown destination. At Lille were added about a hundred others, coming from Roubaix, Valenciennes, St. Amand, Orchies. The journey lasted seventy hours, during which they were strictly guarded, and only once were allowed to get on the railway track, and even then they were supervised by sentinels.

On their arrival at Holzminden they were received with curses and blows from the population, which had come to see them although it was in the middle of the night. They were also heavily stoned, the officers in charge of the guards doing nothing to prevent this inhumane treatment. When the luggage they were allowed to take in the van was handed over it was found to have been opened and pillaged. After a walk of two miles to the internment camp, they found the fires had been purposely put out and the windows opened by the Germans. In the camp they were packed together so closely that Mme. V. had to reach her bed by climbing over several others. Only one bucket and one jug were allowed to twenty-five people for toilet

purposes. The mattresses were teeming with fleas and often with bugs, and the sanitary arrangements were primitive and indecent. "They enjoy offending our modesty as much as possible," writes Mme. V. "Every fortnight we were submitted to a douche, which we received in groups of 25."

The food was insufficient. Without the receipt of food from the French "Comité de Secours" all would have died of hunger. One woman who died of bronchitis was so thin that her "bones literally pierced her skin." Mme. V. adds:

"The day after our arrival they made us pass by entirely naked before the Germans, who examined us with curiosity, while they proceeded to inspect our shoes, underlinen, and dresses. They went so far as to look under the ribbon in our hats to see if some seditious paper were concealed there."

They took away all banknotes and coin, in exchange for which they were given paper vouchers for use within the camp. Each woman was given an identity disc to be worn ostensibly on the chest, and every one was warned that its loss meant imprisonment. At every moment these wretched women had to undergo inspections. Everything was done to vex them. When their huts were inspected they had to wait out for an hour and a half or two hours in beating rain, or under the hottest of suns, during the process. No one was allowed to write home. The husband of Mme. V. had no news of her before she actually returned. They were not allowed to speak to the members of the neutral delegations who visited them, except the last, and this was discovered to consist of Germans and not of Swiss, as they pretended to be.

The Last Battles in Italy

Lord Cavan's Official Dispatches Describing Britain's Share in the Austrian Defeat

TWO dispatches from General the Earl of Cavan, commanding the British forces in Italy, tell of the part played by these forces in crushing the Austro-Hungarian offensive of June 15, 1918, and in assisting in the great Italian victory which put Austria-Hungary out of the war. The first report, dated Sept. 14, 1918, deals with the operations from March 10 to that date. After noting the transfer of the British forces to the mountain sector between Asiago and Canove, (completed by March 29,) Lord Cavan describes the main engagement in these words:

Early on the morning of June 15, after a short but violent bombardment, in which smoke and gas were freely employed, the Austrian attack was launched. The fronts of attack extended from S. Dona di Piave to the Montello on the plains, and from Grappa to Canove in the mountains, fronts of twenty-five and eighteen miles respectively. The whole of the British sector was involved.

The British front was attacked by four Austrian divisions. It was held by the 23d Division on the right and the 48th Division on the left. On the front of the 23d Division the attack was completely repulsed. On the front of the 48th Division the enemy succeeded in occupying our front trench for a length of some 3,000 yards, and subsequently penetrated to a depth of about 1,000 yards. Here he was contained by a series of switches, which had been constructed to meet this eventuality. On the morning of June 16 the 48th Division launched a counterattack to clear the enemy from the pocket he had gained; this attack was completely successful, and the entire line was re-established by 9 A. M.

Acting with great vigor during the 16th, both divisions took advantage of the disorder in the enemy's ranks and temporarily occupied certain posts in the Asiago Plateau without much opposition. Several hundred prisoners and many machine guns and two mountain howitzers were brought back in broad daylight without interference. As soon as No Man's Land had been fully cleared of the enemy we withdrew to our original line.

The enemy suffered very heavy losses in their unsuccessful attack. In addition, we captured 1,060 prisoners, seven mountain

guns, seventy-two machine guns, twenty flammenwerfer, and one trench mortar.

I wish here to place on record the prompt and generous assistance in both artillery and infantry given to me by General Monesi, commanding the 12th Italian Division. As soon as it was discovered that the enemy had penetrated the front of the 48th Division General Monesi placed all his available reserves at my disposal, and thus appreciably improved the situation.

Elsewhere the enemy had made progress at a number of points, but in no single instance up to his expectations. Everywhere he found himself faced with the most determined resistance. The Italian High Command had ample reserves available and handled the situation with coolness and decision. Steps were at once taken to deprive the enemy of the gains which he had made.

Torrential rains brought the Piave down in flood and added to the embarrassments of the enemy. Many of his bridges were washed away, and those which remained were constantly bombed by British and Italian aviators. By means of a succession of vigorous counterattacks the enemy was gradually pressed back again both on the Piave and the mountain fronts. As a result, not only was the original front line entirely re-established, but that portion of the right bank of the Piave between the Piave and the Sile Rivers which had been in Austrian hands since November, 1917, was cleared of the enemy.

Captured orders and documents proved beyond doubt that the enemy's plans were extremely ambitious, and aimed in fact at the final defeat of the allied forces in Italy. The result was a complete and disastrous defeat for Austria.

THE FINAL CAMPAIGN

Lord Cavan's later dispatch, dated Nov. 15, 1918, covers the operations of the British forces in Italy from Sept. 15 to the final defeat of the Austrian Army and the armistice of Nov. 4. The Earl of Cavan was at that time commander of the 10th Italian Army, which included two Italian corps as well as the British divisions under his direction. He describes the organization and plan of the final offensive as follows:

On Oct. 6 I went to Comando Supremo at General Diaz's request. General Diaz at this interview offered me the command of a mixed



SCENE OF ITALY'S VICTORY AND THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN DEBACLE

Italian-British Army with the view of undertaking offensive operations at an early date. I expressed my high appreciation of the honor conferred on me, and the pleasure it would give me to accept this new command.

General Diaz impressed on me the vital importance of secrecy. In order to make as little apparent change as possible, he suggested that the 48th Division should remain in position on the Asiago Plateau and pass temporarily under the command of General Pennella, commanding the 12th Italian Corps. To this I agreed, with the stipulation that

the 48th Division should rejoin my command at the earliest opportunity.

On Oct. 13 General Diaz held a conference of army commanders at Comando Supremo, at which he explained his plans for the forthcoming offensive. The general plan for the main attack was to advance across the Piave with the Tenth, Eighth, and Twelfth Italian Armies—to drive a wedge between the Fifth and Sixth Austrian Armies—forcing the Fifth Army eastward and threatening the communications of the Sixth Army running through the Valmarino Valley. The Fourth

Army was simultaneously to take the offensive in the Grappa sector.

The task allotted to the Tenth Army was to reach the Livenza between Portobuffole and Sacle, and thus protect the flank of the Eighth and Twelfth Armies in their move northward. The co-ordination of the attacks of the Tenth, Eighth, and Twelfth Armies was intrusted to General Cavaglia, the commander of the Eighth Italian Army.

On Oct. 11 the headquarters of the Tenth Army, the army which had been placed under my command, were established near Treviso. The Tenth Army, in the first instance, was to consist of the 11th Italian and 14th British Corps. The 11th Italian Corps was already holding a sector on the Piave extending from Ponte di Piave to Palazzon. The 14th British Corps was concentrated in the Treviso area on the 16th of October.

The problem that faced the Tenth Army was not an easy one. The breadth of the Piave on the front of attack was approximately one and a half miles, and consisted of numerous channels dotted with islands. The main island was the Grave di Papadopoli, which was some three miles long by one mile broad. The current varied according to the channels. In the main channel it ran at a rate exceeding ten miles an hour in time of flood, and never dropped below three and a half miles an hour at Summer level. The enemy held the Grave di Papadopoli as an advanced post.

On Oct. 21 the 14th British Corps took over the northern portion of the 11th Italian Corps front from Sallotuel to Palazzon. Orders were issued that all troops visible to the enemy should wear Italian uniform, and that no British gun should fire a single shot previous to the general bombardment. By these means it was hoped to conceal the presence of British troops from the Austrians.

CROSSING THE PIAVE

The Piave River was in full flood, adding to Lord Cavan's anxieties regarding bridging requirements. At the suggestion of Lieut. Gen. Babington he decided to occupy the island of Grave di Papadopoli previous to the general advance, and on the night of Oct. 25-26 an artillery battalion and a battalion of Fusiliers crossed the main channel in small boats, surprised the Austrian garrison, and occupied the northern half of the island. On the night of the 25th-26th the conquest of the island was completed by the combined movement of the 7th British Division from the north and the 37th Italian Division from the south. This put the main channel of the Piave behind the allied forces and enabled them to begin their bridge building with no

interference except for shellfire. Lord Cavan continues:

At 11:30 on the night of Oct. 26 the bombardment of the hostile positions opened along the whole front. The fact that no single British gun had opened previous to this hour deserves special mention. Both heavy and field artillery were registered by the 6th Field Survey Company, R. E., and the fact that the bombardment and the subsequent barrage were excellent in every way reflects the greatest credit on all ranks of this company.

At 6:45 A. M. on Oct. 27 the attack of the Tenth Army against the enemy defenses east of the Piave opened. On the right the 11th Italian Corps, under General Paolini, attacked with the 23d Bersagliere Division under General Fara on its right, and the 37th Italian Division under General Castagnola on its left.

On the left the 14th British Corps attacked with the 7th British Division, under Major Gen. T. H. Shoubridge, C. B., C. M. G., D. S. O., on its right and the 23d British Division, under Major Gen. H. F. Thuillier, C. B., C. M. G., on its left.

The enemy offered considerable resistance in his front line, but the defenders were overwhelmed after a hard fight, and the advance was pushed forward by all units with the utmost determination. I would especially commend the action of the 22d Battalion Manchester Regiment and the 11th Battalion Northumberland Fusiliers in this assault. Unfortunately we lost a number of gallant men by drowning, the difficulty of keeping a footing in a strong current being very great when loaded with rifle and ammunition.

By the night of Oct. 27 a large bridgehead had been gained and firmly held, and Stabruzzo, S. Polo di Piave, Borgo Zanetti, Tezze, Borgo Malanotte, C. Tonon were all in our hands.

The bridging of the Piave was proceeding rapidly, though much interfered with by hostile airmen. The strength of the current was such that if a break occurred there was a great danger of the whole structure being washed away. Both bridges were frequently broken.

On the front of the Eighth Italian Army, but at an interval of ten kilometers to our left, a landing had also been effected, but difficulties in throwing bridges had been encountered, especially at the point of junction with my army. Comando Supremo therefore allotted me the 18th Corps, under the command of General Basso, with a view to passing it across by our bridges and attacking northward, and so clearing the front of the Eighth Army.

During the night of Oct. 27-28 portions of the 56th Italian Division under the command of General Vigliani, and the 33d Italian Division, under the command of General Sanna, both of the 18th Corps, crossed the Piave by

various bridges in the 14th Corps area, and took over the front from Borgo Malanotte to C. Tonon.

At 9 A. M. on Oct. 28 the attack was renewed. During the night of the 27th-28th many of the bridges had been broken, and as a result the 18th Italian Corps had been unable to deploy all the troops required. General Basso, with soldierly instinct, did not hesitate to continue the advance, which was resumed with splendid dash. By dark the Tenth Army had reached the line Roncadelle-Ormele-Tempio-Rai-C. Bonotto-C, Milanese-S. Lucia di Piave-Ponte-Priula. Patrols had been pushed in advance of this line toward and up to the River Monticano.

ENEMY'S GRIP LOOSENED

The success of these operations at once brought about the desired effect. The enemy's hold of the high ground about Susegana weakened, and the passage of the right of the Eighth Army about Nervesa was accomplished during the night of Oct. 28-29. Having accomplished the rôle assigned to it, the 18th Italian Corps reverted to the Eighth Army on the morning of Oct. 29.

On the morning of Oct. 29 the attack was again renewed, and during the day the advance was carried up to the River Monticano from the neighborhood of Fontanelle to Ramiera. The 14th Corps Mounted Troops, under Lieut. Col. Sir C. B. Lowther, D. S. O., Bart., acting vigorously in advance of the infantry, secured the bridge over the Monticano between Vazzola and Cimetta intact, although it had been prepared for demolition. This resolute action undoubtedly saved us many hours of delay in the pursuit. By this date the enemy's defense showed manifest signs of weakening, and numerous fires in the rear of his lines suggested that a far-reaching withdrawal was contemplated. On Oct. 29 the 23d Bersagliere Division passed to the Third Army, with a view to clearing the front of that army by an attack southward. Its place in the 11th Italian Corps, was taken by the 10th Italian Division under General Gagliani. The 31st Italian Division, which included the 332d American Regiment, under General de Angelis, had meanwhile joined the 14th British Corps.

The enemy had rapidly occupied the line of the River Monticano, and on this line he offered his last serious resistance. During the evening of Oct. 29 and the morning of Oct. 30 passages were forced, and the enemy skillfully manoeuvred out of the remainder of his defenses, chiefly by very gallant work on the part of the 8th Battalion Yorkshire Regiment.

AUSTRIANS IN FLIGHT

From this moment the defeat became a rout. By the evening of Oct. 30 the Livenza was reached, at Francenigo and Sacile. On Oct. 31 this river was reached and crossed

between Motta di Livenza and Sacile. On this date the 18th Italian Corps was again placed under the command of the Tenth Army.

The advance had on the 30th already caused the enemy to weaken on the front of the Third Army, and crossings of the Lower Piave were effected at a number of points on this date. On the 31st the Third Army was advancing rapidly to the Livenza. Nov. 1 was mainly devoted to bridging the Livenza, the pursuit of the enemy being intrusted to the Italian Cavalry Corps.

On Nov. 2 the advance was resumed, and on that date the Tenth Army reached the line Villotto-Praturlonè-River Meduna (east of Pordenone)-S. Quirino-Aviano.

On Nov. 3 the Tagliamento was reached from S. Vito, to the north of Spilimbergo, a little opposition being met with. On Nov. 4 the 332d American Regiment had their baptism of fire when forcing the passage of the Tagliamento. They took over 100 prisoners and suffered a few casualties when attacking the enemy rearguards, an operation which they carried out with the same dash as has always been shown by American troops.

At 3 P. M. on Nov. 4, when the armistice came into effect, the line of the Tenth Army was Basagliapenta-Meretto di Tomba-Cosciano-S. Daniele-Pinzano.

It is difficult to say with certainty the number of prisoners captured by the Tenth Army, as, after Nov. 1, the cavalry passed back many prisoners through our cages, which had already proved inadequate to hold such vast numbers. The share of the 14th British Corps amounted to over 28,000 prisoners and 219 guns.

ON THE PLATEAU

Meanwhile, as stated above, the 18th Division, under Major Gen. Sir H. B. Walker, K. C. B., D. S. O., had remained on the Asiago Plateau, forming part of the Sixth Italian Army. Successful raids were carried out on Oct. 4, 11, and 23, which resulted in the capture of 445 prisoners and 12 machine guns. A further raid carried out on the night of Oct. 29-30 found the trenches facing Ave unoccupied. This pointed to a withdrawal in the mountains, and on Oct. 30 patrols pushed beyond Asiago found the enemy rearguards in position on the line M. Catz-Bosco-Campoverere. At 5:45 A. M. on Nov. 1 an attack was launched against this line. M. Catz was captured by the Royal Berkshire Regiment by 6:30 A. M., but no progress could be made on M. Interrotto.

On the morning of Nov. 2 the success gained on M. Catz by the 145th Infantry Brigade was wisely exploited. M. Mosclagh was in the hands of the 48th Division by 7:30 A. M., and the Interrotto position thus outflanked. The advance then became more rapid, and by dark the advanced guards had reached Vezzena, and thus set foot on Austrian soil. This division was therefore the first British

division to enter enemy territory on the western front. On the morning of Nov. 3 the advance was again resumed, and by dark both Caldonazzo and Levico had been occupied. At 3 P. M. on Nov. 4, when the armistice came into force, the leading troops were on the line Miola-eastern outskirts of Trent.

The captures in prisoners and guns made by the 48th Division cannot be accurately ascertained; they amounted to at least 20,000 prisoners and 500 guns. Included among the prisoners were the commander of the 3d Corps and three divisional commanders.

It must be remembered that this division was attacking very formidable mountain positions with only a fifth part of the artillery that would have been at its disposal had the initial attack started on the Altipiano. Its performance, therefore, in driving in the enemy's rearguards so resolutely, while climbing up to heights of 5,000 feet, is all the more praiseworthy. * * *

During the battle I was in constant touch

with his Excellency General Caviglia, under whose general direction my army was operating. He was always most kind and prompt in assistance and advice, and I owe him very warm thanks for his generous encouragement.

The action of the 11th and 18th Italian Corps has been only briefly referred to, but they bore a very noble and conspicuous part in the victory. My cordial thanks are due to their commanders for their most loyal cooperation.

My thanks are also due to his Royal Highness the Duke of Aosta and the staff of the Third Army. The 11th Italian Corps had previously formed part of the Third Army. Careful and detailed arrangements for an attack had long been made, and owing to the advanced state of these preparations little in this direction remained for me to do.

General Lord Cavan ends his dispatch with praise for the various services under his command.

Fixing Germany's New Frontiers

A Survey of the Problems of Nationality That Must Be Solved by the Peace Congress

SUBJECT to two qualifications concerning freedom of the seas and the meaning of "restoration," the allied Governments have "declared" their willingness to make peace with "the Government of Germany on the terms laid down in President Wilson's address to Congress in January, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses." That pledge was made before the armistice with Germany, and it distinguishes that armistice from those for which Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria-Hungary sued unconditionally. There has been no indication, however, that the Allies hold to this distinction; it is their purpose to conclude a "world peace" on the larger principles enunciated by President Wilson.

From this viewpoint a correspondent of *The London Times*, formerly stationed in Berlin, made an illuminating analysis (Dec. 18, 1918) of the German territorial problems confronting the Peace Congress at Versailles. He pointed out that Germany would have to face the complete demolition of the Bismarckian system,

and that the test of her sincerity would be avoidance of attempts to save portions of that system. The test of the Allies' sincerity, on the other hand, would be avoidance of attempts to destroy German national unity. The real obscurity of the future of Germany, he added, lies in the obscurity of the future of Russia, the greatest secret of the next century.

To all appearances, says this observer, we have witnessed the end of the system of 1864-1914. The new Germany can control neither Slavs nor Italians, nor Turks, nor any Balkan people; she is losing her French (1871) and Danish (1864) annexations; she has lost all her hold on Belgium and Luxemburg, and finds her relations with Holland fundamentally changed; she has come to the end of her great naval adventure, (1884-1899,) of her territorial establishment in the Far East, (1897,) and of the fiscal domination of Europe by tariff and commercial treaty founded upon the Peace of Frankfurt (1871) and built up by the policy of 1879.

The main territorial questions which

directly concern Germany are four—the French frontier, the Polish frontier, the Danish frontier, and the future of German Austria. The Belgian Government has also indicated pretty plainly that it will claim certain small frontier rectifications in the neighborhood of Malmédy.

There are two other western questions which concern Germany very closely—

toms Union, and from the railway control which Prussia seized in 1871; a natural adjustment would be the reunion of Luxemburg with Belgium.

There can now be no serious doubt that the "righting of the wrong done to France in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine" will mean at least the restitution of the whole of Alsace and Lorraine as then annexed, whether or not the Peace Conference concerns itself with the future of the German population. But it cannot be taken for granted that the frontier of 1815-1871 will be regarded as definitive.

As indicated on the accompanying map, the First Peace of Paris (May 30, 1814) generally confirmed the French frontiers as they had stood in 1792, but, in return for the renunciation of any further French pretensions, advanced the northern frontier beyond Saarbrücken and Landau. But after the Hundred Days—Napoleon's interruption of the Congress of Vienna—the Second Peace of Paris transferred the fortresses of Landau and Saarbrücken, and also the fortress of Saarlouis, from France to Germany. Whatever may be the strategic importance of Landau, the Saar district has acquired an enormous value through the exploitation of its coalfields. In no direction have the Germans displayed more greed during the war than in their hope of annexing the whole of French Lorraine with its wealth of iron ores; their authoritative literature on the subject is stupendous. Little wonder if, in addition to the great mining deposits between Metz and Luxemburg, which were hardly known in 1871, they are now threatened with the loss of the Saar coal. The question is closely connected with the whole problem of the German indemnity. A somewhat similar issue may well arise in regard to the Silesian coalfields and the Polish frontier.

THE DANISH FRONTIER

Since it is the fundamental object of the Peace Conference to establish national States as the necessary foundation of a League of Nations, it will be necessary to face squarely the problem of national minorities, since no mere re-drawing of frontiers can create entirely



MAP OF ALSACE-LORRAINE SHOWING OLD BOUNDARIES

Luxemburg and the control of the mouth of the Scheldt, involving access to Antwerp. There should be no real difficulty in putting an end to the still persistent German efforts to poison relations between Belgium and Holland as regards either the Scheldt, where it is unlikely that any cession of Dutch territory will be necessary, or as regards Limburg. As for the question of Luxemburg, it is clear that the German invasion and occupation have smashed to atoms the artificial arrangements which existed, to the sole advantage of Germany, before the war. To say nothing of the German dynasty, Luxemburg must be liberated from the unarmed "neutrality" of 1867, from the enforced membership of the German Cus-

homogeneous, or naturally and historically cohesive, State units. It seems extremely probable that, in the end, there will prove to be no real solution without a certain measure of compulsory migration, at least as a last resort in cases where "option," or the determination of nationality by free choice, promises no final settlement.

As regards German minorities, the Polish and Bohemian problems are the most difficult; the Danish problem is the least difficult. Palmerston said that only three persons had ever understood the Schleswig-Holstein "question—the Prince Consort, who was dead, a German Professor, who was in a lunatic asylum, and himself, who had forgotten the facts. But the delegations at Paris need not attempt to master the subject, for a Schleswig-Holstein question no longer exists. The method of Bismarck's annexation of Holstein and Lauenburg—to Prussia, not to Germany—was monstrous, and the use made of Kiel was aggressive. But Holstein and Lauenburg are purely German, and it is now as clear as may be that Denmark desires nothing but the redemption of the Danish parts of Schleswig, and that a line of nationality and sympathy, which would also be a practical frontier, can be drawn without any great difficulty. The future of the Kiel Canal is a problem entirely separate from any problem of nationality.

Schleswig has a population of about 430,000, of whom 160,000 or 170,000 are Danes, and all but some 15,000 of the Danes live north of the line drawn on the map from west of Tondern to north of Flensburg. That line forms a natural boundary, and its acceptance by Denmark would avoid the inclusion of Frisia. A natural frontier of Central Schleswig would run approximately from Flensburg to the coast north of Husum.

INDEPENDENT POLAND

So far as can be judged from the maze of contradictory—and often deliberately falsified—statistics, about 3,500,000 Poles have to be liberated from German rule. A glance at the map shows their scattered distribution. To fix a practical frontier is difficult—though the obstacles

raised by the Germans are economic rather than racial—without including 1,000,000 or more Germans in Poland. But still more serious is the problem of giving Poland the necessary "free and secure access to the sea." That access



MAP SHOWING PORTION OF SCHLESWIG THAT DEMANDS SEPARATION FROM GERMANY

must be down the Vistula. But Danzig, at the mouth of the Vistula, is a German town, with less than 10 per cent. of Poles among its 150,000 inhabitants, and no settlement of the problem would be permanent which would cut all territorial communication between East Prussia and West Prussia.

It is, however, useless to examine such problems except in connection with the larger problem to which President Wilson referred as follows on Jan. 22, 1917:

So far as practicable, every great people now struggling toward a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory, it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself.



TERRITORY CLAIMED BY INDEPENDENT POLAND

It seems obvious that much of the coming settlement will depend upon the success or failure of the lineal descendant at Paris of the "Committee on the Navigation of Rivers" which formed part of the Congress of Vienna. Internationalization of waterways is at least as old as the League of Nations ideal. If a League of Nations is now established, it is likely to find no more fruitful field of action than in the international regulation of rivers, canals, and railways. These questions are among the most important factors that will determine the future of Germany in Europe.

GERMAN UNITY

Such are the plainest issues. But behind them lies the great question whether Germany, whose policy and its failure have led to the present attempt to re-

construct Europe on the basis of the principle of nationality, will herself emerge united. There can be no doubt about the ultimate answer if the Allies remain true to their own creed, but reactionary forces both inside and outside Germany are already showing themselves, or rather inspiring sections of opinion, which in their haste to weaken Germany legitimately, have failed to explore the true sources of Germany's illegitimate strength.

The unification of Germany might have been the most beneficent achievement of the nineteenth century. But by deliberate and calculated choice Bismarck accomplished it by "blood and iron." Why? Because he was determined to destroy German liberalism, to re-establish the whole doctrine of might

in Prussia, and to unify Germany only under Prussian domination. So he wrecked all the Liberal hopes of unity that were slowly coming to fruition in spite of the failures of 1848, deliberately defied the Prussian Parliament for a number of years, and proceeded, by three wars of his own making, to throw Austria out of Germany, and to force the rest of Germany into his Prussian mold.

We shall not undo Bismarck's work merely by restoring the non-German territory which he annexed, says The London Times writer; we shall undo it finally only if we remove every obstacle to the true unification and liberation of the German Nation which it was the life-work of Bismarck to prevent.

Could Bismarck attend the conference in Paris that would be his object still. He would encourage the belief that the inclusion of German Austria in Germany

would be an intolerable increase of Germany's strength; he would encourage Czech diplomacy to insist upon the retention of the whole German population of Bohemia; he would endeavor to suggest fresh territorial ambitions to France just as he suggested them to Napoleon III. while he was preparing to destroy him, and he would make every attempt to employ the Vatican in a division of Germany, and so of Europe, on religious instead of on national lines. In fact, it is the interest of a Bismarckian Prussia to prevent at all costs a unification of the whole German people, which would leave no German territory to redeem, a Germany in which Prussia would have to find and keep her proper level. In a divided Germany Prussia would but need to bide her time, and to store up, this time as a just grievance, all evidence of the violation of the principle of nationality in the process of her disruption.

Marshal Foch to the Victorious Armies

At the time of the final allied victory and armistice Marshal Foch, Commander in Chief of the Allied Armies, issued this proclamation:

General Headquarters, Nov. 12, 1918.

Officers, Sub-Officers, Soldiers of the Allied Armies: After having resolutely arrested the enemy, you attacked him without respite for three months with tireless energy and faith. You have won the greatest battle in history and saved the most sacred cause—the liberty of the world. Well may you be proud. With immortal glory you have adorned your banners. Posterity cherishes for you its gratitude.



Last Days of the Hapsburg Dynasty

By A. BEAUMONT

During a visit to Vienna in the first week of December, 1918, Mr. Beaumont of The London Telegraph wrote the following dramatic account of how the Emperor Charles lost his throne:

PEACE came to Austria-Hungary, not in the shape of a white dove with an olive branch, but like a withering blast from some destroying angel, which swept away names once dear and things once sacred. As by a single breath were demolished old institutions that seemed built upon foundations of adamant and destined to last forever. The imperial house is no more; its Emperor and Empress, its Court, and its insignia have vanished like shadows. The monarchy, both single and dual, is extinct; the Archdukes and Archduchesses have been withdrawn from the public Courts, the Hofburgs have become common palaces, and the imperial eagles have left the public buildings. The republic has replaced all the ancient armorials by one single emblem—the red and white colors of republican, democratic, and socialistic simplicity. How strange to see the old Kaiserliche and Königliche (imperial and royal) eagles removed and their places taken by simple badges of red and white!

The first hoisting of the red and white flag in Vienna caused the only bloodshed of the revolution in a conflict at the Parliament building. The extreme Socialists wanted an all-red flag; the moderates insisted on hoisting the red and white flag, and shooting began, which ended in the loss of eight or ten lives. The new colors were thus baptized in blood, like the flags of every revolution. But here Vienna stopped and suddenly became herself again. The bloodshed went no further, and today all the soldiers and officers wear without ostentation a little red and white badge over their caps in the place where the imperial eagles used to be.

Vienna is not celebrating its revolution, Paris would celebrate it, by hanging

out bunting from every balcony and window. On the contrary, the only places where the new flag is floating are the Parliament building and the Town Hall. Elsewhere people have not yet welcomed the revolution with sufficient enthusiasm to hang out a flag. In the Parliament House officials move about in simple democratic vesture, where once only gorgeous uniforms, white-plumed helmets, and embroidered coats were seen. To see a Minister of State today one simply walks up to an office, hands in a card, and is received at once. It is only when one has to pay a bill that a certain aristocracy remains. There is something noble in having to pay 100 crowns (nominally nearly \$20) for a lunch that formerly cost only 2 crowns, and in buying a pair of boots for 500 crowns. "Upon my word, it is flattering to my name," says a Viennese to me, "when I have to pay 2,000 crowns (\$400) for a suit of clothes." This morning I saw in the shop windows simple little white blouses with a price ticket of 500 crowns. They certainly were not worth more than 50 before the war. The climax was reached when at lunch for two apples I saw myself charged 20 crowns, (\$4.)

FEARS OF FAMINE

The political situation in Austria is quiet but uncertain. Government affairs are managed without ostentation or flutter by Herren Seitz, Renner, and Bauer, who constitute a republican triumvirate of excellent intentions. Only their means are limited. Regarding the maintenance of public order, they must depend first on the good-will of the Viennese themselves, and, secondly, on the co-operation of such elements of the police and military force as lend themselves good-naturedly to their task. The pro-

visioning of the inhabitants of Vienna is the most serious problem of all, and wherever one goes one hears complaints of the present want and apprehension of future famine. Pathetic appeals are made in all the papers for urgent aid from the Entente. Morning, noon, and night the editions of every Vienna paper contain columns with big headlines on the one subject uppermost in every mind. Food, food, food, is the refrain in the street and in private.

The Government looks upon this as a grave matter for its own existence. The Viennese live in a state of excited apprehension. Peace is almost worse for them than war. Shut out from the sea by the Southern Slavs, from the east by the Hungarians, on the north by the Poles and Czechs, and to the west by the Entente, German-Austria is more of a besieged land than ever. President Wilson has been their hero, but now they also invoke Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau, and Baron Sonnino to come to their aid. One million men, women, and children are put out of work by the cessation of war industries, and another million, or more, of disheartened, weary, suffering soldiers have returned to their homes and find little to do.

THE EMPEROR'S FLIGHT

Schönbrunn Castle, the last residence of the imperial family, three weeks ago was a scene of terror and excitement that can be only compared to the memorable scenes in the Tuileries in 1870, when the Empress Eugénie stood in the midst of panic-stricken courtiers and ultimately issued by a side door to seek refuge in flight under the protection of an American dentist. Equally tragic was the flight of the Austrian Emperor and Empress, with their children, to the remote castle of Eckartsau, where, in the solitude of the mountains and amid an almost primeval forest, far from any village or habitation, the imperial and royal family now live in exile.

Schönbrunn has been closed, and is buried in deathlike silence. As one wanders around the old castle one cannot help thinking of Francis Joseph, who lived and died there, and whose ghost still seems to hover over it. The gates

leading to the big, broad stairs are closed, as on the day Francis Joseph died, but with this difference, that now no successor is expected. The Hapsburgs have left its halls forever. The big glass doors are closed. Soldiers with their rifles slung over their shoulders pace up and down, on the watch. They have taken the place of the Imperial Guards, and their democratic temper is evinced but too clearly by the cigarettes between their lips.

Only three weeks ago the now deserted corridors were alive and bustling with servants and courtiers. Near the old castle linger still a few old, faithful servants whose hearts are broken. They cannot realize that new times have come and the imperial family is gone forever. One hundred domestics, former guards, caretakers, and gardeners, wander about, wondering how they are going to live. Only fifty out of their numerous staff were taken by the imperial pair to Eckartsau, and out of these more than half have already been dismissed, as the refugees can no longer find provisions.

THE FINAL COLLAPSE

By an irony of fate the apartments of the young imperial pair had been entirely restored only last Spring. Charles and Zita had not yet formally taken up their quarters. Orders had been given after the death of Francis Joseph to modernize the furniture and furnishings. The traditional Schönbrunn style was ignored. The walls were covered with modern leather fittings and a dark wall-coating, which covered the ancient red, white, and gold decorations. Furniture in the English style was introduced, and every modern comfort was provided. The rooms were just finished before Charles went to Gödöllő, in Hungary, and it was after his hasty flight thence that he and his family for the first time went to settle in Schönbrunn Castle. Their occupation had hardly lasted two weeks when they again had to take flight, and this time never to return.

They were dark days that preceded this last removal. After his return from Hungary the reins of Government had completely fallen from the Emperor's hands. He daily received his

Ministers, who no longer knew whether they were Ministers or not, and none of them could advise him. The Minister of War and the Minister of Provisions under the defunct Lammasch Ministry were the last he so received. For some days delegates of the new State had come to visit him. Their power and influence imperiously demanded that he should see them. Then came the disastrous smashing up of the army at the front, and that once splendid military host of the Hapsburgs melted away. Hourly the extent and greatness of the disaster were magnified in the reports from his Generals. Count Andrassy no longer even consulted him. Everything was in confusion, and then the popular delegates first uttered the words "retirement" and "abdication." Their suggestion gradually became imperative.

Charles bore it all with remarkable outward composure. He had not created the terrible situation from which he was the principal sufferer. He spent more time with his family. He deliberately overstepped the bounds of old traditions. He extended his walks outside the limits of the castle garden. For the first time the Viennese could salute the Emperor walking unaccompanied. They

did so kindly and gently, as the Viennese do; no insult or offense came from them. The Empress and her children, who likewise walked outside the boundaries, were similarly treated with respect. There was something pathetic in this last effort, as it were, of the last Hapsburg Emperor to conciliate the goodwill of his own people, over whom his authority was fast waning.

On the eve of the proclamation of a republic the Emperor realized that the end of the monarchy had come, and himself gave orders to prepare his departure for the same day, [Nov. 11, 1918.] He remained in his rooms nearly all day, and was hardly seen by the domestics. He intended to leave in quietude, but gradually it was whispered about among the household, who got into great excitement. Many of the old and faithful servants went. They gathered toward 7 o'clock in rooms near the principal door, and stood waiting in silence. Charles appeared and walked with his head somewhat bent, contrary to his custom. Zita followed with the children and the nurse. An automobile stood waiting at the foot of the stairs, the imperial family entered, and the car started away for its destination just as dusk was falling.

Hungary's Freedom Won in a Night

Details of the Successful Revolution Under the National Council, Headed by Count Michael Karolyi

FULL accounts of the almost bloodless revolution in Hungary in the last week of October, 1918, which resulted in the formal proclamation on Nov. 17 of the Hungarian Republic, appeared in the Budapest newspapers of that period. They show the origin of the power wielded by the Hungarian National Council and seem to prove the strength and popularity of Count Michael Karolyi, President of the Council and for many years recognized leader of the Hungarian Independence Party. In the *Pester Lloyd* of Oct. 31 the events of the previous day were summarized as follows:

"A revolutionary transformation has been completed over night in Budapest. The revolution broke out late in the evening, it rapidly and smoothly overcame all opposition during the course of the night, and by the break of day had triumphed without the shedding of blood.

"The National Council, originally a society in which the Karolyi Party—the Social Democrats and the bourgeois, radicals organically united for common action—has developed, through the peculiar course of events, into the only organized power in the State, and under its direction the popular movement constantly became more impetuous, spread

in all directions, and, finally breaking through all the barriers in its way, won the adherence of the masses and took possession of the Governmental powers.

SOLDIERS TURNED THE SCALES

"The scales were turned by the attitude of the troops of the Budapest garrison. Some days before, a Soldiers' Council had been formed by the officers and men and had joined the National Council. Nothing in the actions of this Soldiers' Council indicated that it was planning to help in bringing about a violent revolt. It only made propaganda for things that in Prague and Agram were not only tolerated by the military authorities, but were actually being done by the leading army officials themselves. In the streets its members invited officers and men to remove the rosettes from their headdress and replace them with tricolored cockades. They also induced the officers and men to gather before the meeting place of the National Council and there to swear loyalty to the National Council in groups.

"Under the direction of members of the National Council the troops occupied the Central Post Office and the Telephone Central late in the evening. The entire body of officers declared itself at one with the troops. Only a few Generals, referring to their duty, declined to join. They were arrested and turned over to the National Council.

"This was the bloodless course of the whole revolution. Early in the morning the entire capital had already placed itself under the control of the National Council. The houses were beflagged, motor cars loaded with officers and soldiers proceeded through the streets, announcing to the people the triumph of the popular movement. The officers and soldiers were loudly acclaimed by the passersby and by persons at the windows. Otherwise absolute quiet reigned during the morning hours in the limits of Budapest. The only changes from the normal appearance of the capital consisted in the fact that most of the business places remained closed, and that small groups of persons singing patriotic songs marched through the streets.

"At 10 o'clock in the morning it was

already made known that Count Johann Hadik had given up the task of forming a Cabinet, and that the King had named Count Michael Karolyi as Premier.

"The appointment of Count Karolyi as Premier was hailed with the greatest enthusiasm everywhere."

THE COUNCIL'S APPEALS

In the same issue the Pester Lloyd gave an account of the measures taken by the National Council to maintain order and restrain the enthusiasm of the troops and to see that the city was supplied with food and coal, and also told in great detail how the Budapest City Council solemnly assembled under the Chairmanship of Mayor Dr. Theodor Body and proclaimed its allegiance to the National Council. Among the various appeals issued that day by the National Council were the following:

THE THANKS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL TO THE TROOPS

The Hungarian National Council expresses its patriotic thanks to all members of the Soldiers' Council and to all the officers and men who have taken part in the national movement, and thus helped bring about such a brilliant victory in the struggle for freedom waged by independent Hungary. The success of our revolution, this revolution with flowers and without blood, will obligate the nation to eternal gratitude to those who have so unselfishly labored toward bringing about this new creation. We also ask the Hungarian officers to allow the unifying force of freedom, the feeling of brotherly love, to triumph in their souls and to allow the men who took part in the movement to feel the guiding principles of the National Council—Equality and Fraternity.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL TO THE SOLDIERS AND THE PEOPLE

Soldiers! Hungarian People! The time for action has come! The Hungarian soldiers, who were thrown into the jaws of death five years ago, have taken the fate of the fatherland, the salvation of our existence, into their hands. The soldiers of the Hungarian people have made a prisoner of General Emil Albert von Bakony, the garrison commander, they have occupied the main office of the city guards, the railroad stations and the telephone centrals, without spilling even one drop of precious Hungarian blood.

Let the soldiers, citizens, workers, and everybody in general follow the directions of the Hungarian National Council.

Soldiers! Adhere to the National Coun-

cil, which is striving for the salvation of the country, for the rule of the people, and for peace.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL TO THE GENDARMES

Gendarmes: Our Hungarian brethren! We wish to save Hungary, which has been thrust into deadly peril through the criminal and ignorant leadership of its rulers.

We wish to create a new Hungary, an independent Hungary, a Hungary of the working people. Therefore, the men who tremble before the rule of people because it means the end of their power turn against us with armed violence. They will send you against us. You are in existence to hunt down evildoers, not to murder those who are fighting for the salvation of the land, the rule of the people, and independence.

The Hungarian soldiers will no longer fire upon the Hungarian people, which demands its rights. The Budapest police has adhered to the people's representatives, the National Council. You gendarmes are the last support and hope of arbitrary power.

Hungarian gendarmes, do not fire upon the Hungarian people! You, too, are not the sons of magnates, but sons of the people. The people's interests are your interests, the people's sorrows your sorrows. Your brothers do not make up aristocratic society, but the Hungarian people.

Gendarmes, do not fire upon your brothers! Be the guardians of quiet and right, not the balliffs of despotism. Be first of all Hungarians and then gendarmes. The God of nations will bless you in proportion as you heed these words!

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL TO THE HUNGARIAN FARMERS

To Hungary's Farmers: Bohemia has become an independent State. Croatia has become an independent State. Only the free and independent existence of Hungary is not yet insured, only Hungary has as yet no army at its disposal, only the Hungarian people can exercise no influence upon the guidance of its own destiny.

We wish to see the country independent! We wish to assist the Hungarian agricultural people in getting land, we wish to erect that free and happy Hungary for which the heroes of the struggle for liberty fought in 1848. Now the work of our forefathers must be completed, now the continued existence of the country must be assured. Now must all servitude and oppression be ended forever.

People of Louis Kossuth, awake! Hungary is menaced by fearful perils, help save it! Let us all unite to create an independent, free and happy Hungary. Join us, and even the gates of hell will not prevail against us.

With fraternal greetings.

STATEMENT TO THE NATION

Under the Presidency of Count Michael Karolyi, the new Hungarian Cabinet organized by the Count and formally approved by Charles, then King of Hungary, held a meeting the night of Oct. 31 and sent out this appeal to the people:

Fellow-Citizens: Glory and honor to the victorious people of Budapest! The people's revolution has triumphed. The first people's Government of Hungary has been formed and has taken over the management of the nation's affairs.

Its first and most pressing duty will be the conclusion of peace. Everything will at once be done to see that the armistice is effected within a few days and that the soldiers are able to return to their homes. We are confident that in a very short time we shall lead the people out of the torments of war, and we hope that we shall be able to preserve our territory in its entirety.

The complete political independence of Hungary is assured. A special Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs will be named.

We are free. As a free nation we stretch out a fraternal hand to the other nations that live in our fatherland.

We shall take all steps necessary to secure and organize the power which we have fought for and won. We at once restore to the nation the rights of which it has been robbed—freedom of the press, trial by jury, the right of assemblage and organization. We announce a military and civilian amnesty. We allow all interned prisoners to return to their native lands.

We shall speedily present a measure providing for universal, equal and secret suffrage and election by communities to the Chamber of Deputies and municipal and local bodies; a suffrage that includes the women. Furthermore, we shall submit a law rearranging the election districts on a just basis.

We shall care in every possible way for our returning soldiers and for unhappy victims of the war. We began work at once in the field of social legislation and protection for the workers and for the realization of a vigorous agrarian policy that will aid the great masses of the people in obtaining possession of land.

If the present Chamber of Deputies fails to accept any of the points in our program we shall dissolve it at once and appeal to the nation.

Fellow-Citizens: We are of the opinion that, although the country today, as the result of the sins of the former Governments, finds itself in the most desperate condition since the battle of Mohacs, [referring to the annihilation of the Hungarian Army by the Turks on Aug. 29, 1526,] the liberated vital forces of the

people will nevertheless bring a brighter, better, and happier future to our poor, tortured fatherland.

It depends first of all upon the population of Budapest to see that this becomes true, for the principal preliminary condition that must be brought about is the rapid restoration of law and order in the capital, and also in the province.

Fellow-Citizens! Workers! Soldiers! We have won, and have attained what we wished to attain; we have no reason now for continuing the struggle. For four and a half years we were forced to keep up the evil work of death; let us hope that now will come the creative work of life. Quiet, patience, and confidence are demanded of the people of Hungary by the first Hungarian people's Government.

MAKEUP OF THE CABINET

This appeal was signed by the following members of the Cabinet: Premier and Finance Minister, Count Michael Karolyi; Minister of the Interior, Count Theodor Batthyany; Minister of Cults and Instruction, Martin Lovaszy; Minister of War, Colonel Bela Linder; Minister of Commerce, Ernst Garami; Minister of Agriculture, Barna Buza; Minister of Food Supplies, Franz Nagy; Minister of Public Welfare, Sigmund Kunfi; Minister without portfolio, Oskar Jaszi.

Karolyi, Batthyany, Lovaszy, and Buza belong to the old 1848 Independence Party; Kunfi and Garami to the Social Democracy; Jaszi to the Radicals, while Nagy and Linder belong to no party. On Nov. 28 a dispatch from Berlin said that Count Batthyany had resigned as the result of conflicts with the Socialist members of the Cabinet.

In its issue of Nov. 1 The Pester Lloyd summed up the casualties resulting from clashes between the forces of the new Government and would-be plunderers of stores and similar irresponsible elements as 20 killed and 108 wounded, which was regarded as trifling when

compared with the size of the city and the tremendous change that had come so suddenly. The National Council announced that, as the officers had worked hand in hand with the men, there had been no violent encounters between them and everything was functioning smoothly.

In an effort to avoid racial and national troubles from assuming serious aspects under the new Government Minister Jaszi met with representatives of the National Council and of the Rumanians and Saxons living in Hungary on Nov. 2, and as a result the following proclamation, signed by Johann Hock, Acting President of the Hungarian National Council; Deputy Dr. Theodor Mihali, representing the Rumanian National Council, and Deputy Wilhelm Melzer, representing the Saxon Deputies, was put out:

In the midst of the bloody tempest of the world war our most serious efforts are devoted to sparing our people from further suffering and destruction, and to preventing the useless shedding of blood and the useless destruction of property, no matter what may occur in the near or distant future.

Therefore, we call upon all the sons of the Hungarian, Rumanian, and Saxon Nations to get in touch with each other and to guarantee internal peace through mutual agreement and mutual confidence, and to this end to agree to establish conditions and guarantees which are most likely to insure the joint protection of life and property during the events which may happen.

The Pester Lloyd of Nov. 3 contained an appeal addressed to the Hungarian intellectuals by about 100 prominent artists and writers urging them to support the new Government and to work for the organization of a free union of States. Practically all the Budapest newspapers welcomed the Karolyi régime with enthusiasm.



Creating the Kingdom of Yugoslavia

Prince Alexander of Serbia Its Ruler

THE movement for a union of the Southern Slavs of Austria-Hungary in an independent State first took definite form at a general convention called by the National Yugoslav Council and held on Aug. 16, 1918, at Laibach, in the Province of Kraina. The convention was attended by delegates from all the Austrian Yugoslav provinces, and also by Czech and Polish representatives. It adopted the statutes of the council and was declared a permanent part of the organization of the Yugoslav countries.

The next important step in the realization of Yugoslav aspirations was Italy's official recognition of the movement, an act noted with satisfaction by the Allies. On Sept. 9, 1918, the Italian Government addressed to its allies the following note:

The Council of Ministers has decided to inform the allied Governments that the Italian Government considers the movement of the Yugoslav peoples for the achievement of their independence and the establishment of a free State as corresponding with the principles for which the Entente is fighting, as well as the aims of a just and lasting peace.

About a month later the National Council of Slovenes, Serbians, and Croats elected a Central Executive Committee, which proclaimed its intention to assume the task of governing those peoples and ultimately of establishing a sovereign Yugoslav State. The committee adopted the following program:

First—To bring about a reunion of all the Slovenes, Croatsians, and Serbians on a racial basis without reference to their present political frontiers.

Second—to create a sovereign State on a democratic basis.

Third—To see that the nationalities represented by the council have a delegate at the Peace Conference.

About the same time King Nicholas of Montenegro declared that his country "must become a constituent part of Yugoslavia." He also expressed himself in favor of a federation of independent Yugoslav States, which should retain

their rights, institutions, and religion. On Oct. 29 demonstrations for the declaration of the independence of the Yugoslav State took place at Laibach and in other cities, and the day was declared a national holiday. Simultaneously the Croatian Diet adopted unanimously the following resolution:

The constitutional relation between the Kingdom of Dalmatia, Slovenia, Fiume on one hand, and the Kingdom of Hungary on the other, exists no longer. The ties between Croatia and Austria are also abolished. In particular, the compromise regulating the relations between Croatia and Hungary is pronounced null and void.

The statement of motives accompanying this resolution contained the following passage:

The people of Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia wish to have nothing in common with Austria and Hungary. They aspire to a union of all the Yugoslavs within the limits extending from Isonzo to the Vardar. They desire to constitute a free State, sovereign and independent.

FIGHTING AT FIUME

In October insurrections broke out in the Yugoslav provinces of the Dual Monarchy. In the latter part of the month Croatian and Hungarian troops clashed at Fiume, and the Croatian tricolor was hoisted on the public buildings. Four hundred persons were reported killed at Fiume. Collisions occurred also elsewhere. At the same time Yugoslav units crossed the Herzegovina frontier and joined the allied forces in Montenegro.

At the order of the Hungarian Government the Governor of Fiume, because of the small number of troops at his disposition, handed over the city to the Croats and dissolved the Municipal Council. On Nov. 1 the world learned that under an imperial proclamation the Austro-Hungarian Navy had been handed over to the Yugoslav National Council at Agram. This proclamation, however, had merely sanctioned an ac-

complished fact. The crews of the Austrian Navy, consisting mostly of Dalmatian Yugoslavs, had revolted and turned over the fleet to the Yugoslav National Council.

Under the terms of the armistice the Austrian Navy was surrendered to an allied naval force commanded by Italians. Fiume, when abandoned by the Hungarian authorities, was occupied by a Yugoslav force estimated at 18,000. The Italian population was disarmed and a civil guard recruited from among the Slavic population of the city. Upon the conclusion of the armistice, the Italians occupied Fiume and also Cattaro. The carrying out of the allied terms caused much friction between the Yugoslav population and the Italians.

In the early part of November, at Geneva, there was held a convention of delegates representing the Serbian Government, the National Council of Agram, the bloc of Serbian opposition, and the Yugoslav Committee of London. The convention proclaimed, unanimously and amidst great enthusiasm, the establishment of a common Ministry of the State of Serbians, Croatsians, and Slovenes. It also declared that political or customs frontiers existed no longer within the territory of the new State. The conference decided for the time being to maintain the Governmental and administrative organization created in the various Yugoslav provinces and countries.

ALEXANDER MADE REGENT

Shortly afterward, at the suggestion of the Provisional Government of Dalmatia, the National Council of Agram, (Zagreb,) which is the supreme authority in all the Yugoslav provinces formerly of Austrian allegiance, unanimously voted the union of all these provinces with Serbia and Montenegro, forming one State, and decided upon the immediate appointment of Crown Prince Alexander as Regent of the new State. It was also decided to summon, at Sarajevo, a State Convention, consisting of all the members of the Agram Council, fifty Serbian and five Montenegrin delegates.

On Dec. 1 the Great National Assembly (Skupshtina) of Montenegro,

elected on the basis of universal suffrage, adopted the following resolution:

Taking into consideration the historical tendencies as well as political and economic interests of Montenegro, the Great Skupshtina, elected by the people of Montenegro and assembled at Podgoritz, has decided:

1. To depose the King, Nicholas Petrovich Niegush;
2. To effect the union of Montenegro with Serbia under the Karageorgevich dynasty and its entrance into the common fatherland of Serbians, Croatsians, and Slovenes;
3. To elect a national committee specifically charged with the conduct of the affairs of Montenegro united with Serbia, and
4. To communicate this decision to former King Nicholas and to the Government of the Kingdom of Serbia, as well as to the Governments of the allied and neutral powers.

King Nicholas later issued a formal protest denying the power of the Skupshtina to depose him.

ADDRESS TO THE REGENT

A delegation of twenty-four members of the Yugoslav National Council at Agram went to Belgrade on Dec. 1 to present an address to the Prince Regent of Serbia. The address called for the creation of a union of the Serbians, Croatsians, and Slovenes. The text was as follows:

The National Council desires that a national representation should be established by agreement with the National Council and the popular representatives of the Kingdom of Serbia, and that the Government should be made responsible, according to modern parliamentary principles, to this representation, which would sit on permanence until the Constituent. * * * For the same reasons the former administrative and autonomous institutions would remain in vigor. In this period of transition it is in our opinion necessary to create the conditions for a definite organization of one unitary State. With this end in view, the Government should prepare the Constituent, which, according to the proposal of the National Council, would be elected on the basis of secret, universal, and proportional suffrage, and convoked at latest six months after the conclusion of peace.

At this historic moment, when we appear before your Royal Highness as representatives of all the Yugoslav territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, we are profoundly grieved to observe that large portions of our national

provinces of the independent State of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, in the Unitary Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. May this great historic act be the best reward of all your efforts and of all who have shaken off the yoke of the foreigner by your bold revolution. * * *

I assure you that I and my Government and all who represent Serbia will always be guided solely by brotherly love toward all that is most sacred in the souls of those whom you represent, and in the sense of the wishes which you have just expressed—wishes which we accept in their entirety—the Government will at once take steps to realize all you have said for the period of transition until the Constituent and for the elections. Faithful to my father's example, I shall only be the King of free citizens of the State of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and I shall always remain loyal to the great constitutional, parliamentary, and democratic principles resting upon universal law. I shall therefore ask your collaboration in forming the Government which is to represent our united country, and this Government will always be in contact with you all at first, and eventually with the national representation. It will work with it and be responsible to it.

With the National Assembly and the whole nation, the Government's first duty will be to endeavor to secure respect for our nation's ethnographic frontiers. Together with you all, I have the right to hope that our great allies will form a just appreciation of our standpoint; for it corresponds to the principles which they themselves have proclaimed and for which they have shed so much blood, and I am sure that the world's hour of liberty will not be stained by placing under a fresh yoke so many of your valiant brothers. I hope also that this standpoint will be admitted by the Government of Italy, which also owes its birth to the same principles that have been so brilliantly interpreted by the pen and acts of its great sons of the last century.

I venture to say that in the respect for these principles and traditions, and in the consciousness of our friendship, the Italian people will find greater well-being and security than in the realization of the Treaty of London, which was signed without you, never recognized on our part, and drawn up in circumstances when the fall of Austria-Hungary was not foreseen.

In this work and in all other respects I hope that our people will remain united and powerful to the end. It will enter the new life, proud and worthy of the greatness and happiness that await it. I beg you to give my royal greeting to all my dear brothers throughout free and united Yugoslavia. Long live the whole people

of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes! May our kingdom be ever happy and glorious!

As soon as Serbia and the Austrian Jugoslavs had reached a satisfactory agreement, a new Yugoslav Ministry was formed under the Presidency of the Serbian Premier Pashich. Its composition was as follows: Vice Premier, Dr. Anthony Koroshetz, President of the Agram Council, a Slovene; Foreign Minister, Dr. A. Trumbich, formerly President of the Yugoslav Committee in London, a Dalmatian; Minister of the Interior, Svetozar Pribichevich, a Croatian, and Minister of National Defense, General Raich, a Serbian.

According to a Paris dispatch of Jan. 5, a new all-Yugoslav Government had been formed at Belgrade by representatives of all the Yugoslav lands, and the allied and neutral Governments had been informed by the new State that the Kingdom of Serbia had become the United Serbian-Croatian-Slovene Kingdom.

DISPUTE OVER TERRITORY

Upon submitting the proposal for union, the delegation sent by the Yugoslav Council called the attention of the Serbian Crown Prince to the fact that a large part of the Yugoslav territory was occupied by Italian troops, who had gone beyond the zone of occupation set by the armistice. The delegation also protested against the London Treaty of 1915 as violating the principle of nationality. Similar protests against the Italian occupation and administration of occupied regions east of the Adriatic were made repeatedly in the succeeding weeks. A protest issued by the Agram Council was received in Washington on Dec. 13. It read in part as follows:

On Nov. 17 Italian troops arrived and occupied Fiume, although Fiume was not included for occupation in the armistice terms. From the first moment the behavior of the Italian troops assumed a degree of hostility toward the population usual only in enemy's lands. They seized all the public buildings, dissolved the branch of the National Council, dismissed all Yugoslav local authorities, and seized all the warships and merchant ships which happened to be in the harbor, and which did not come under the terms of the armistice. All these acts are contrary to the treaty of armistice and to public law.

More than this, the Italians closed indefinitely all the Yugoslav schools, and seized the railways and telegraph, declining their use to the Yugoslavs. Starvation is on the threshold because the Italians make imports and distribution of food impossible.

In Dalmatia things are, if possible, worse. On Nov. 2 a National Council was established for Dalmatia, being subject to the Central Council at Agram. The temporary Italian occupation disregards and violates all the terms of public and private right. The Italian Governor dissolves schools en masse, the whole merchant marine in Dalmatian harbors was seized and sent to Italy, being declared Italian property on the ground of seizure during a war.

The exasperation of the Yugoslavs in all parts occupied by Italian troops has reached a state of acute danger, and if there is no quick interference by the Allies, especially by America, deplorable bloodshed will be the result.

JUGOSLAVIA'S CLAIMS

The territorial claims of the Yugoslavs were set forth in a statement issued by them on Dec. 25. They include "all those territories where Yugoslavs live in compact masses and where they have formed since time immemorial an undisputed territorial continuity. These territories are Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slavonia, Dalmatia, Carniola, Istria, Gorizia, parts of Southern Styria, parts of Corinthia, Baoska, and parts of Banat and Megjmurje." Regarding the disputed regions of Trieste and Istria, the statement has this to say:

Trieste and the western part of Istria have a majority of Italians, but Trieste is a component and indivisible part of the whole Yugoslav hinterland, whereas the proportion of the population in the whole of Istria shows 224,000 Yugoslavs, as against 145,516 Italians. But Italy claims besides Istria and Trieste the whole of Gorizia and the greater part of Dalmatia, where the Italian population is negligible, being 108,147, as against 767,708 Yugoslavs.

In conclusion, the note asserts that "between Italian imperialistic and Yugoslav national claims there cannot be any compromise whatever. Only force can impose upon the Yugoslavs acceptance, for the moment, of a decision contrary to their rights. Any unjust settlement would unavoidably result in far-reaching future trouble."

The same day the Italian Deputies of the redeemed provinces on the Adriatic coast presented a memorandum to President Wilson. The document points out that the districts they represent have been Italian for two thousand years, and that the people of these districts participated in the wars for Italian independence and fought in the present war. No question can be raised, says the memorandum, regarding Italy's right to annex the Trentino, Trieste, and Istria. As for Fiume, it is a free city, and, therefore, free to dispose of its allegiance. The city has, however, shown already, the document adds, its determination to join Italy. The memorandum further states that Italy lays claim to less than 100 miles of the 310 miles of Dalmatian coast, and that Italy is ready to make Trieste and Fiume free ports.

The political leaders of Italy, however, are by no means unanimous regarding the Adriatic question. The absence of unanimity was emphasized by the resignation of Leonida Bissolati, Minister of Military Aid and War Pensions, which took place at the end of December. The Minister explained his step, in part, by his inability to persuade Baron Sonnino that Dalmatia should be turned over to the new Yugoslav State, and declared that in general Italy should renounce the territorial rights promised to her by the secret London Treaty of 1915.

On Jan. 4, 1919, Dr. M. R. Vesnich, the Serbian Minister to France, made the following statement:

Should the treaty secretly signed by England, France, Russia, and Italy in 1915, whereby Italy was to come into possession of the eastern coast of the Adriatic after the war, be confirmed by the coming Peace Conference, then Serbia would fight again, and fight to the finish. Serbia did not enter this war to become the vassal of any nation. She cannot agree to have Italy control the territory in question.

He further stated that Serbia counted on America's aid in putting an end to the exploitation of the Balkan peoples under secret treaties. The conflicting claims of Italy and the Yugoslavs remained one of the most urgent matters calling for adjustment at the beginning of the Peace Conference.

Events in the Czechoslovak Republic

President Masaryk in Prague

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1919.]

OCT. 1, 1918, may justly be regarded as the birthday of the republic of Czechoslovakia. It was on that day that the deputies of the Czech Parliamentary Club, jointly with the rest of their Slavic colleagues of the Vienna Reichsrat, dared to send a telegram of congratulation to the Bosnian Hungarian Premier, Count Stephen Tisza, during his visit to Serajevo. The birth certificate was issued on Oct. 19 by the Czechoslovak Provisional Government in the shape of a declaration of independence. The young Commonwealth was duly baptized on Nov. 15, four days after the last Hapsburg ruler, Charles I., through his abdication, had expiated the sins of his ancestors, from Ferdinand. II. (1619-1637) to Francis Joseph I., (1848-1916.)

The new Czech State, under the leadership of President Thomas G. Masaryk and Premier Karl Kramarz, embraces the former Austrian crownlands of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and a section of the upper part of Hungary, an area more than four times as large as Belgium, making it the eighth in size among the European powers. Over 62 per cent. of Austrian taxation was borne by the Czech provinces, which, agriculturally and industrially, are numbered among the richest parts of Western Europe; 83 per cent. of the Austrian coal and 60 per cent. of the Austrian iron are mined in Bohemia; 90 per cent. of the sugar factories of the former empire of the Hapsburgs are to be found in Czechoslovakia.

The most dramatic event of the month under review was the arrival of Professor Thomas G. Masaryk at Prague on Dec. 20, 1918, to assume the duties of President of the new republic. The man who, with his family, had been an exile under sentence of death throughout the war, and who more than any other had led the movement for independence, had come back to take the highest office in the gift of the people. He arrived in what is now known as the Wilson Station

at 1:15 P. M., and the artillery fired a salute of thirty rounds as the engines of his train, decorated with white and red, approached from the tunnel. A slight snow was falling, but a large crowd had waited from early morning, and they cheered wildly as the train stopped. The scene was described by a newspaper correspondent, A. R. Decker, as follows:

"From the station came Miss Alice Masaryk, accompanied by Mayor Samal. John Masaryk, who had gone from Prague to meet his father at Budweiser, got down from the train, took his sister by the hand, and led her to her father and Olga, her other sister. Then the President passed between the rows of Sokol students to the former imperial waiting room in the station, first standing with hat in hand as a regimental band played the Czechoslovak and allied hymns. The enthusiasm of the crowd was unlimited when it recognized the President, in the same style overcoat and soft hat that he had worn before the war.

"In the former imperial special train with the President were, besides his daughter and son, the Czech poet Machar, Colonel Rusak, and General Piccioni. In the station a delegation of Slovak compatriots presented bread and salt to the President, according to the old custom. In the waiting room the President was greeted by Acting President Kramarz. Both shed tears from the relaxation of the terrible strain endured for four long years when one was exiled and the other condemned to death. Mr. Kramarz addressed the French, Italian, and English high officers who were present. There were no Americans above the rank of Lieutenant. President Masaryk said to the members of the Government:

I am too moved to speak. This is the first time in four years that I have been so deeply touched. We know how much worked against us and how many difficulties we had to overcome, but we will find a friendly way out. Dr. Kramarz said that you were impatiently waiting my coming. I also was impatiently await-



TENTATIVE BOUNDARIES OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

ing the moment when I should come here to continue your work. How many sleepless nights I have passed during these four years! I knew you were oppressed and how hard was your task. You are all heroic and strong with a strength which showed that you were unitedly back of your leaders, though they were exiled. My heart speaks its thanks. I promise that my efforts will continue without wavering.

"From the Wilson station the President passed through a frenzied crowd to the Parliament Building, where he took the oath of office with the simple words, 'I promise,' and joined the people in the work of constructing the Czechoslovak democracy.

"People from all the surrounding regions had flocked to the city. The girls were dressed in national costumes of all colors, and hundreds of them were on the museum steps, which looked like a tropical flower garden. The houses were trimmed with streamers of bunting from roof to ground. Lieutenant Ruditzky Voska of New York and Lieutenant T. Tordy of Washington, attached to the American mission of Mr. Hunt Cook of Philadelphia, were in the Presidential procession, and received almost as much applause as the President himself. American flags predominated in the decorations."

The first weeks of independence had

brought boundary disputes on the Hungarian and Austrian borders. The Czechoslovaks alone had an effective army, and under Premier Kramarz they had taken the initiative in forcing a settlement. On Dec. 14 it was announced that Czech troops had occupied the towns of Tetschen and Bodenbach in German Bohemia, and on Dec. 21 the further occupation of Eger and Reichenberg cut off German Bohemia completely from German Austria. The reasons given for this action by Premier Kramarz were that the Czech minority in German Bohemia was living in fear of being terrorized by the German majority, that smuggling had been going on, and that the region had been about to be occupied by troops from Vienna.

The boundary dispute with Hungary, which had also led to armed clashes early in December, was settled temporarily on Dec. 27 by Colonel Vix, Chief of the Allied Military Mission, who fixed the boundary of the new State as follows: Beginning along the northern boundary of Hungary to the western Hungarian boundary to the Danube, along the Danube to Exzel, to the city of Rimaszombat, thence in a straight line to the River Ung. The permanent settlement of all boundary questions awaits the action of the Peace Congress.

The Political Situation in Poland

By E. H. LEWINSKI-CORWIN, PH. D.

[AUTHOR OF "THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF POLAND"]

WITH the collapse of the Central Powers and the dissolution of Russia in anarchy, the importance of Poland rises high on the political horizon of Europe. The Polish question ceases to be a *quantité négligeable* and assumes a pivotal position in the world of international politics. Poland is now the only extant strong rampart guarding civilization against the spread of Bolshevism and a union of the nefarious forces of the Muscovite and Teuton worlds. As of yore she is assuming her position as the balance wheel of Europe. "The Polish question is the key to the European vault," said Napoleon, and without the existence of a strong independent Poland a permanent peace is not feasible in Europe. The birth of this independence has been bloody and painful, and although the new State is beset with difficulties on all sides its present direction lies in the hands of honest and responsible men, who know how to grapple with them, pending the establishment of a permanent Government elected on the basis of a democratic suffrage franchise. With wise and sympathetic co-operation on the part of the allied Governments and the United States, based upon a clear understanding of the needs and social forces of the country, a peaceful and fruitful development of Poland may be anticipated.

The friends of Poland as well as the world at large, eager to see the realization of the great ideals enunciated by President Wilson, are watching the acts of the allied leaders with intense interest and bated breath. An erroneous movement on the chessboard of political values may precipitate a *débâcle* in Poland similar to the one which befell Russia when a lack of proper support made possible the Bolshevik pandemonium.

Although Poland's national character and her economic structure, similar to that of France and based on the conservative small peasant landowner, under

normal conditions preclude the possibility of a social catastrophe, yet an ill-advised kind of interference in times of high tension like these may upset the delicate political structure that has been reared with care and devotion amid most trying conditions, and call forth an internecine civil strife with the resultant chaos and injury to the cause of peace and free democratic evolution.

POLAND IN THE WAR

A brief review of the salient features of the war history in relation to Poland may throw some light on the present day alignment of political forces in this war-tossed country, which, in spite of impediments and discouragements, exhibits a powerful integrating force such as perhaps no other nation has exhibited under similar trying circumstances.

When the war broke out the world knew very little of Poland beyond her former romantic martial glory and the horrible oppression which the people suffered under the yoke of Russia and Prussia. Few had heard of the scientific, literary, and cultural achievements of the nation, which the great nineteenth century found already in bonds, but striving still in spite of all handicaps to keep pace with the onward march of the western nations.

By reason of the fact that the Poles were under three foreign autocratic Governments, two of which were particularly ferocious in the suppression of nationality and civil liberty, under three different economic, social and educational systems, the natural differentiation into political groupings became complicated by the prevailing local conditions. Each section had its peculiar problems and its own political difficulties. Each had its Tories, its Liberals and its Radicals. The adherents of the latter two parties were forced to pursue their political aims under the most unpropitious conditions, oftentimes surreptitiously. And yet, in spite of distortion of normal public life,

the alignment of political thought in Poland has not been different from that in other countries. Only because the social and economic questions in Poland were coupled with the national problem, have the party platforms been somewhat more intricate than in countries enjoying national independence.

In Poland, as elsewhere in Europe, the clericals fought the rationalists, the conservatives balked at liberal doctrines, the socialists raved against the capitalists, the fervent advocates of national independence gave sleepless nights to the opportunistic Tories, and the vociferous jingoes antagonized the various racial elements of the Polish population.

CAUSES OF STRIFE

The occasional bitterness of political strife in Poland was due to the fact that certain elements among the Poles abetted, for selfish or class reasons, the acts of the hostile Governments aimed at the suppression of national interests. The strife then assumed the aspect of national self-preservation. In Prussian Poland such was the fight against Polish landowners who would sell out their estates to the Prussian Colonization Commission; the acrimonious struggle of the Galician democratic elements against the ultra-conservatives among the landed gentry who stuck through thick and thin to Austria, had something of that same intensity. In the part of Poland under Russian domination all the truly patriotic elements and all the liberals and radicals were in a life and death grapple with the so-called National Democrats, (a double misnomer,) whose leaders, like Roman Dmowski and others, supported whole-heartedly the Russian autocratic Government.

It would be impossible to trace minutely within the compass of a short article the meandering course of Polish political life since the opening of the war. During the first act of the great historic drama General Pilsudski's Polish Legions were the dominant outward expression of the collective political will of Poland, directed against rapacious Russia. From the day the Russian autocracy with all its corrupting influences was

swept away, Polish political policy took a sharp and decided turn in the opposite direction. Although Polish sentiment was always rabidly anti-German, it became still more intensified during the course of the war, which revealed the brutality and treachery of Germany in all their naked monstrosity.

"INDEPENDENCE" UNDER GERMANY

The relations of Poland with Germany were a chain of bitter suffering and humiliation. The manifesto of Nov. 5, 1916, creating an independent Polish State, was a mockery. The German Governor General interfered in all matters; he divested the impoverished country of all food supplies, introduced an obnoxious police control, forcibly removed to Germany hundreds of thousands of workers, and demanded the raising of an army of which he would be Commander in Chief. All these iniquities were strongly and loudly resented by the Poles, and the bulk of the legions, following the leadership of Pilsudski, refused to submit to the insulting oath of fraternity of arms with the Teuton armies, demanded by the German authorities, and were interned. Only a small opportunist minority of the Legionaries took the loathsome oath. Many months later they discovered their mistake and rectified it, but their ill-advised action only enfeebled the effect of Pilsudski's determined action against Germany.

The Polish Marshal of the Crown appointed by the occupation authorities and the Provisional Council of State from which Pilsudski was among the earliest to resign, after a stubborn struggle against the outrageous behavior of the Germans, gave way to a Regency Council of Three appointed on Sept. 12, 1917, and composed of the Archbishop of Warsaw and two conservative and wealthy landowners.

Pilsudski's open hostility to Germany and his activities in connection with the wide-ribbed secret military organization which came into existence at his behest in 1915, caused his arrest and imprisonment in a German fortress. Demonstrations of a violent character took place in Warsaw and elsewhere, and the Council of State resigned.

NEW HOPE FROM AMERICA

Meanwhile the United States joined the war and all Poland at once recognized that a new, powerful, and entirely disinterested ally had come to deal a final blow to the Teuton juggernaut, and that the just principle of self-determination of nations would be enforced. Jubilation prevailed throughout the country. Even before the formal declaration of war, when on Jan. 22, 1917, President Wilson spoke in favor of a united independent Poland, immense throngs gathered before the American Consulate at Warsaw and cheered for the United States and President Wilson. Numberless societies and organizations passed resolutions, and delegations from all the political, social, commercial, scientific, and educational institutions called at the Consulate and presented addresses of thanks and appreciation.

Emboldened by President Wilson's pronouncements, the Polish representatives in the Austrian Reichsrat passed on motion of the Socialist Deputy Daszynski, a resolution demanding the inclusion into the new independent Polish State of all Polish lands with an outlet to the sea. By their demands upon and opposition to the Austrian Government the Polish liberal and radical forces contributed a great deal toward weakening the Austro-Hungarian effort in the war.

The Poles in the Russian Army, numbering 700,000 and anxious to be of utmost service to their own country and to the cause of democracy, became restive under the disintegrating tendencies which took possession of the Russian forces. They wished, moreover, to be recognized as Poles fighting for the liberation of their own country, which the Russian Revolutionary Government had pronounced free to shape its destinies in whatever way it willed. The same feeling was shared by the officers, and plans were under way to organize a large separate Polish fighting unit when, unfortunately, political strife, marred the worthy effort. The National Democrats sought to make political capital of it, and immediately antagonized the liberal-minded Poles as well as the Kerensky Government, which, distrusting the ad-

herents of Mr. Dmowski, feared that a large and well-disciplined Polish Army might, under such reactionary political leadership, be used for counter-revolutionary purposes, although assurances were given that the Polish Army would not interfere in Russian domestic concerns.

EFFECTS OF DISSENSION

As a result of this double-headed antagonism only a comparatively small part of the Polish forces was organized and put under the command of General Dowbor-Musnicki. It fought gallantly against the Germans and subsequently against the Bolsheviki, protecting many cities and towns from pillage and massacre. Prevented by the Germans from reaching Poland, it finally disbanded. Hundreds of thousands of splendid troops have thus become disorganized, scattered, and rendered useless for the cause of Poland and the world, because of the selfish ambitions of a political group.

The same striving for exclusive political control was, to a considerable extent, responsible for the failure of Mr. Paderewski and other representatives of Mr. Dmowski's Polish National Committee in Paris to raise an appreciably large Polish army in America. Here, however, conditions were different. A large number of Poles residing in America came under the provisions of the conscription law. Moreover, thousands of Poles outside of the draft requirements enlisted in recognition of America's attitude toward Poland. The Polish troops raised in America were sent to France, where the command over them was intrusted to General Joseph Haller, General Pilsudski's erstwhile companion in the work of Polish military preparedness and the commander of the "Iron Brigade" of the Polish Legions, which won its fame in the Carpathian campaigns against Russia.

THE BREST-LITOVSK TREATY

During the period intervening between the Russian revolution and the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918, a great deal of constructive political work has been accomplished in Poland in spite of the dif-



DISTRIBUTION OF POLES IN GERMANY

difficulties placed and the outrages continually perpetrated by the occupation authorities. The Brest-Litovsk treaty was one of the most flagrant violations of Polish sovereignty. A section of the Kingdom of Poland, as constituted by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, was, without the knowledge and consent of the Polish Government, ceded to Ukraine in compensation for the privileges which the Ukrainian Government was ready to accord to Germany. This wanton act of spoliation called forth such a vehement and spontaneous wave of protest that the Germans never dared to transfer the bartered Kholm district to Ukraine. On

Feb. 14, 1918, the Regency Council said to the Polish Nation:

We are excluded (from the Conference) in order that peace might be made at our cost; and in order that the desired safety in the east might be obtained at the price of our nation's living body, a section of Polish land was carved out and given to the Ukraine. * * * We have taken the oath before God to guard Poland's happiness, liberty, and strength, and today, remembering our oath, we raise our voices before God and the world, before the face of men and the judgment of history * * * in protest against the partition, refusing it our acknowledgment, branding it as an act of brute force.

The Polish Parliamentary Club over-

turned the Seydler Cabinet, and a resolution of protest was introduced in the German Parliament.

THE REGENCY COUNCIL

The Government under the Regency had the same thorny road to travel as the former State Council, and the situation was best described by the Minister of Labor, Mr. Staniszewski, who, when addressing the interned Legionaries and urging them to persevere, said: "Not only 'you but the Regency Council as well as 'the whole of Poland are in a prison 'surrounded by barbed wires.'" The first Cabinet, that of Mr. Kucharzewski, resigned after the provisions of the Brest-Litovsk treaty became known, and was followed by that of Mr. Steczkowski. The Government under the Regency Council consisted of representatives of the middle-class liberal interests, known as Activists, and neither the Left, with the followers of Pilsudski, nor the parties of the Right took part in it.

Presumably because the allied Governments favored the Paris Committee, in the latter part of October, 1918, the Regency Council requested the Inter-Party Club to form a Cabinet. This club consists of the National Democrats, the Party of Real Politik, the Christian-Democrats, and the National Union, or the parties of the Right, whom alone the Paris Committee represents. Accordingly, a Ministry was formed from the most prominent men of that political constellation under the Presidency of Mr. Swiezynski, and on Oct. 22 they took an oath of allegiance to the Regency Council, whose right to represent the Polish Government they had never before recognized either at home or abroad.

The news of a reactionary Government created a storm of protest throughout the country. In the words of *L'Echo Polonais* of Paris, (Dec. 7, 1918,) "It 'seems that the overweening majority of 'the people whom this party claimed to 'have had behind them disappeared 'camphorlike somewhere, leaving behind 'an awe-inspiring void.'"

The Ministry realized that its days were numbered, and in an effort to avert the impending catastrophe resolved to enlarge the Cabinet by inviting several

of the leaders of the parties of the Left. When these refused to serve, the Cabinet, seeing its complete isolation, endeavored a coup d'état and issued an appeal to the people urging the establishment of a National Government and the abolition of the Regency Council. On the following day, Nov. 4, thirteen days after the formation of the new Cabinet, the Regency Council published the following peremptory rescript:

We, the Regency Council, have decided, and do herewith decree: To dismiss the Ministry of Mr. Swiezynski in its complete composition, to suspend immediately the functions and activities of the President of the Cabinet, and to instruct the chiefs of staff of each of the several Ministries to continue the discharge of their daily duties until further notice.

The humorous part of the affair was that the rescript was countersigned by Mr. Swiezynski, the dismissed Premier. He explained that by affixing his signature to this humiliating document he gave public expression to his personal protest against the action of the majority of his Cabinet. Realizing the ignominious fiasco of their party representatives, the Inter-Party Club issued a statement repudiating the appeal of the Cabinet as having been issued without their knowledge, an act for which the parties represented in the club could not assume responsibility.

PILSUDSKI'S LEADERSHIP

Soon after this incident came the German collapse and the signing of the armistice. Pilsudski was released from German imprisonment and was immediately acclaimed the Chief of the Polish Nation. The indefatigable devotion to the cause of Poland, the ardent patriotism and the value of his deeds, make him the outstanding figure in the life of the nation. By all reports he is the idol of the people and of the army, a living incarnation of all that is beautiful and manly in the Polish character. Speaking of him editorially, *THE NEW YORK TIMES* of April 18, 1918, truly said:

What John Brown was to the men who followed Lincoln, what the Americans in the Foreign Legion and the Lafayette Escadrille were to awakening American sentiment in the early years of this war, what Colonel Christodoulos, resisting the

German-Bulgarian advance to the Aegean was to Greek Liberalism, this Pilsudski and the legionaries are coming to be in Poland.

With full knowledge of the quality of his leadership and popularity, on Nov. 11, 1918, the Regency Council issued the following message to the people:

In view of the threatening dangers from within and without, and in order to unify all military action and preserve order in the country, the Regency Council intrusts military authority over and the chief command of the Polish Armies to Brig. Gen. Joseph Pilsudski.

After the National Government has been organized, the Regency Council will, in accordance with its former declaration, transfer to it the sovereign power of the State, and by countersigning the manifesto, General Pilsudski binds himself likewise to surrender to it his military powers, which are a part of the sovereignty of the State.

PILSUDSKI DICTATOR

Under the stress of events, the Regency Council, three days after clothing Pilsudski with supreme military authority, turned over to him the civil powers of the Government as well. In their last official communication the Regency Council said, under date of Nov. 14:

To General Joseph Pilsudski, the Commander in Chief of the Polish Armies:

The temporary division of the sovereign power of the State created by the decree of Nov. 11, 1918, cannot last without harm to the nascent Polish State. This power should be indivisible. In view of that and in the best interest of the country, we decree to dissolve the Regency Council, and from this moment we place in your hands, Sir, all our duties and responsibilities before the Polish Nation for the transference of them to the National Government.

(Signed) ALEXANDER KAKOWSKI,
ZDZISLAW LUBOMIRSKI,
JOSEPH OSTROWSKI.

On the same day Dictator Pilsudski issued the following statement:

Upon my return from German imprisonment I found the country in a most chaotic state in the face of exceedingly difficult tasks, for the performance of which the nation must reveal its best organizing abilities. * * * In my conversations with the representatives of almost all political parties in Poland, I found to my delight that the great majority share my opinion that the new Government should not only rest on democratic foundations, but be composed in a considerable proportion of representatives of the rural and urban masses. * * * The difficult life conditions of the

people have not allowed very many among them to attain professional expertness, which is in such great demand throughout the country. Realizing this, I have requested that in the interest of the highest efficiency the President of the Government appoint to the Cabinet recognized experts without any reference to their political affiliations.

By the nature of the situation, the character of the Government, pending the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, is purely provisional and precludes the enactment of any thoroughgoing social changes, which only the Representative Assembly can undertake.

Considering the peculiar legal position of the nation, I have requested the President of the Cabinet to submit to me the plan for the creation of the provisional supreme representative authority of the Polish Republic, embracing all three parts of Poland.

This message to the people, free from the slightest taint of demagoguery, reveals the broad-mindedness and the conservative, constructive statesmanship of Pilsudski. He advises the formation of a Government of experts without reference to their political adherence, and is opposed to attempting any social reforms until the nation has elected its representatives on the basis of a broad suffrage, equal for men and women.

STAMPING OUT BOLSHEVISM

One of the first acts of Pilsudski was to arrest the ringleaders of the Bolshevik movement. Efforts were exerted by him to hold all external and internal foes at bay pending the election, which was set for Jan. 26, 1919, so that the people might have an opportunity to set up a Government which would represent their interests and desires. Meanwhile conflicting and biased reports were spread abroad, many of them intended to discredit the great Polish leader, or to misrepresent the whole Polish situation. Some of the stories describing occurrences even in detail proved to be utterly untrue. Such was the report of the landing of a Polish-French army in Danzig, which never took place, in spite of the minute descriptions of the reception it was accorded and the speech which the commanding General delivered in the Town Hall of Posen; and such also were the exaggerated and unsubstantiated stories of Jewish pogroms in

Poland, and of a Polish army "marching on Berlin."

One thing, however, seems unhappily to be true, and that is the political turmoil created by the National Democrats and Mr. Paderewski, the pianist. In the words of the editorial leader of the *Journal de Genève*, quoted in *THE NEW YORK TIMES* of Jan. 9, 1919, Pilsudski's constructive efforts "are hampered by a 'committee of people who for four years 'have not set foot in Poland.' An unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Pilsudski Government by force was reported

early in January. The army refused to join the troublemakers. The Germans on one side, the Bolsheviks threatening with an invasion on the other, and ceaseless in their pernicious efforts, and the Ukrainians destroying cities by firebrands and pressing most unwarranted claims, present enough problems calling for a united effort; wrangling over a temporary advantage under such circumstances is fought with dangers not to Poland alone. A united and firmly established Poland will safeguard the peace and stability of Europe.

Poland's Thousand Years of Evolution

By BRONISLAW D. KULAKOWSKI

WE find in the rich political literature of the Polish Nation the following definition of Poland's position among the other nations:

While other nations are defended by water and have embattled gateways, impassable mountains, we have nothing of the kind. * * * From all sides the plains and ways to Poland are open and broad to the enemy: advances, retreats, entrances, exits; he gets victuals and prisoners where he pleases and how he pleases. In our hands only, in our breasts and throats only, is our armory—these are our mountains, our waters, these the castles, walls, and ramparts of Poland.

Thus wrote Peter Grabowski in the middle of the sixteenth century, in his book, "The Five Attributes of the Polish Republic." It is sufficient to look at the physiographic map of Poland to realize the truth of this statement.

On the north and south Poland has clearly defined frontiers. In the south mountains separate her from the Hungarian plains, mountains that rise to an elevation of 8,000 feet. The Polish plain stretches north from these mountains in graduated slopes. There are no natural barriers in this entire country to separate or create differences among its inhabitants. The character of the plain dominates. With the exception of the comparatively high altitudes of these

Polish mountains, only one-half per cent. of the country rises above the altitude of 3,200 feet. The next terrace, from 3,200 feet to 640 feet, represents 19½ per cent. of the country's surface; the remaining 80 per cent. being a plain varying from sea level to 640 feet above. In the midst of this territory flows the River Vistula, one of the longest in Europe, reaching a length of 630 miles. Moreover, it is the only river in Europe that, together with its tributaries, flows along a basin in which one race dwells throughout its course. Through this plain, unprotected from the east and west, run a few preglacial valleys in the same direction, insufficiently deep to divide Poland into regions of differing character, but making the approach easier from the east and west. This approach is made still easier by numerous contacts between the tributaries of the Oder and Danube from the west, and the Dvina and Dnieper on the east flowing toward the Vistula, which lies between them.

DAWN OF POLISH HISTORY

The drama of the Polish people has been played on this broad stage, which lies between the Carpathian Mountains and the Baltic Sea, so well characterized in the preceding paragraph of our Polish writer.

Very little is known of old Polish his-



POLAND AT THE TIME OF THE DEATH OF BOLESNAV THE
BRAVE, 982-1025

tory until the curtain is raised on the scene in the first half of the tenth century by the mailed hands of German robbers under the leadership of Markgraf Gero.

As far back as the time of Charles the Great, whole Slavonic tribes, occupying themselves with agriculture, unarmed and unorganized, had fallen under the sword of the German invaders. It seemed as though nothing could restrain this Drang nach Osten. The armies of the Markgraf Gero, surging suddenly from

forests above the Elbe, met an organized Polish State, with the strong authority of a Prince and a numerous and permanent army, good roads, and fortified cities, such as Wyszegrod, Santok, Wloclawek and others. German power here met a foe which for ten centuries—until the present day—was to serve as a rampart against German invasion. The predominance of Germany, which reached its culminating point in the recently ended war, became possible in world politics only at the end of the eighteenth

century, when Europe betrayed Poland to the devouring appetites of absolute monarchies. Until that time Poland served as a dam against the German flow for many centuries, and many millions of Poles perished in the struggle. By an irony of fate, a special point in the armistice signed on Nov. 11, 1918, by the Allies left the German armies in Poland to establish order.

The arrival of the Germans on Polish territory during the tenth century forced the concentration of all Polish forces. Mieczyslaw, understanding well that the Germans had used the spread of Christianity as an excuse for conquest, as culture is now used, accepted Christianity together with his people. Danger united the Polish principalities, which were joined by the other Slavonic nations. The power of Mieczyslaw's heir, Boleslav the First, was already so great that the Germans recognized him as an independent King.

EARLY CULTURE

The Polish Kingdom grew in wealth. Civilization came from Rome. Already in those early days the social character of the Polish culture was clearly defined, and expressed itself in tolerance and justice, even toward foreigners of different creed and race. In 1246 the Jews had complete legal protection. The death penalty threatened those who accused the Jews of ritual murders and did not prove this by three Christian and three Jewish witnesses. This law is of particular significance if we remember that, a few years before the war, the Government of the Czar tried the Jew Beillis for ritual murder in Kiev.

In 1241 Tartar hordes appeared for the first time in Poland. Having come from the Eastern Asiatic plains, the Tartar nomads proceeded to conquer the whole of present-day Siberia, almost all the Russian tribes, and remained there for 200 years. These 200 years resulted in the mixture of Slavonic with Tartar blood, and thus prepared the ground for the future empire of the Russian Czars, greatly different from the rest of Europe in its relationship between subject and ruler.

At Lignica, in Silesia, the Polish

Knights barricaded the Tartar invasion. From that moment the Tartars ceased to terrify Western Europe; they settled in the Russian and Muscovite principalities and undertook robbing expeditions against Poland, where they fired towns and captured prisoners and loot.

GERMAN ROBBER KNIGHTS

Simultaneously with a thousand wounds opened in the east, there came from the west a no less terrible opponent, threatening the very vitals of Poland. It was the Teutonic Order.

Above the lower and middle stretches of the Niemen River, along the seacoast and toward the east of the estuary of this river, there lived small but heroic tribes—Lithuanians, Prussians, Samogitians, Lithuanians proper, Letts, and Yadzwing. They were the last pagans of the white race. Their national occupation was war. They conquered the Russian tribes in the east to Moscow, in the south to the estuary of the Dnieper. On the pretext of fighting these pagans and spreading Christianity among them in 1228, the German Order of Knights of the Cross settled at the estuary of the Vistula. Ruthlessly they destroyed the Lithuanian tribes and captured the Polish seacoast, Germanizing the old Polish ports of Danzig and Stettin by force.

FIGHTING AGAINST ODDS

Having thus separated Poland from the sea, the Knights attacked her, although Christianity had been established there for three centuries. On the theory of *divide et impera*, already tried out in the struggle with the Lithuanian tribes, the Knights incited one Polish Prince against another, and thus shattered national unity attained by three centuries of struggle. Simultaneously they incited the Lithuanians to make constant attacks on Poland. The Tartars and the Lithuanians thereupon destroyed the Polish population. In place of the killed or imprisoned citizens there flowed into Poland German immigrants to take possession of the destroyed towns and villages. Following the Germans came a mass movement of the Jews.

Poland again found in the breasts and



POLAND IN THE YEAR 1341, REIGN OF CASIMIR THE GREAT

thoughts of her own people a defense against the German and Lithuanian deluge. Torn to pieces and already perishing, the Polish Kingdom was resurrected suddenly on the battlefield by the military genius of King Wladislaw Lokietek, (1305-1335.) Twice completely defeated, forced to hide in peasant clothes, he never lost his energy, and finally leading those Knights who had remained faithful to him, he gave Teuton power the first mighty blow at the bloody battle of Plowce, suppressing the uprising of the German immigrants in Cracow,

and leaving to his son Casimir a reunited and powerful Poland.

The constructive character of Polish civilization, proper to agricultural peoples, was the logical result of constant struggle against the poverty of Polish soil. The villages and the towns changed quickly under the new conditions. The German immigrants rapidly and definitely became Polish. Instead of a wooden plow, the iron plow became common.

A true revolution in material economy was ushered in by the introduction of the three-field system

in agriculture, which gives one-third of the soil under cultivation the opportunity to lie fallow. Instead of the archaic relationship between tenant and landlord, based on the system of tax in kind, there came the money rent. New conditions demand new laws. In 1347 one of the first legal codexes in Europe was passed at the Congress of Wislica, the foundation of the first agricultural "hypotheca," after that of Rome, granting the creditor rights on the real estate of the debtor.

Casimir the Great instituted complete governmental order, including right of way on the roads to make them safe to merchants. Once again all the transit trade of Asia and Constantinople began to pass through Poland. Industries developed, and Polish linens competed with those of Flanders, while Cracow and other cities became centres of European industry in leather, shoes, gloves, and even dictated fashions. Rich burgher families married the oldest of the nobility. The Cracow burgher Wierzynek entertained in his home five rulers of Europe who had come to a Congress in Cracow.

The power of Poland under the heirs of Casimir the Great increased, owing to the first known free union of two kingdoms, Poland and Lithuania. The Knights of the Cross, realizing that they would be unable to conquer Poland if Lithuania remained unconquered, instituted a policy of complete annihilation of the latter. Here occurred the rarest of incidents in politics. Two recent mortal enemies—Poland and Lithuania—united in the first federated State, on the basis of the treaty signed by both Governments and by representatives of both nations: "Equal with equals, the free with the free."

TEUTON ORDER DEFEATED

The results of this treaty soon became apparent. In 1410 the Polish-Lithuanian armies at Grünwald (Tannenberg) dealt a blow to the Teuton Order, and 100,000 dead were left upon the battlefield. In 1466 Poland again recaptured from the Germans the coast lost one hundred years before, and the Teuton Order swore allegiance to Poland. The possession of

the seacoast, including the important port of Danzig, coincided with another historic factor, which totally changed the subsequent fate of Poland: The fall of Constantinople, with the conquest of the Balkan Peninsula and the Black Sea by the Turks, stopped the trade development of Poland because the Eastern caravans could no longer travel over land, since they were attacked by the Turks. Trade took the route of the Mediterranean Sea. Polish towns began to lose their importance, whereupon the economic structure of the country changed radically. Poland became an agricultural country and provided Europe with wheat and rye during many centuries. The land owners of the Polish territory were the Polish nobility.

THE POLISH NOBILITY

One of the gravest mistakes made by most Western European and American historians is the comparison between the nobilities of Poland and Western Europe. In Western Europe the nobility were almost all owners of big estates; they were few in number and belonged to the same economic and social type. In some of the western countries, although frequently rich, they had no political freedom, and depended entirely upon the King or Prince, an absolute ruler. In Poland, however, among the nobility were wealthy men with whom only the modern American millionaires can be compared—a numerous class of land owners of medium wealth, and a great number of landless but noble proletarians.

In other words, the Polish nobility was not an economic class, but a political one. All were politically equal; all, without exception, on their twenty-first birthday had the right to vote. In the sixteenth century they formed 13 per cent. of the population and all were voters. On the other hand, in France, even after the revolution of 1848, and in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century, only 2 per cent. of the population had the right to vote. Thus already Poland in the sixteenth century was a democracy.

The burghers lost their economic importance. Although in principle they had

the right to vote they did not exercise it, whereas the peasants, although they had always had personal freedom—i. e., they were not serfs as in France, Germany, and Russia—they were deprived of the right to dispose freely of their work and property. They were placed in the position of modern Frenchwomen, who are denied the right of making agreements without the consent of their husbands. The development of the nobility and of their rights finds a parallel in the development of English parliamentarism, with the difference that in Poland this movement spread over a much greater percentage of the population than in England.

RIGHTS WRUNG FROM KINGS

The struggle of the nobility for complete sovereignty occurred on the eve of battles against the Teuton Order. The object which America obtained at the end of the eighteenth century, "no taxation without representation," the Poles had already obtained in the fourteenth century. Almost all the acts for these privileges were named after the localities where Polish armies camped on the eve of battle against the Germans. The nobility refused to fight unless the King made concessions. Thus in 1386 the King had to make awards for all damages incurred during wartime. In 1422, 1423, 1430, and 1433 the King was deprived of the right of confiscating the property of the nobility without a trial, and, even more important, the inviolability of person, only obtained by the English 200 years later, was granted by law. No free man could be arrested without trial.

In 1496 the nobility obtained important rights; the products of their own estates were exempt from export duties; the same applying to import duties on products imported for personal consumption of the nobility. Poland became a conglomeration of independent centres of economic production—these centres being the estates of the nobility. The Polish owner himself became the producer of agricultural products, and personally or through agents sold these products in Danzig. Thousands of ships came from England and France. To render communication free with Danzig the Polish

nobility passed one of the first laws of nationalization, a law which declared that all communicating rivers were the property of the people and not of private owners, and that nobody had the right to collect toll.

POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY

The royal privileges were almost lost. From 1454 the King did not have the right to declare war without the consent of the Diet; according to the Constitution of 1505 it was announced that all Government measures were illegal to which free citizens had not agreed. Finally, in 1609, a law freeing all citizens from obedience to the King was passed. If the King transgressed any law, and, after receiving warning three times by the Senate, continued to insist upon the illegal measures, then automatically he was outlawed.

From the fifteenth century Poland was governed by a Diet composed of two houses, the Senate and the House of Deputies. The King was a President elected for a life term. Consistently with this, from the sixteenth century the Polish Kingdom is officially called *Serenissima Respublica*, (Sovereign Republic.)

Meanwhile throughout Europe at that time the power of Kings had reached its zenith. Louis XIV. of France formulated clearly and briefly the social-political character of the existing Governments, "*L'Etat c'est moi.*" Poland was surrounded by three absolute monarchies—Russia, Austria, and Prussia, with excellent and numerous permanent armies—while Poland, like the United States until the last war, had no permanent army, excepting a few thousand cavalry guarding the frontiers. Only in the case of war could the entire nobility be called to the defense of the country.

This rich, peaceful, and undefended country offered itself as a tasty morsel to its neighbors. A concentric attack by Russia, Prussia, and Austria began against Poland.

POLAND A LIBERAL CENTRE

Since the first half of the eighteenth century there had appeared in Poland tendencies toward helping the condition of the peasants. French ideas of the



prerevolutionary epoch had penetrated the country. After the papal abolition of the Jesuit Order in 1773, the ruling of the Polish Sejm established that the confiscated properties of the Jesuits were to revert to State national education. In other European countries the property of the Jesuits was taken by the rulers for their own dynastic aims, whereas in Poland there was created the Commission of Education, the first national Ministry of Education in the world. Natural science, civics, and gymnastics were introduced in these schools for the first time in the world. A new generation was educated, which on May 3, 1791, adopted a new Polish Constitution, a constitution which J. J. Rousseau, the precursor of the entire revolutionary modern movement, declared to be the best in Europe. This revolution passed in Poland without bloodshed, at a time when the guillotine was working daily in France.

Thus in neutral Europe there was formed another centre besides France for contemporary social and political thought. The division of Poland, the complete annihilation of the Kingdom of

Poland, became not only a matter of greed but also a necessity in surrounding kingdoms, because, after the Reform of 1791, peasants from Germany, Austria, and Russia began to escape to Poland.

STRUGGLES FOR FREEDOM

In 1795, after the heroic defense of the Polish Army under Kosciuszko, a Brigadier General of the Revolutionary Army of the United States, Poland ceased to exist as a kingdom. Since then the problem of reconstructing Poland has become closely associated with that of the victory of democracy. Already in 1797 Polish Legions were organized under the flag of the French Republic, which entered the plains of Lombardy, carrying freedom to the Italians. On the pennants of these legions there was written: "Gli uomini liberi sono fratelli," (All free men are brothers.) Every fifteen years the Poles raised their arms against their oppressors. During 140 years, tens of thousands of Poles perished on the scaffolds of Russia, Austria, and Germany; hundreds of thousands perished during the risings, other hundreds in

prisons and in exile. The words of Pu-laski to George Washington, "Where there is struggle for freedom, there is struggle for Poland," are the best characterization of the political activity of the Poles in the uprisings in Germany, Hungary, and Italy. There were many Poles among Garibaldi's "Thousand." During the war just ended, among the killed and wounded soldiers of the United States 10 per cent. had Polish names, although the percentage of the Polish immigration in relation to the general population is $3\frac{1}{2}$.

Despite the fact that the Poles were deprived not only of self-government, but even of their language and of all personal liberty, they remained a people of strong internal self-consciousness, of special culture and infinite moral force. The words quoted at the beginning of this article from the Polish writer of the six-

teenth century are a prophecy of contemporary events.

Modern Poland is a democratic country of highly developed industry and agriculture. Political freedom will give her a new impetus for development, and she will soon become the centre of economic and cultural life in Europe.

For 140 years the Poles had no social or political institutions, because the power was in the hands of Russia, Austria, and Germany. But they have now reconstructed their Government. This has been accomplished by magic under the leadership of a man of the same high patriotism, clearness of soul, and social depth as Kosciuszko. Under General Pilsudski Poland today is struggling for her frontiers, for her right to live.

To any foreign intervention in her internal affairs Poles say resolutely, "Hands off."

Ruthenians Versus Poles in Galicia

By B. FALK

WITH Austria-Hungary's dissolution, and half a dozen nationalities seeking separate independence, the contest between the Ruthenians and the Poles in Eastern Galicia presents a difficult problem in the crazy quilt of Middle Europe. The Ruthenians compose 62 per cent. of the population in Eastern Galicia, the former palatinate of Halicz adjoining the recently formed Government of the Ukraine. During the turmoil that followed the Austrian collapse they declared themselves a separate State, joined the Ukrainians, and called in the Government military forces against Polish resistance. The Poles, who for centuries dominated Galicia and form the majority of the population in the western part of the province, formed the Polish Republic, joined the Polish Nation on the north of them, and undertook to prevent the Ruthenians' secession by force of arms. Thus a small region of 20,000 square miles has become a battleground, with neighbor arrayed against neighbor, each seeking

independence by acts of violence, without a restraining hand to stop the mutual destruction.

The Ruthenians of Eastern Galicia have commonly been classed as Poles, but there is as great a difference between the two nationalities as if they were living on different hemispheres. The Ruthenians have always been pacific, meek, and humble, whereas the Poles have been aggressive and domineering. In the 400 years that the Ruthenians were under the rule of the Poles the latter made themselves masters of the land, and, at the partition of Poland by Germany, Russia, and Austria, the Poles in Eastern Galicia formed the nobility and the more privileged peasant class, while the Ruthenians were serfs and laborers. Austria's emancipation of the serfs in 1848 gave the Ruthenians more freedom and put them in possession of the land which they had held nominally before the abolition of serfdom, but it did not narrow the gulf between the two classes. Church, lan-

guage, and caste remained the true line of cleavage.

FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES

The Poles are Roman Catholics and the Ruthenians are Greek Catholics; the Poles speak Polish and the Ruthenians speak Ruthenian, the same language as that of the Ukraine. From the beginning the Poles were the masters, the Ruthenians the peasants. The language of the province was Polish, and the Poles were also the more literate, so that they filled all the official and clerical positions. Prior to 1869 the Austrian school system was in the hands of the clergy. The priests conducted schools, but the peasants were mostly illiterate. The compulsory education law was passed that year requiring all established communities to build and maintain schoolhouses for elementary education. The Constitution of 1867 also gave them direct representation in the Reichsrat and Provincial Diet and in the selection of local officers. The average Ruthenian had no thirst for learning in those days, and, after attending four grades in the village school, the youth put away his books and soon forgot the little he had learned. The father, who had never attended school himself, considered going to school a loss of time. He could not imagine the son ever rising to be a teacher or a pesar, (town scribe,) and if there were no material advantage, why should a peasant want to know how to write? It was common in the late seventies to find a village Rada composed of Ruthenians, and all those Solons would affix their signatures by an X mark.

RUTHENIAN ASPIRATIONS

Lack of self-confidence contributed much toward the peasants' peonage. In 1874, however, the Ruthenian intellectuals, led by their Bishop, Jachymowicz, who represented them in the National Council, petitioned the Emperor to create the territory east of Lemberg in Galicia and the adjoining territory in Bukovina—inhabited by Ruthenians—into a Ruthenian State. Smalko, the Polish member, opposed them vigorously and used, it is charged, unfair means to de-

feat the measure. Count Goluchowski, an Eastern Galicia magnate, then Governor of Galicia, disapproved of the measure on the ground that the Ruthenians, formed into a separate province, would join their neighbors on the east, the Ukrainians, who speak the same language and have the same customs, and, with slight variations, have suffered the same injustices. The bill was defeated, but it had given the Ruthenians food for thought.

The abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861 gave the Ukrainians larger land grants, and their economic condition was better than that of the Galicians. They also had a larger intellectual class, which tended to create closer ties between the people of the same nationality.

Simultaneously with the Austro-German alliance an impetus to revive Ruthenian nationalism became noticeable. At the same time the thirst for knowledge among the Ruthenians became more pronounced. Instead of spending Sunday after church in the tavern the peasants congregated in the reading room to hear the latest news read by those who were able to read. These libraries gradually increased in volume, and history, novels, and even poetry were read. It was surprising to hear an old peasant who could neither read nor write recite a poem he had learned by heart, and discuss history or the political questions of the day. Ruthenian was a prescribed language in the elementary schools where Ruthenians predominated, but secondary education was not provided for. Agitation for Ruthenian gymnasiums and an academy, which have since been built, began at that time.

The majority of the Ruthenians worked toward the creating of a Ruthenian State in Austria, but there were some secret associations in sympathy with joining the Ukrainians under the Russian Government. To offset this tendency the Austro-Hungarian Government adopted a conciliatory policy. During a visit of Austria's heir apparent, Prince Rudolf, to Galicia in 1887, all his guard of honor in Eastern Galicia wore peasant dress. All villages turned out to honor the Prince. It was quite

a sight to see troops of peasants mounted bareback or on straw sacks for saddles, led by peasantized Polish nobles on fine steeds and saddles.

For miles the roads were lined by peasants or their imitators, and for a time it became a fashionable fad to parade in peasant costume.

Notwithstanding their former backwardness the Ruthenians in Galicia have made great political strides in the last thirty years, and by 1891 had a considerable representation in the Legislatures. In 1895 only Ruthenians were elected to the Reichsrat, where they predominated. There were several Ukrainian parties in Galicia before the great war, but the Ruthenian Party and the Russian National Party were predominant.

GERMAN PROMISES

Pursuant with the Austrian and German policy of playing both ends against the middle, when war was declared it was made known that if Austria and Germany won the war against Russia, Ukraina would be made an autonomous State, and Austrian Ruthenia might become part of it. Thus, on Aug. 3, 1914, all the Ukrainian parties in Galicia hailed the war against Russia as a war of freedom for the Ukrainians.

Austria had adopted the same policy toward the Poles a half century earlier. While her neighbors were carrying out a policy which meant to Russianize and Prussianize their Polish subjects, Austria used her Poles to her own advantage and made them serve as the very pillars of her monarchy. After Austria was defeated by Prussia in 1866, and after the formation of the German Empire in 1871 had excluded her as a German power, she started an attempt to make all her Slavs props of her empire. But with the exception of the Poles the Slavs were more or less under the influence of the Pan-Slavic idea, with Russia as their leader. They were also agitating for the reorganization of the empire into autonomous States on national lines.

The Austrian Government feared and opposed those movements, and the Poles, fearing Pan-Slavism under Russian influence, showed a readiness to support the Government in return for concessions

to them. They asked for large rewards for their support—and received them. The new Constitution of 1867, establishing the so-called Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary, gave Galicia more liberal concessions than any of the other provinces. In course of a few years the Poles had complete administrative autonomy, and since then they have had the administration of Galicia in their own hands and have been able to govern it in their own interests. But this served only to advantage the nobility and near nobility.

Franz Ferdinand had his own reasons for trying to develop Ukrainian autonomy. He had married a Bohemian Countess morganatically, and their children were not eligible to Austrian succession. The Countess, later Duchess of Hohenberg, a brilliant and ambitious woman, wanted her son to succeed to a throne, either through the separation of Hungary from Austria or the Ukraine from Russia. The German Emperor encouraged the scheme, because he had designs on the throne of St. Stephan for one of his younger sons. During a visit of the German Emperor and his son to the Austrian Court, the Austrian Emperor was painfully surprised to learn that the young German Prince spoke Hungarian fluently, a fact which could have but one meaning.

With the opening of hostilities between Austria and Russia the line of demarcation between Poles and Ruthenians became very pronounced. Ruthenians were accused of treachery and disloyalty by patriotic Poles. With Russian occupation the case was reversed, and with Russia's evacuation the scenes shifted again. Whatever friendship existed between Ruthenian and Pole seems to have died during the conflict, and a reign of anarchy has taken its place.

COMPLICATED LAND PROBLEM

The one-sided land problem became more and more complicated with the gradual increase in population. At the abolition of serfdom about half of the arable land, with nearly all the timber land and water-power rights, had remained in possession of the few Polish nobles, and the remainder constituted what was commonly known as the peas-

ant's estate. The manorial estates remained practically entailed.

Agriculture is Galicia's principal industry, and her rural population before this war numbered 71 to the square kilometer, or about 200 to the square mile. This was more than twice the population of the next most thickly settled rural district in any country in Europe. The land was owned as follows: One per cent. of the population held 37 per cent. of the land, 1 per cent. held 17 per cent. of the land, 37 per cent. held 22 per cent. of the land, and 42 per cent. of the population owned 6 per cent. of the land. The grain raised per capita was only about 30 per cent. of that raised in Russia, 46 per cent. of that in Germany, and 56 per cent. of that in France.

It is only within the last two decades that Ruthenians started to emigrate to other countries, or even to go to work for a season beyond their home lines, whereas immigration into Eastern Galicia had kept up at a steady pace all along. A failure in crops in Mazovia in the late sixties caused a large number of Poles from that district to seek homes in Podolia, the Panhandle of Eastern Galicia. They came in large groups. As they furnished steady and cheap labor, the landlords set aside parcels of land adjacent to the villages and built dwellings for their accommodation. These additions were commonly known as *Mazówka*, (*Mazovia towns*.) The Mazur and his wife became the servants of the landlord, and so did their children as they grew up, one generation succeeding the other. When Germany decreed that all foreigners should leave her country, 3,600 Poles were affected. Austria's open-door policy brought nearly all of them to Galicia, and added to the population of the *Mazówka*.

PRIMITIVE METHODS

Peasant farming is still very primitive, and the smaller the farm the more old fashioned are the implements used. The location of the land contributes to a great deal of lost motion. The peasants live in villages, and the near-by land is divided into several subdivisions, usually three to five. A farmer owning five acres has one acre each in every division, miles apart.

To do a day's work on his land he has to rise hours before sunrise to reach his destination in time. The grain is transported to the village in the shock. The sickle and the scythe are still the harvesting tools, and the flail is used for thrashing. There is not much meadow land, but the land is only cultivated two years in succession and then left fallow for a year. The fields are not fenced, and the fallow year is for the whole division, the land being used for pasture collectively by the owners. This is the reason for the parcel plan. If a man's land were all in one area he would have to let it all lie fallow in certain years and would have nothing to cultivate that year. The numerous parcels have still more numerous boundaries. Each farmer tries to plow as close to the line as possible, till he finally gets on the other's land, or the other imagines he did. Disputes follow, resulting in fist fights and even in lawsuits.

The cheapness of labor is a much-mooted problem. Toward the end of the last century the top price in harvesting season was one krone (about 21 cents) a day for men and considerably less for women. Peasants started to organize and strike for higher pay.

The line, nevertheless, was not drawn between employer and laborer, but rather between the idle or leisure class and those who labored. The richer Ruthenian peasant works alongside of his hired help; he eats his bread with them during the dinner hour, and there is no class distinction. He owns more land, and that is all. The Pole or Jew similarly situated does not work in the field and holds himself aloof, trying to imitate the squire, who is still in the habit of calling every peasant "thou" and expects to be approached with hat in hand.

As long as the peasants accepted these conditions as a matter of course, things went smoothly; but when the awakening came there followed continued clashes with the Poles, and there was no love lost between the two nationalities. These conditions have survived the war and help to complicate the struggle of the rival nationalities for independent self-determination.

The Causes of Russia's Ruin

By CAPTAIN ALEXANDER TSCHÉKALOFF

[The author of this article is a former officer of the Russian Artillery Guard and was in the trenches on the eastern front from the beginning of the war until the outbreak of the Russian revolution. He was in Russia until August, 1918, and was an eyewitness of events there up to that time.]

IN the beginning of March, 1917, after the abdication of Emperor Nicholas II., the Russian Army, which at that time consisted of about 12,000,000 men, was "re-formed" by the revolutionary groups then at the head of the Government. The changes included the following:

1. The existing titles of military chiefs were abolished.

2. The right of the chiefs to inflict disciplinary punishment in case of proved guilt was abrogated. There were instituted instead tribunals composed of elected privates who were to decide in each case on the punishment of the culprit.

3. The obligatory saluting of officers by the privates was canceled.

4. Special collegiate organs were established, such as committees of elected privates who were to control their chiefs in matters pertaining to service. The activity of these committees consisted later in taking upon themselves the administration of military units, completely ignoring the chiefs. The members of the committees were not elected for a certain definite period, but could be re-elected as soon as the activity of the committee did not please the majority. This revolutionary change broke the two fundamental military laws governing all the armies of the world: First, that an army is governed by the uni-personal will of the chief within the authority incumbent upon him; second, that the control of the activity of the chief must emanate from above.

5. All military formations were abolished. The armies were to march in a crowd and not in units.

6. The points of the law punishing subordinates for insulting their chiefs were abolished.

7. Capital punishment for treason was abolished.

8. The soldiers were allowed to smoke in the presence of their officers.

9. The soldiers were allowed to sit in the presence of their officers.

10. The soldiers were allowed not to cede their places to officers in tram and railway cars where they enjoyed free transportation.

11. Lastly, the army, which was "re-formed" on the above-mentioned lines, was dubbed "revolutionary."

THE DISASTROUS EFFECTS

It is not difficult to see that the "reforms" enumerated were for the purpose of discrediting the authority of commanding officers in the eyes of their subordinates, stripping them of all power conceded to them by law. Notwithstanding the nonexistence de facto of military chiefs, the revolutionary authorities demanded the presence among the revolutionary troops of persons who only bore the titles of chiefs and who were exposed to the most obnoxious derisions and insults and the danger of being murdered. Thus the Russian Army, deprived of guidance, was transformed into a mob of millions of armed men. This condition prevailed through the months of May and June, 1917, at the time when Minister of War Kerensky, originator of the above-mentioned revolutionary "reforms" in the army, decided upon an advance in Galicia. Kerensky for this purpose rode along the front, exhorting the soldiers to attack in the name of the revolution; Kerensky could not fathom that armies had to be commanded and that troops which had to be exhorted to advance constituted no army.

On July 18, a date that will be remembered in Russia, the revolutionary troops were to begin the advance in the name of

the revolution, to the glory of the red flag, for the triumph of the great revolutionary ideas. Such, at least, was the gist of Kerensky's appeals to the revolutionary troops. Eyewitnesses on this day report the following:

The intensive artillery preparation of the Russian advance movement had been completed. The artillery fire, thanks to considerable technical resources developed in Russia at that time, reached the maximum, silencing the German guns and forcing the Germans to abandon their trenches. The revolutionary army had only to begin the attack, having in front of it the abandoned German intrenchments. It was possible to see from the artillery observation posts how the Russian infantry advanced to attack, and occupied without one shot from the enemy the first and second lines of German intrenchments. Nowhere was the enemy to be seen.

A SHAMEFUL RETREAT

It seemed at this moment that the Russian revolutionary troops, commanded by their committees, guided by the appeals and exhortation of Kerensky, could advance and vanquish the power of German militarism. This hope, however, lasted only until an unusual and exceptional picture was unfolded before the eyes of the observers: The revolutionary troops, disobeying their committees and chiefs, who were exhorting them to advance and occupy the neighboring villages, convoked a big meeting in the German intrenchments they had occupied for the purpose of ascertaining if the majority desired to advance further or if they were satisfied with the occupation of the conquered German trenches. Opinions differed and the meeting did not reach any definite end.

The stormy discussions of the soldiers were interrupted by the fire of approaching groups of Germans. Panic developed rapidly among the revolutionary troops, which hastened to save themselves by flight. From this moment started the most shameful retreat of all the revolutionary forces, degenerating into terrific panic and disorganization, accompanied by looting and murdering of peaceful inhabitants. The Quartermaster's supply

train at the rear was likewise robbed by the revolutionary troops. Everybody saw clearly that these mobs of millions of armed men were far more dangerous to the Russians themselves than to the Germans.

By July 23 the retreat had spread over a 150-mile front, and then in rapid succession followed the fall of Stanislaw, Tarnopol, and Czernowicz, and somewhat later Riga; by July 24, however, the Russian military collapse was complete and irreparable.

THE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

The German advance was checked only by the immensity of the Russian territory, which demanded a considerable force of troops of occupation. The Germans ultimately decided to arrest their pursuit and to carry their activity to Petrograd and other centres of Russia. This activity took the shape of a crowd of German agents whose duty was to institute a forceful propaganda in Russia against the war. These agents were instructed also to observe the Russian revolutionary troops, especially the units in which, by some chance, remnants of the former military discipline existed, and to see that the soldiers were exhorted to ignore all chiefs. The greatest aid to this propaganda lay in the complete ignorance of the Russian soldiers, the great majority of whom were illiterate and undeveloped.

The German agents were, lastly, to organize an armed force in Petrograd for the purpose of deposing Kerensky's Government, which had come into power on July 21 and which favored war against Germany. The organizing of such an armed force could be observed in Petrograd as early as June, 1917. The drilling of unknown persons took place daily, systematically, on the outskirts of the city. Those curious to find out what it all meant received evasive answers about the formation of an army of workers or of a special revolutionary army for the struggle against the counter-revolution. Thus were formed, trained, and armed the cadres of what was later called the "Red Guard," which was to be the stay of the German dictatorship in Russia.

An intensive agitation by German agents sought to persuade the people that the war was advantageous and indispensable only for the capitalists and representatives of the "bourgeoisie," and that it was in the interests of the Russian proletariat to end the war as soon as possible; they screamed that the land belonged to the peasants alone, that it should be taken away from the gentlemen owners. It was also asserted that the end of the war would give much bread to everybody. Everywhere could be seen placards: "All Power Should Belong to the Proletariat," "Hail to Peace!" "Land to the Peasants!" "Bread!" The radical wing of the Socialist Party, calling themselves Bolsheviks, espoused these ideas. Bolshevism was the tool which Germany used for the establishment of her dictatorship in Russia. Bolshevism spread rapidly, contaminating the dark masses of the Russian people by its enticing declarations.

KERENSKY'S WEAKNESS

Being a witness of the Bolshevik propaganda in Russia, a witness of the formation of a Bolshevik army in Petrograd itself, observing how the masses of the people were more and more contaminated by Bolshevism, and being informed as to the persons at the head of the Bolshevik movement, Kerensky's Government nevertheless did not undertake any measures for the struggle against it or for the arrest of its leaders. The revolutionary chiefs, with Kerensky at their head, after having annihilated the Russian Army by their "reforms," could find no means to fight Bolshevism.

The inactivity of the revolutionary government continued until July 3, 1917, when the organized forces of the Bolsheviks undertook their first armed movement in Petrograd for the purpose of seizing the Government. By a lucky chance there were at that time in Petrograd a few units of troops into which Bolshevism had not yet penetrated, and these crushed the armed movement on July 5. The leaders of the Bolsheviks were arrested, and, at that time, Kerensky's Government had the opportunity

of crushing the evil and destroying its leaders. The majority of the arrested persons were later found to be German agents receiving subsidies from Germany. Kerensky failed to act. It is easy to understand the profound indignation of intelligent circles of Russia at the refusal of the Government to pass judgment on the arrested leaders of the Bolsheviks.

The Kerensky Government, on the contrary, revoked the arrest of the Bolshevik leaders, giving them full liberty to spread their poisonous propaganda throughout the country. Representatives of Bolshevism, indeed, were admitted into Kerensky's Government. Bolshevism, having been crushed in the streets of Petrograd on July 3-5, could gloat over its victory when it entered into the composition of the governing groups.

THE ALL-RUSSIAN ASSEMBLY

The occupation of Riga by the Germans, as well as of the Aland Islands and their descents in Finland, their approach to Pskov, the panicky flight of the Russian revolutionary troops and, lastly, the threatening of Petrograd itself, were facts which made Kerensky's Government remember that the war with Germany was still going on, and that at the head of the most important national problems loomed the military problem. For the solution of the latter, there was convoked in Moscow on Aug. 26, 1917, the so-called "All-Russian Assembly" of representatives from all revolutionary parties, including the Bolsheviks.

General Korniloff, then Commander in Chief of the Russian Army, and other military authorities, expressed their opinion at this assembly as to what should be done to save the Russian arms. In general the measures recommended called for the abolition of all the military "reforms" established by the Kerensky Government during the first two months of the revolution. Kerensky indicated, at this assembly, that he would not stand for any counter-revolution, whether it sprang from the right or the left, from the conservatives or the radicals. His words were an answer to the Commander in Chief of the army and the military authorities. Their measures for

the saving of the Russian Army were considered a "counter-revolution" by Kerensky, a "counter-revolution from the right." The All-Russian Assembly in Moscow, which attained no results, showed that the Russian Army could not be reborn as long as there was a revolutionary government and as long as revolutionary ideas dominated Russia.

The army officers and educated class, with Generals Alexeieff, Korniloff, and others at their head, recognized this fact and organized a special officers' armed unit, which counted, in the beginning, 5,000 men. The point of rally of General Alexeieff's army was in the vicinity of Novocherkask, in the Don district. This army was obliged later to wage a difficult war against the Bolshevik bands, which were always numerically the stronger, and not a few of Russia's best sons found their death in the ranks of this army. Lacking in a regular supply of military equipment, ammunition, technical means of warfare, and, lastly, provisions, this army was often under great stress. Nevertheless, the spiritual advantage belonged to this small handful of the best Russian men, giving them strength to hold their own in the unequal struggle. Later this army moved to Siberia to join the Russian and allied forces operating there against the Bolsheviks.

BOLSHEVIST COUP D'ETAT

One month after the All-Russian Assembly, rumors began to circulate tenaciously in Petrograd about the intended armed seizure of the Governmental power by the Bolsheviks. At the same time the news from the front was of the worst. The Germans were near Helsingfors in Finland, before Pskov on the northern front, and before Kiev on the south. The fall of these cities was expected from day to day. Kerensky's Government, recognizing its own weakness, did not have the courage to face the truth. Finally, in the last days of October, the Bolshevik Red Guard, fully equipped with arms and trained by German instructors, arrested most of the members of Kerensky's Government,

took possession of all the banks and Government institutions in Petrograd, and usurped the Governmental power. Kerensky succeeded in fleeing from Petrograd, thus avoiding arrest, but his words, pronounced at the All-Russian Assembly, that he would not tolerate any counter-revolution from the Bolsheviks, had become empty and futile.

With the coup d'état of the Bolsheviks, consummated Nov. 7, 1917, (New Style,) Germany's plans were realized, and the German agents, Lenine and Trotzky, found themselves at the head of Russia's Government, with the destinies of the nation in their power. Their first move was to sign the Brest-Litovsk peace agreement, which gave the Germans an opportunity to transfer hundreds of thousands of troops from the Russian front to the western front. After this there was sent to Moscow the German Ambassador, Count Mirbach, to keep in closer touch with the activities of German agents in Russia. There began the export from Russia of all that was lacking in Germany. Arms and equipment of the former Russian Army, an enormous number of guns and explosives, cereals and provisions, coal and coal products, all were shipped to Germany.

And Russia, shorn of her armed strength, suffering under the lack of food, condemned by the entire world, was living through the most difficult period of her history. Every Russian who did not accept the Bolshevik doctrines was subjected to the most noxious insults and to robbery at the hands of the Lenine-Trotsky Government. But this was only the beginning of the Bolshevik régime. Later, in 1918, there came the reign of terror. Arrests and executions followed by wholesale, and if there was no guillotine there were other less humane instruments for the destruction of men. At the beginning of 1919 famine and bloody despotism, worse than Czarism had ever produced, reigned in the region controlled by the Bolsheviks. Such were the fruits of Kerensky's socialistic "reforms" in the Russian Army.

Bolshevism Against Civilization

Lenine's Address to the Moscow Soviet Reveals His Plans for a Worldwide Revolution

Addressing a joint meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet and of other labor organizations held in Moscow on Oct. 22, 1918, about two weeks before the breaking out of the revolt in Germany which forced the abdication of the Kaiser and hastened the practical surrender of the German armies on Nov. 11, Nikolai Lenine, the Bolshevik Premier, as reported Nov. 7 in the Berner Tagwacht, a Swiss Socialist newspaper, spoke as follows:

COMRADES, I believe our present situation, despite all the contradictions it contains, can be characterized by two theses: First, that we never before stood so near to the international proletarian revolution as at present; second, that we on the other hand never found ourselves in a more dangerous position than now.

And the most serious part of our situation consists in the fact that the broad masses of the people are hardly aware of the danger that menaces us. Therefore, it must be one of the principal tasks of the Soviet representatives to make the present situation entirely clear to the broad masses—no matter how difficult this task may sometimes be. The weightiest objection that was raised against the Soviet Government, not only by the bourgeoisie, but also from the ranks of the lower middle class that had lost faith in socialism, was that we allegedly had begun the socialist revolution in Russia in a reckless manner, as the revolution in Western Europe was not yet due.

BOASTS OF BOLSHEVIST WORK

Comrades, now in the fifth year of the world war the general collapse of imperialism is an evident fact; now it is clear that the revolution in all the belligerent countries is unavoidable. We, however, whose existence at the beginning was counted by days or weeks, at the most have done more in this year of the revolution than ever has been done by any other proletarian party in the world. The bourgeoisie no longer denies that Bolshevism is now an international phenomenon. Of course, you know that the revolution has broken out in Bulgaria

and that the Bulgarian soldiers are organizing councils, or Soviets, after the Russian model. Now comes the news that similar Soviets are in the process of being organized also in Serbia. The national bourgeoisie of the various small States of Austria will not be able to hold out. In Austria, too, the revolution of the workers and peasants is knocking at the door everywhere.

In Germany the press already talks openly of the abdication of the Kaiser and the Independent Social Democratic Party now dares to speak of the German republic. This certainly means something! The German revolution is already a fact. The military party talks about it openly. In East Prussia revolutionary committees have been formed; revolutionary slogans are being uttered. The Scheidemann gang will not remain at the helm very long, it does not represent the broad masses of the people, and the proletarian revolution in Germany is inevitable.

So far as Italy is concerned, the revolutionary sentiment of the proletariat of that country is evident to us. When Gompers, the social patriot who has handed himself over to the bourgeoisie, visited the cities of Italy and preached patriotism to the workers he was hissed out everywhere. During the war the Italian Socialist Party has taken a big step toward the Left.

In France at the beginning of the war the number of patriots among the workers was only too great, for it was declared that the soil of France and Paris were menaced. But there, too, the attitude of the proletariat is changing. When a letter was read to the last convention telling what mischief the Entente was up

to in Russia there were shouts of "Long live the Russian Socialist Republic!" and "Long live the Soviets!" Yesterday we got word that at a meeting held in Paris 2,000 metal workers greeted the Soviet republic.

SEES SYMPATHY IN ENGLAND

And in England it is true that the so-called Independent Socialist [Labor?] Party has not openly entered into an alliance with the Bolsheviks, but its sympathies for us are constantly on the increase. The Socialist Labor Parties of Scotland have even come out openly for the Bolsheviks.

This fact looms up before us entirely on its own initiative: Bolshevism has become a world theory and the tactics of the international proletariat. And the workingmen of all countries, who formerly read only the lying and calumnious articles and news reports of the bourgeois press, are now beginning to take stock of what is happening in Russia. And when last Wednesday a demonstration took place in Berlin, and the workers—in order to show their ill-will toward the Kaiser—wanted to march in front of his palace, they then went to the Russian Embassy in order thus to announce their solidarity with the acts of the Russian labor Government.

So, Europe has got thus far in the fifth year of the war. Therefore, we also declare that we never were so near to the worldwide revolution as we are today. Our allies are millions and millions of proletarians in all the countries of the world. But for all that, I repeat that our situation never before was so precarious as it is at present, because in Europe, as well as in America, Bolshevism is being reckoned with as a world power and a world danger.

Immediately following the conclusion of the peace of violence [Brest-Litovsk] we began the positive work of building up the republic. As soon as we gave an opportunity to the peasants actually to get along without the land owners, and a chance to the industrial workers to arrange their own life without the capitalists, as soon as the people understood that it could manage the State itself,

without slavery and exploitation, then it became clear to every one, and also manifested itself in practice, that no power and no counter-revolution in the world would be able to overthrow the Soviet power, i. e., the government of the workers and peasants. It required many months for us to come to this conviction in Russia.

In the cities the revolution began to consolidate itself already in November, 1917, but in the country it did not do so until the Summer of 1918. In the Ukraine, on the Don, and in various other places, the peasants have had occasion to feel the power of the Constituents and the Czechoslovaks in their own affairs. This required many, many months, but our agricultural population comes out of the struggle hardened. The farmers finally became aware of the danger menacing them from the side of the capitalists and the land owners, but were not frightened, and merely said to themselves: "We have learned much in a single year, but we shall learn still more."

TALKS OF SCARED BOURGEOISIE

The West European bourgeoisie, that up to now has not taken the Bolsheviks seriously, is now becoming aware that in Russia a power has arisen and stands there alone which is able to arouse true heroism and a genuine spirit of self-sacrifice in the masses. When this proletarian power began to infect Europe the bourgeoisie of the world noted that it, too, must reckon with this enemy. And so the bourgeoisie began to unite more closely in proportion as we drew nearer to the proletarian world revolution which flared up, now here, now there.

Now the situation for us, for the Russia of the Soviets, has changed and events are following their course at a quickened pace. Before, we had to deal with two groups of imperialistic robber States that were striving to destroy each other. But now they have noticed, especially by the example of German imperialism, that their principal enemy is the revolutionary proletariat. By reason of this fact a new danger for us has now

arisen, a danger that as yet has not quite unfolded itself, and is not yet fully visible—the danger that the Anglo-French imperialists are quietly preparing for us. We must keep this danger clearly before our eyes so that we, with the aid of the leaders of the masses, with the help of the representatives of the workers and peasants, may make the broad masses of the people aware of this danger.

In German Government circles we may now observe two lines of thought, two plans for salvation, as it were, if there can be any talk at all of salvation. One group says: "We want to gain time and hold out until Spring; perhaps we may succeed in winning by arms!" The other says that it is of the greatest importance to arrive at an agreement with England and France at the expense of the Bolsheviks. In this connection one might believe that between the English and French on the one side and Germany on the other a tacit agreement something like this exists: "Don't you Germans leave the Ukraine so long as we have not arrived there. See to it that the Bolsheviks don't get in, then everything else will be adjusted." And the Germans take great pains to do so, for they know that for proved service they, too, will get some of the loot.

That is the judgment of the Anglo-French imperialists, for they very well understand that the bourgeoisie of the occupied districts—Finland, the Ukraine, or Poland—will not be able to hold its ground a single day after the withdrawal of the German garrisons. And the bourgeoisie of these countries, who only yesterday sold their territory to the Germans, are today offering their fatherland to the English and the French. This conspiracy of the bourgeoisie of all countries against the revolutionary workers and the Bolsheviks is constantly becoming more clearly outlined and becomes cynically apparent. So it is our direct duty to point out this danger to the workers and peasants of all the belligerent countries.

AID FROM GERMANY

But for us, comrades, the German revolution is favorable. Considering the power and the degree of organization of

the German proletariat, we may believe that the German revolution will develop such power and will be so well organized that it will solve a hundred international problems. Only we must know how to march in line with the German revolution, not to run ahead of it and injure it, but to help it. And our comrades, the communists of the Ukraine, must bear this in mind. Our principal work must be carrying on propaganda, but a daring, persistent propaganda.

We must not forget that Germany forms the most important link in the revolutionary chain. The success of the world revolution depends to the greatest degree upon Germany. We must not fail to consider the changes and excrescences accompanying every revolution. In every country the revolution follows its particular ways, and these ways are so different and tortuous that in many countries the revolution can be delayed one or two years. Every country must pass through definite political stages in order to arrive at the very same point—the inevitable proletarian revolution. And although the international proletariat is now awakening and making important progress, we must confess that our position is particularly difficult because our enemies direct their attacks against us as their principal enemy. Now they are preparing to fight, not against the hostile armies, but against international Bolshevism.

CREATING THE RED ARMY

We must direct our entire attention at present to our southern front, where the fate, not only of Russia, but also of the international revolution, is to be decided. We have many prospects of victory. But what favors us most of all is the fact that a change has taken place in the popular feeling. The people has grasped the fact that in defending Soviet Russia it is not defending the interests of the capitalists, but its own interests, its own country and desires, its factories and shops, its life and liberty. The discipline of the Red Army is gaining, but it is not a discipline of the club, but the discipline of socialism, the discipline of a society of equals.

The army is turning out thousands of

officers who have gone through the course of study in the new proletarian military schools, and other thousands who have only gone through the hard school of war itself. Our southern front is the front against the whole Anglo-French imperialism, against the most important opponent we have in the world. But we do not fear this opponent, for we know that it will soon face the struggle with its "internal enemy." Three months ago it was said that only the half-crazy Bolsheviks could believe in the German revolution; but today we see how in the course of a few months Germany has changed from a mighty empire to a rotten tree trunk. The force that has overthrown Germany is also working in England. It is only weak today, but with

every step that the English and French advance in Russia this force will steadily rise to power and will even become more terrible than the Spanish influenza.

The seriousness of the situation must be apparent to every worker who knows what he is aiming at, and he must make the masses see it, too. The people of workers and peasants is mature enough to be allowed to know the whole truth. The danger is great, but we must, and shall, overcome it, and for this purpose we must develop and solidify the Red Army without halting. We must make it ten times as strong and large as it is. Our forces must grow with every day, and this constant growth will give us the guarantee, as before, that international socialism will be the victor.

Slave and Emperor

By ALFRED NOYES

"Our cavalry have rescued Nazareth from the enemy whose supermen described Christianity as a creed for slaves."

The Emperor mocked at Nazareth

In his almighty hour.

The Slave that bowed himself to death

And walked with slaves in Nazareth,

What were His words but wasted breath

Before that "will to power."

Yet, in the darkest hour of all,

When black defeat began,

The Emperor heard the mountains quake,

He felt the graves beneath him shake,

He watched his legions rally and break,

And he whimpered as they ran.

"I hear a shout that moves the earth,

A cry that wakes the dead!

Will no one tell me whence they come,

For all my messengers are dumb?

What power is this that comes to birth

And breaks my power?" he said.

Then, all around his foundering guns,

Though dawn was now not far,

The darkness filled with a living fear

That whispered at the Emperor's ear,

"The armies of the dead draw near

Beneath an eastern star."

The trumpet blows in Nazareth.

The Slave is risen again!

Across the bitter wastes of death,

The horsemen ride from Nazareth,

And the Power they mocked as wasted breath

Returns, in power, to reign;

Rides on, in white, through Nazareth,

To save His world again.

How the Czar Was Doomed to Death

An Authentic Document Written by His Major-Domo
Describes His Last Known Hours of Life

By CARL W. ACKERMAN

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Mr. Ackerman, the special correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES in Siberia and Russia, went to Ekaterinburg at the close of 1918 to investigate the fate of the ex-Czar, Nicholas Romanoff, which still remained a mystery. He obtained and translated a unique document written by the former Emperor's major-domo, describing the Czar's last hours in Ekaterinburg. As the servant had not seen his master executed, however, the Bolshevist statement of his death remained unconfirmed. An Associated Press dispatch from Warsaw, Dec. 24, quoted Michael de Tschihatchef, a nephew of General Skoropadski, as authority for the statement that ex-Czar Nicholas and his whole family were still alive, and on Jan. 8 a London dispatch printed a like statement from Grand Duke Cyril. Though this part of the mystery of the Czar's fate remains unexplained at the present writing, (Jan. 15, 1919,) the old major-domo's narrative clears up other points, and is here presented as a historical document of permanent value.

EKATERINBURG, (via Vladivostok,) Dec. 22, 1918.—I have obtained the first eyewitness account of the Czar's last days under the Bolsheviki and of his trial and brief farewell to his family, which shows that until his very last hour Nicholas Romanoff was intriguing with his military leaders for the restoration of the monarchy, and that it was the discovery of this plot by the Ural District Soviet which caused the order to be given for his execution; but whether he was actually shot is a mooted question in Ekaterinburg which will never be definitely solved until the Czar or his body is found. Meanwhile, he is considered dead, although probably all the members of his family are still alive.

For twenty-two years Parfen Alexievitch Dominin served the Czar as major-domo, accompanying him into exile, and remained with his imperial master until the early hours of the morning of July 17, when the Czar was led away by Bolshevist soldiers. In his manuscript report, in simple Russian, filled with the devotion of a lifelong servant, is presented, as far as I am able to learn, the only single, complete, and authentic account of the Czar's life

at Ekaterinburg. Dominin describes the Romanoffs' family life, tells of the illness of the Czarevitch, of the Empress's tragic pleas for mercy on her knees before the Soviet guard, and gives details of the evidence presented at the secret midnight trial, where the Czar appeared, undefended and alone, dressed in his soldier's garb.

CHARGES IN THE INDICTMENT

Dominin states that the indictment presented against Nicholas charged him with being a party to the counter-revolutionary plot to overthrow the Bolsheviki and with secretly corresponding with Generals Denekine, Dutoff, and Dogert, who were endeavoring to liberate him and who had sent him word to be prepared to be freed.

When the Czar was taken away his family was removed, according to Dominin, which corroborates the testimony of Sister Maria, from Ekaterinburg's famous old monastery, founded by the Czar's ancestors. Maria, who brought milk and eggs for the Czarevitch, told me when I saw her in a little room of the monastery that word had been received from the interior of Russia by a reliable courier stating:

"Dear friends, all is well." She believes this refers only to the family.

Dominin's manuscript, in Russian, which is here given in verbatim translation, contains a supplement with the Czar's abdication manifesto written in October, 1905, during the Russo-Japanese war, which was printed but never promulgated.

Parfen Dominin, who is 60 years of age, now lives in seclusion. He was born in a village in the Costroma Government and began serving the Czar in 1896. His manuscript reads:

"Beginning with the first days of July airplanes began to appear nearly every day over Ekaterinburg, flying very low and dropping bombs, but little damage was done. Rumors spread about the city that the Czechoslovaks were making reconnaissances and would shortly occupy the city.

"One day the former Czar returned to the house from his walk in the garden. He was unusually excited, and after fervent prayers before an ikon of Holy Nicholas the Thaumaturgist he lay down on a little bed without undressing. This he never did before.

[During the Czar's imprisonment here the house was surrounded by a twenty-foot board fence. Part of the garden around the house was in this inclosure, where the imperial family was permitted to exercise, seeing nothing outside.]

"Please allow me to undress you and make the bed," I said to the Czar.

FELT DEATH WAS NEAR

"Don't trouble, old man," the Czar said, 'I feel in my heart I shall live only a short time. Perhaps today—already'—but the Czar did not end the sentence.

"God bless you, what are you saying?" I asked, and the Czar began to explain that during his evening walk he had received news that a special council of the Ural District Soviet of Workingmen, Cossacks, and Red Army Deputies was being held which was to decide the Czar's fate.

"It was said that the Czar was suspected of planning to escape to the Czech Army, which was advancing toward Ekaterinburg and had promised to tear him away from the Soviet

power. He ended his story by saying resignedly:

"I don't know anything."

"The Czar's daily life was very strict. He was not permitted to buy newspapers, and was not allowed to walk beyond the limited time.

"All the servants were thoroughly searched before leaving and upon returning. Once I was forced to take off all my clothing because the Commissary of the Guard thought I was transmitting letters from the Czar.

"Food was very scarce. Generally only herring, potatoes, and bread were given, at the rate of half a pound daily to each person.

"The former heir to the imperial throne, Alexis Nikolaievitch, was ill all the time. Once he was coughing and spitting blood.

"One evening Alexis came running into the room of the Czar, breathless and crying loudly, and, falling into the arms of his father, said, with tears in his eyes: 'Dear papa, they want to shoot you.'

"The Czar whispered: 'It's the will of God in everything. Be quiet, my sufferer, my son, be quiet. Where is mamma?'

"Mamma weeps," said the boy.

"Ask mamma to calm herself; one cannot help by weeping. It is God's will in everything," the Czar replied.

"With ardor Alexis pleaded: 'Papa, dear papa, you have suffered enough already. Why do they want to kill you? That is not just.'

"The Czar replied: 'Alexis, I ask you for only one thing. Go and comfort mamma.'

"Alexis left. The Czar knelt before the ikon of holy Nicholas, praying for a long time. During these days Nicholas became very devout. Often he would awaken during the night because of some nightmare. He would not sleep any more, but spent the rest of the night in prayers.

"From time to time the Czar was permitted to meet his wife, Alexandra, or, as he called her, Alice, but his son he could meet whenever he desired. Once Alexandra Feodorovna came weeping



LOCATION OF EKATERINBURG, WHERE THE EX-CZAR WAS CONDEMNED TO DEATH BY THE BOLSHEVIKI

into the Czar's room, saying: 'It is necessary in any case that you should put all your papers and documents in order.' After this Nicholas wrote all night.

"The Czar wrote many letters, among them those to all his daughters, to his brother Michael; to his uncle, Nicholas Nikolaievitch; General Dogert, Duke Gendrikoff, Count Olssufieff, the Prince of Oldenburg, Count Shumarokoff Elston, and many others. He did not seal his letters, as all his correspondence was controlled by the Soviet censors. Often it happened that his letters were returned by the Commissary of the Guard, with the penciled remark: 'Are not to be forwarded.'

"For many days Nicholas Alexandrovitch would not eat. He would fall down and only pray. Even for a man who had not the gift of observation it was evident that the former Czar was greatly troubled and feeling heartsick.

TAKEN TO BE SENTENCED

"On July 15, late in the evening, there appeared suddenly in the Czar's room

the Commissary of the Guard, who announced:

"'Citizen Nicholas Alexandrovitch Romanoff, you will follow me to the Ural District Soviet of Workmen, Cossacks, and Red Army Deputies.'

"The Czar asked in a pleading tone:

"'Tell me frankly, are you leading me to be shot?'

"'You must not be afraid, nothing will happen until your death. You are wanted at a meeting,' the Commissary said smiling.

"Nicholas Alexandrovitch got up from his bed, put on his gray soldier blouse and his boots, fastened his belt, and went away with the Commissary. Outside the door were standing two soldiers, Letts, with rifles. All three surrounded him, and for some reason began to search him all over. Then one of the Letts went ahead. The Czar was forced to go behind him, next to the Commissary, and the second soldier followed.

"Nicholas did not return for a very long while, about two hours and a half

at least. He was quite pale, his chin trembling.

" 'Old man, give me some water,' he said.

"I brought him water at once. He emptied a large cup.

" 'What happened?' I asked.

" 'They have informed me that I shall be shot within three hours.'

BEFORE HIS JUDGES

"During the meeting of the Ural District Soviet a minute of the trial was read in the presence of the Czar. It was prepared by a secret organization named the Association for the Defense of Our Native Country and Freedom. It stated that a counter-revolutionary plot had been discovered, with the object of suppressing the workmen's and peasants' revolution by inciting the masses against the Soviet by accusing it of all the hard consequences resulting from imperialism all over the world—war and slaughter, famine, lack of work, the collapse of transportation, the advance of the Germans, &c.

"The indictment further stated that to attain this the counter-revolutionists were attempting to join all the non-Soviet political parties, Socialists as well as imperial parties. The evidence presented at the trial showed that the staff of this organization could not carry out its intentions fully because of a divergence of views regarding the tactics between the Left and Right Parties. The evidence presented showed that at the head of the plot stood the Czar's personal friend, General Dogert.

"The evidence presented against the Czar shows that in this organization were working also such representatives as the Duke of Krapotkine, Colonel of the General Staff Ekhart, Engineer Llin-sky, and others. There are reasons for believing that Shavenpoff was also in direct connection with this organization and that he was supposed to be the head of the new Government as military dictator.

"All these leaders had established a very strong conspiracy. In the Moscow fighting group were 700 officers who afterward were transferred to Samara, where they were to await reinforcements

from the Allies with the purpose of establishing a Ural front to separate Great Russia from Siberia. Later, according to the supposed plot, when results of the famine should show, all those sympathizing with the overthrow of the Soviet would be mobilized to advance against Germany.

"The evidence presented shows proofs that certain Socialist parties were taking part in the plot, including the Right Social Revolutionists and Mensheviks, working in full harmony with the Constitutional Democrats. The Chief of Staff of this organization was in direct communication with Dutoff and Denikine.

"The testimony stated that during the last few days a new plot had been discovered having for its object the rescue of the former Czar from the Soviet with the help of Dutoff.

"Besides this it was proved at the trial that the Czar conducted secret correspondence with his personal friend, General Dogert, who urged the Czar to be ready to be freed.

THE DEATH SENTENCE

"In view of this evidence, together with the troublesome situation caused by the decision of the Ural District Soviet to evacuate Ekaterinburg, the former Czar was ordered to submit to execution without delay because the Soviet believed it harmful and unjustifiable to continue to keep him under guard.

" 'Citizen Nicholas Romanoff,' said the Soviet Chairman to the former Czar, 'I inform you, you are given three hours to make your last orders. Guard, I ask you not to leave out of your sight Nicholas Romanoff.'

"Soon after Nicholas returned from the meeting his wife and son called upon him weeping. Often Alexandra fainted and a doctor had to be called. When she recovered she knelt before the soldiers and begged for mercy. The soldiers answered that it was not within their power to render mercy.

" 'Be quiet, for Christ's sake, Alice,' repeated the Czar several times in a very low tone, making the sign of the cross over his wife and son.

"After this Nicholas called me and kissed me, saying:

"Old man, do not leave Alexandra and Alexis. You see, there is nobody with me now. There is nobody to appease them, and I shall soon be led away."

"Later it proved that nobody except his wife and son, of all his beloved ones, was permitted to bid farewell to the former Czar. Nicholas and his wife and son remained together until five other soldiers of the Red Army appeared with the Chairman of the Soviet, accompanied by two members, both workmen."

"Put on your overcoat," resolutely commanded the Chairman.

"Nicholas, who did not lose his self-possession, began to dress, kissed his wife and son, and me again, made the sign of the cross over them, and then, addressing the men, said in a loud voice:

"Now I am at your disposal."

"Alexandra and Alexis fell in a fit of hysterics. Both fell to the floor. I made an attempt to bring mother and son to, but the Chairman said:

"Wait. There should be no delay. You may do that after we have gone."

"Permit me to accompany Nicholas Alexandrovitch," I asked.

"No accompanying," was the stern answer.

"So Nicholas was taken away, nobody knows where, and was shot during the night of July 16, by about twenty Red Army soldiers."

"Before dawn the next day the Chairman of the Soviet again came to the room, accompanied by Red Army soldiers, a doctor, and the Commissary of the Guard. The doctor attended Alexandra and Alexis. Then the Chairman said to the doctor:

"Is it possible to take them immediately?"

"Answered 'yes,' the Chairman said:

"Citizen Alexandra Feodorovna Romanoff and Alexis Romanoff, get ready. You will be sent away from here. You are allowed to take only the most necessary things, not over thirty or forty pounds."

"Mastering themselves, but stumbling from side to side, mother and son soon got ready."

"Tomorrow get him out of here," the Soviet Chairman commanded the guard, pointing at me.

"Alexandra and Alexis were immediately taken away by an automobile truck, it is not known where."

"The morning of the following day the Commissary again appeared, and ordered me to get out of the room, taking with me some property of the Czar, but all the letters and documents belonging to the Czar were taken by the Commissary. I left, but had great difficulty in procuring a railway ticket, because all the stations and trains were overfilled with soldiers of the Red Army, tossing about and evacuating the city and taking along all precious objects."

An epilogue and supplement to the manuscript, also written by Dominin, follow:

"The Cheliabinsk newspaper *Utro Sibiri* states that the Czar's execution was certified to by a special Government declaration at a place ten versts from Ekaterinburg. On July 30 a tumulus was found containing metal things belonging to each member of the family of the former Czar, and also bones of burned corpses, which may be those of the Romanoff family."

"As hostages, Grand Duchess Elena Petrova, Countess Henrikova, and a third, whose name I don't know, were taken away. The total hostages were about six. The Bolsheviks fled in the direction of Verkhnoturie."

CZAR'S ABDICATION OF 1905

"The Academician Bunakovhky, a member of the Russian Historical Society, found accidentally in the secret division of the Senate archives the proof sheet of a 'collection of laws ordered of the Government,' dated Oct. 17, 1905, in which was printed the following manifesto:

Disturbances and riots in the capital and many parts of the empire are filling my heart with painful grief. The welfare of the Russian Emperor is indissolubly joined with the welfare of the people, and the affliction of the people is his grief. From the disturbances which have now arisen may proceed deep disorder among the population, a threat to the unity and integrity of our State.

In these days, when the fate of Russia

is being determined, we consider it the duty of our conscience to fuse our people into a close union and join all the powers of the population for the height of the State's prosperity.

Therefore we have decided to abdicate the throne of the Russian Empire and lay down the high power. Desiring not to be separated from our beloved son, we surrender the succession to our brother, the Grand Duke Michael, and bless him upon the ascendance to the Russian throne.

NICHOLAS ROMANOFF.

(Countersigned) Minister of the Court,
BARON FREDERICKS.

Oct. 16, 1905. Navy Peterhof.

"Written with a red pencil on the text was 'Hold up printing. Manager of Typography Kedrinsky.'

"He tells me the following details regarding the delay in printing the manifesto. At 8 o'clock on the evening of Oct. 16 I received from a courier a packet from the Minister of the Court,

Baron Fredericks, asking me to publish the manifesto in the next number of the Collection of Laws. As the manifesto was not received in the usual way through the Minister of Justice, Kedrinsky in giving the manifesto to a typographer to prepare the printing, simultaneously informed Shthegtovioff by telephone.

"At first the Minister of Justice only asked for the holding up of the printing, but at 11 o'clock the functionary for special commissions from the Minister visited Kedrinsky and asked for the original of the manifesto and ordered the proof sheet transmitted to the secret archives of the Senate."

Thus the Czar spent the last days as a Bolshevik prisoner, disappearing within a few hours before the Czechoslovak troops freed the terror-stricken city of Ekaterinburg.

The Russian Peasant and the Czar

By COMTE GASTON DE MERINDAL

This sympathetic sketch by a noted French author was written a month before the Czar's death sentence and was made public at the end of July, 1918:

CZAR NICHOLAS II., who swore on his father's deathbed to remain true to the alliance with France, and who kept his oath, is now enduring martyrdom, with a dignity which one day history will recognize. What sort of existence is he enduring now? I have exact information as to how he was transferred to Ekaterinburg. Already the treatment the Emperor had received at Tobolsk had shown the baseness of feeling actuating those who had usurped his authority, and whose ferocious absolutism is even now causing the greater part of his people to think regretfully of the absolutism of Nicholas II., which at any rate was paternal. Often and often I have tried, out of journalistic curiosity, to talk of the Czar with mujiks and workmen. But they have always turned the conversation, and in their faces I could read remorse and shame.

One evening at the end of January, 1918, I was looking over the Kamenoo-

stroff at Petrograd, the vista being obscured in the darkness and the damp. One could see nothing except the heaps of snow bordering the street on which the rays of light from half-closed shutters fell in luminous patches. From time to time the report of a rifle shot, the crackling of a mitrailleuse in the distance, a call for help, or a sinister cry caused timorous figures to hurry past the fronts of the houses. Suddenly a voice, young and plaintive, began singing an air which made me start. The singer was an izvoshstshik, or driver, and he was calmly sitting sideways on his sledge, with his legs touching the snow, while his horse jogged along as he liked. Then I vaguely perceived several "Red Guards," who stopped for a moment and then silently went on their way. An old woman selling newspapers bowed low and hastily crossed herself, or, rather, left the gesture uncompleted, as though afraid * * * By this time

the voice was lost in the distance. And then I had a hallucination. In the illumined sky I saw the Winter Palace rise before me. An immense crowd was kneeling, as though in mute adoration, in front of a man who had just made his appearance on one of the balconies. This man was the Czar. He said: "I swear I will not put back my sword into its scabbard until they who have attacked us shall have been vanquished. People of Russia, pray for victory!"* One great and formidable shout came in response. This cry was a menace, an oath, a prayer. It ended in a song, and the song was the same that the young izvoshtshik had just been singing: "God preserve the Czar!" Have I now made it clear why the mujik and the workman of Russia have remorse in the heart and shame in the eyes when one utters in their hearing the name of Nicholas II.?

When Lenine and Trotzky made up their minds to remove the Czar to Ekaterinburg the Empress Alexandra Feodorovna was asked if she wished to remain with her son, who was ill, or to go with the Emperor. His proud Consort, who, in the delusion of mysticism, and

through the unhealthy and superstitious fear she felt for Rasputin, the self-styled envoy sent by God to protect the Czarevitch, had, for all her goodness and courage, been a bad influence on Nicholas II. in respect of internal politics during the last year of his reign, would not, unhappy woman, leave her husband. So they were both taken to the railway station, where they had to join the queue before the ticket office among the crowd of mujiks and soldiers, who, for all their dirt and rags, were respectful enough. They traveled third class, still with the peasants and the soldiery, and, as was the case later at Ekaterinburg, had to have the same food and accommodation as they. Knowing as I do the dignity of the Czar's character, and the deep affection he had for his people and his country, I do not think this promiscuity troubled him. On the contrary, my opinion is that the revulsion of feeling in his favor—every day more and more visible among his subjects—might well have grown still stronger through this companionship, which the Bolshevik leaders forced on him as an insult and a punishment. But some day history will rightly record the murderous intentions of these Bolsheviks and will weave a martyr's crown for "Nicholas le D  bonnaire."

*This scene took place on the day war was declared.

Private Diary of the Late Czar

His Own Record of His Downfall

A PORTION of the diary of the late Czar Nicholas, prepared for publication by a Bolshevik commission, has been printed in the *Izvestia*, a Petrograd newspaper. The diaries go back to Feb. 1, 1882, and contain daily entries. An extract from the published entries relating to the period of the Czar's deposition and imprisonment is presented below. The new style calendar dates are given throughout:

March 11, 1917—Disturbances have been occurring for several days at Petrograd. Troops have unfortunately taken part in them. It is an uncomfortable feeling to be so far away and to receive only brief, unfavorable reports.

March 13—Went to bed at 3:15, because I had a long talk with Ivanoff, whom I sent to Petrograd with troops to restore order. Slept till 10. Traveled all day, and arrived at Lichoslav at 9 o'clock.

March 14—Returned from the station at Visher because Liuban and Tossno are occupied by the insurgents. Went to Pskoff, where I spent the night. Saw Russky. He, Daniloff, and Savitsh dined with me. Gatchina and Luga are occupied by the insurgents. It is a shame and a disgrace. It was impossible to proceed to Tsarskoe Selo. All my thoughts and feelings are all the time there. How hard it must be for poor Alix to go through all this alone! May the Lord God help us!

March 15—In the morning Russky read me a long conversation he had by telephone with Rodzianko. His opinion was that the situa-

tion at Petrograd was such as to render powerless any Ministry representing the Duma, owing to the opposition of the Social Democrats. My abdication is necessary. Russky communicated this conversation to headquarters, and Alexeieff to the army commanders. Their replies arrived at 1:30 in the afternoon. The main contents were that the decision to take this step was necessary to save Russia and appease the army at the front. I agreed. A draft manifesto was sent to me from headquarters.

In the evening Gutchkoff and Shulgun arrived from Petrograd, with whom I had a conversation and to whom I handed a rewritten manifesto which I had signed. Left Pskoff at 1 o'clock in the night, my experiences weighing heavily on me. All around are treachery, cowardice, and deception.

March 16—Slept long and well. Only awakened far from Dvinsk. A sunny and frosty day. Discussed with my people yesterday's events. I read much in Julius Caesar. At 8:20 I arrived at Mogileff, where the whole staff awaited me at the station. At 9:30 I went to my house, Alexeieff came with the latest news from Rodzianko. So Mischa (the Grand Duke Michael) has resigned! His manifesto closes with a wag of the tail for the Constituent Assembly, which is to be elected in three months. God knows what moved him to put his signature to such nonsense. In Petersburg the unrest has ceased. If only it had lasted longer!

March 22—Began to fast, but the fast did not begin with joy. After midday mass Kerevsky was here. He begged that we might restrict our meetings to meal times, and sit apart from the children. This was to a certain degree necessary for him in order to pacify the famous Soldiers' and Laborers' Council. To avoid any violence one must adapt one's self.

March 30—Slept well. At 10 o'clock the good Alex [one of the Grand Dukes] arrived. Hereupon a conference. At 12 o'clock I went to the station to receive dear mamma, who had come from Kieff. I took her with me, and we breakfasted together. She stayed and talked for a long time. I received at last two telegrams from Alice, [the Czarisca.] Went for a walk. Horrible weather, cold and snowstorm. Received after tea Alexeieff and Frederiks. Dined in the evening with mamma, and sat with her until 11 o'clock.

March 31—The day is clear and frosty. At 10 o'clock to midday mass. Mamma came later. She breakfasted, and remained with me until 4 o'clock. At tea received General Ivanoff, who came back from the requisitioning. He had been to Tsarskoe Selo, and had seen Alice. What has become of poor Counts Frederiks and Wojesloff, whose presence excites everybody? They have gone to Frederiks's property near Pensa. In the evening with mamma.

April 3—Last day in Mogileff. At a quarter to 11 read a farewell command to the

army. Went to the house of the officer of the day, where I took leave of the staff and authorities. At home farewell to the officers and Cossacks of the Guard and the Free Regiment. My heart was breaking. At 12 o'clock with mamma, in her carriage, where we breakfasted. Remained with her and her suite until half-past 4. Took leave of her, Sondro, Sergei, Boris, and Alek. Poor Nilow was not allowed to come to me. At a quarter to 5 left Mogileff. It was touching, the crowd of people who accompanied me. Four members of the Petersburg Soviet in my train. Am heavy, woeful, and full of longing.

April 4—Arrived quickly and safely at 11:30 at Tsarskoe Selo. God, what a difference! On the streets, around the castle, and even in the park sentinels. Before the entrance some ensigns. Went upstairs and saw Alice, my soul, and the poor children. She faced things bravely and healthily. All were in a dark room, on account of the measles; but they felt well, except Marie, who was only then beginning with the measles. Breakfasted and also dined at midday in the playroom of Alexis, [the Czarewitch.] Saw good Benckendorff. Went with him for a walk, and worked with him in the gardens, as I was not allowed to go further. After tea brought my affairs into order.

April 5—Outside the conditions under which we live here, the thought that we are together rejoices and consoles me. Received in the morning Benckendorff, looked through papers, regulated and burned many. Sat with the children until 2:30. Went for a walk with Dolgorouki, accompanied by ensigns. Today they were more pleasant.

April 6—Received Benckendorff in the morning. Learned from him that we shall remain here for a rather long time. It is pleasant to know this. Again burned letters and papers. Anastasia has the earache—the same as the others. Went in the afternoon with Dolgorouki for a walk, and worked in the garden. At a quarter to 7 went to night mass. Afterward went to Anna [a lady of the Court and a favorite of the Czarisca] and Lilly. Thereupon to rest.

April 12—At 10 o'clock we went to mass, at which many took communion. Walked for a short time with Tatiana. Today the burial of the "victims of the revolution" took place in our park opposite the centre of the Alexander Palace. Sounds of funeral music and the "Marseillaise" were to be noted. At 6 o'clock we went to a religious service.

April 18—In the morning a short walk. Regulated affairs and books. Began to lay on one side everything which I will take with me when it comes to the journey to England. Worked in the garden.

April 21—Passed quietly the twenty-third anniversary of our betrothal. In the morning walked for a long time with Alexis.

May 11—Abroad today is the first of May. Our asses have therefore decided to celebrate this day by processions through the streets

with music and red flags. Apparently they came into our park and laid wreaths. Walked for an hour and a half and in the evening began to read aloud to the children "A Millionaire Girl." [This book title appears in English.]

May 14—In the morning went for a walk. At 12 o'clock a geography lesson with Alexis. During the day again worked in our vegetable garden. In the evening learned that Korniloff has retired from the post of upper commander of the Petersburg military district, and also of the resignation of Gutchkoff. Always on the same grounds—irresponsible interference with the orders of the military authorities by the Labor Deputies' Council and by some organization or other standing much further to the left.

June 16—After morning tea Kerensky suddenly appeared in auto from town. He did not remain long with me. He requested that some documents which had relation to internal policy should be sent over for the inquiry committee.

July 2—Before midday came good news about the beginning of the offensive on the southwestern front. In the direction of Sloczow, after two days' artillery preparation, our troops broke through the enemy's positions, taking 170 officers and 10,000 men prisoner, and capturing cannon and machine guns. I thank Thee, O Lord! God has sent us this in a good hour. I feel myself quite different after this joyful message.

July 9.—Our good commander, Colonel Komblinski, requested me not to shake hands with the officers in the presence of strangers, and not to call out any words of greeting to the guards. This I have done sometimes, but they, however, do not respond. Studied geography with Alexis. Then we felled a gigantic tree in the gardens behind the orangery. The guards even wanted to help in this work. Read to the end "The Count of Monte Christo."

July 18—In Petersburg today there were riots and fighting. A number of soldiers and sailors arrived from Kronstadt to oppose the Provisional Government. Complete confusion. Where are the people who could take this movement in their hands and could end the struggle [without?] shedding blood? The root of the evil is in Petersburg itself, not in the whole of Russia.

July 19—Happily the tremendous majority of the troops in Petersburg remain faithful to their duty and order has been restored in the streets. Worked the whole of the day in the woods, felled four trees and sawed them up. In the evening began to read "Tartarin of Tarascon."

July 21—Worked in the park. Today, like yesterday, the guards of the 1st and 4th Regiments of Guards were correct in service, and did not patrol during our walk in the garden. Changes have taken place in the Government. Prince Lvoff has gone; Kerensky becomes Minister-President and at the same time Minister of War and Marine,

also has the leadership of the Trade Ministry. This man is decidedly in the right place at the present moment. The greater power he has, the better it will be.

July 22—Three months we have passed here since I left Mogileff and came here, and we are prisoners. It is hard to be without news of dear mamma. All the rest is indifferent to me.

July 24—In the morning walked with Alexel. On my return learned of the arrival of Kerensky. In our conversation he mentioned our probable departure for the south on account of the proximity of Tsarskoe Selo to the disturbed capital. Olga's name day, therefore went to church. Worked well in the garden. Read the third part of the trilogy of Mereschkowsky's "Peter," (trilogy: Julian the Apostle, Leonardo da Vinci, and Peter.) Well written, but leaves a heavy impression behind.

July 27—Since the last few days bad news from the southwest front. After our defensive at Halisch many divisions which were completely soaked with the humiliating defeatist teaching did not carry out the command to attack, but withdrew without any pressure from the enemy at some positions. The Germans and Austrians have made use of this, for them, favorable state of affairs and carried out with great force a breakthrough in Southern Galicia, which may force the whole of the Galician front to retreat east. Simply weakness and doubt. Today at least the Provisional Government has declared that in the theatre of war capital punishment shall be restored for treachery. If only this measure has not come too late! Worked again, felled three trees, sawed up two. Began quietly to pack books and things.

The Pall Mall Gazette published the following conversation between Nicholas II. and Kerensky on the subject of the abolition of the death penalty in Russia:

One day at Tsarskoe Selo the Emperor remarked:

"Kerensky, you have committed a grave mistake."

"How?" asked the Socialist leader.

"That of having abolished the death penalty."

"But I did that especially with a view to saving you," replied Kerensky.

"You were wrong all the same," said the Czar. "I would willingly have given my life for Russia."

Commenting on the late Czar's diary, the Berlin Vorwärts said:

The Czar had carefully written down when he went walking and when he played dominos. When Rodzianko sent him a telegraphic communication over the situation with the supplementary demand to abdicate the throne, all the Czar had to remark at first was that the document was so fearfully long. Such

remarks, written down at headquarters in the days when the flames of the revolution were rising high, when it was a question of to be or not to be for Nicholas himself, for the dynasty and for the Czardom, show the pitiable insignificance of the man in whose hands lay the fate of millions of people and of the whole of

European culture. Even his fall cannot raise him to any greatness. The chief value of the diary is its meteorological character, for during thirty years almost every day the state of the weather has been noted. This pedantry also appears to us as a sign of extreme poverty of mind.

Strasbourg

By VICTOR GUSTAVE PLARR

I saw thee sombrely enthralled,
My Strasbourg, in Autumnal haze
The year ere War, and I recalled
Thy fame and inly sang thy praise.

I hardly dared to dream that thou
Wouldst ever face the Dawn again,
I marked the sorrow on thy brow,
Thy silence, and thy ordered pain.

* * * * *

Oh, do we dream as oft we did—
Watchers on visionary walls?
There's something quivers that was hid:
On the blue Vosges—a trumpet calls!

We tore the linen on the bed
Long since for flags to deck our doors:
Long since with vine-lees blue and red
We dyed our secret Tricolors.

Bring forth the dear flags hidden long,
Ring all ye bells for years misrung:
O Alsace, be one burst of song,
One nosegay to our Frenchmen flung!

Nay, practice now one last restraint,
Lest awful gladness drive us mad.
Keep slow our heart-beats lest we faint
And die through being over-glad.

O eyes, hold back your tears, and lips
Forbear to tremble O my God,
My blood beats like to lashing whips:
They tread where late the Prussian trod!

As, after death, a bridegroom might
Meet his dead bride among the blessed,
With indescribable delight
And awed timidity possess,

The City thrills, beholding where
The first file of deliverers comes
With clarion-blast that rends the air
And thunder of immortal drums.

Then bursts into a rhythmic flow
Freedom's tremendous lay of lays,
First sung in Strasbourg long ago—
The Marseillaise, the Marseillaise!

Hearts are too full for tongues to cry
Mark, where th' old exquisite minster soars,
Amid the hush, remote, on high,
Seen thro' glad tears, the Tricolors!

Campaign of the Caliphs for Damascus

Story of the Desert Fighting From Mecca to Damascus Under the King of the Hedjaz

This picturesque chapter of war history, as full of wonder and romance as the Arabian Nights, was written by a correspondent of The London Times, who was in touch with the Arabs throughout their campaign against the Turks. One of the leading figures, Sherif Feisul, is the third son of the Sherif of Mecca, whose successful revolt against Turkish domination helped General Allenby to crush the Turks in Palestine. The last campaign was fought in close co-operation with Allenby's forces.

SOON after he heard the news of the surrender of Kut by General Townshend, Hussein ibn Ali, Grand Sherif and Emir of Mecca, sent word to the British Government that he could no longer stand by and witness the continued subjection of the Arabs to the Turks. He asked for pay, arms, and food for his troops, and before they had been promised him broke out into rebellion against the Young Turk Party and their German masters.

The Sherifs of Mecca have long been de facto rulers of Mecca and its provinces, and the immense prestige of the family among the Arabs (Hussein ibn Ali is the senior descendant of Mohammed, and as such head of the Sherifs, the Prophet's family) carried all the Arabs of the Hedjaz with them in their revolt. They easily crushed the Turkish garrisons of Taif, Mecca, and Jedda, and opened up communication with the British fleet in the Red Sea, so that the arms and food they needed for the further extension of their rising might be brought to their coasts.

THE ATTACK ON MEDINA

At Medina, where Sherifs Feisul and Ali (third and eldest sons of the Sherif of Mecca) raised their father's flag on June 13, 1916, the eventful day of the Mecca revolt, events were less fortunate. The Turks had expected hostilities, and had brought down large forces from Syria to anticipate events. Feisul raised all the tribesmen and villagers about Medina and occupied the suburbs, but shrank from an attack on the Holy City itself. The Tomb of Mohammed makes Medina very sacred to all Moslems, and

especially to members of the Prophet's own family; and the Arabs were new to warfare, and had not got before them the example of the Turks, who shelled at Mecca the Kaaba, the centre of Moslem interest in things of this world. Whatever the cause, they lost their opportunity. They cut the railway to Syria, tearing up lengths of the metals with their bare hands and throwing them down the bank, (for they had no explosives,) but they refused to cut the precious water conduits or to clear their way by fighting through the streets. The Turks, encouraged by their inactivity, sallied out at dawn, surprised the garden suburb of Awali, massacred in it hundreds of women and children and burned the rest—putting machine guns at the gates and setting fire in many places to the flimsy houses.

Feisul dashed up with his Arab camel men to the rescue, but was in time only to harry the last files of the retreating Turks. The Arabs now clamored for an assault on the great citadel that stood without the walls, and when Feisul tried to hold them back plunged forward without him. The Turks had, however, a formidable armament collected there, and the Arabs had never before met artillery fire. The assaulting column swerved aside and took refuge in the broken lava slopes of a low hill outside the northeast angle of the town. The Turks saw their weakness and sent out an enveloping force to cut off and destroy them. Feisul, with the rest of the Arabs, a mile back on the flank, saw the danger of their fellows, and started out to help them.

A DARING LEADER

The Turks opened with all their guns from the town wall, covering the open ground with bursting shrapnel, and after their first losses the Arabs wavered and then took cover in the gardens. Feisul rode up to their front line on his horse, and called to them to follow him. Their chief refused, saying that it was death to cross the plain. Feisul laughed, and turning his horse forced it to walk through the Turkish fire till he had gained the shelter of the opposite gardens. Then he waved to the troops behind him, who charged across to him at a wild gallop, losing only about twenty men on the way.

The combined forces now engaged the sallying Turks, and a costly fight was maintained till dark, when Feisul found himself nearly without ammunition, and without reserves of men, food, or arms for the morrow. He had therefore to change all his plans, abandon hope of an immediate victory in the north, and instead endeavor to hold his disheartened army together till he could obtain new supplies from the coast, where Rabegh, half way to Mecca, had been promised him as a base.

The siege of Medina indeed made little progress after this, and the town still holds out and may continue to do so for long after the rest of the world is at peace. It has been cut off from Turkey for long enough, but so have the Turkish garrisons of Asir and Yemen. It is a holy city, so that the Arabs have never fired, and will never fire, a shot against it, (ideal conditions for a besieged army.) The Turks have deported every civilian, and scattered them, without record, or means, or hope of return, over all the Ottoman Empire. We found Medina refugees in Jerusalem, in Kerak, in Damascus. Some are in Konia, some in Angora, some in Constantinople itself; their only common touch today is destitution. Their gardens have fallen to the Turkish garrison, just as the jewels and splendid offerings of the Prophet's Tomb have fallen to the Turkish governors. The soldiers spend their days in husbandry, and at night withdraw to the sheltering walls of the town.

ARAB TACTICS

In the first days of the Arab revolt, however, things were not so easy nor so idyllic. The army in Medina was as strong as the Arab tribesmen outside, and was equipped with guns and machine guns and airplanes. As they collected transport, or received it from Syria by the now repaired railway, they pushed their lines further and further afield, and by seizing the only wells in the countryside began to make a menacing advance toward Rabegh, the key of Mecca in the military sense. Feisul flung himself into a tangle of difficult sandstone hills that flanked the Turkish advance, and while his brother Ali at Rabegh was striving to form the beginnings of a regular army, to add to the tribesmen that technical aid which alone could enable them to meet the Turks fairly in the field, Feisul set himself, with little bands of ravaging Bedouins on camels, to make impossible a serious advance of the Turks by raiding their lines of communication. It was risky work, since the Arab parties—because of difficulties of water supply—could not exceed ten or fifteen men, and these had to dash in on the main road, kill or carry off what they could, and regain their camels and escape before the garrison of the blockhouses could turn out. Only men who could leap into the camel saddle at the trot with one hand while carrying a rifle with the other were chosen for this service.

The Arabs' best efforts at defense proved insufficient, and Feisul saw that a change of plan was necessary if the Turks were to be prevented from regaining Mecca and crushing the Arab movement in its infancy. After consulting the British naval authorities in the Red Sea he determined that if they would support him to the utmost he would risk leaving the Mecca road undefended and carry his whole force away from Yenbo to attack Wejh, 200 miles further north along the Hedjaz coast. He argued that by boldly taking the offensive against the Turkish communications with Syria—and Wejh covered a vital section of the Hedjaz railway, the life-cord of the Turkish forces in Arabia—he would force them to divert a considerable force

to purely defensive purposes, and might so deceive them by his apparent careless confidence in the strength of Mecca as to persuade them to abandon their forward march against it.

To take his place Feisul called up his younger brother Zeid, and gave him what men he thought not worth taking away, so that Zeid might make a semblance of resistance in the hills, while he also asked his elder brother Abdulla, who had been blockading Medina on the east, to move across the railway, north of Medina, and appear to threaten the Turkish line of communication directly. Abdulla had actually no force capable of doing anything very serious, but he made a fine start by cutting up some mobile Turkish units, and left between the metals of the railway a letter to the Turkish Commander in Chief in Medina, telling him of all, and much more than all, of what he meant to do.

A FLANK MARCH

Feisul's own operation consisted of a flank march of 200 miles parallel to the Turkish front by an inferior fighting force, leaving behind it an open base and the only possible defense line of the Middle Hedjaz undefended. He embarked on the ships put at his disposal by the British senior navy officer, Red Sea, all his arms and stores from Yenbo before he left the place. He divided his 10,000 men into nine sections, to move independently to Um Lejj, a little coastal village half way, and ordered to concentrate there by Jan. 14, 1917. At Um Lejj he issued them with fresh supplies (obtained, as agreed, from the ships) and sent on board a landing party to be used in the actual attack on Wejh in co-operation with the navy. He had then to contemplate a march of 150 miles, without a single spring of water and only a few weak wells to suffice for what was, for the desert, an exceptionally large army. To aggravate things, there was little grazing for the camels, and the scarcity of baggage animals made it impossible to carry forage. The Bedouin, too, who guided us had no short unit of time, such as the hour, to inform us of distance, and no longer measure of

space than the span. They had no realization of numbers larger than ten, and could not tell us the roads, or the wells, or how much capacity they had. Intercommunication between Bedouin forces is always hindered because no man in the force can read or write. In the end, however, we got through on Jan. 25, without losing a man from hunger or thirst. We lost many camels, but all our mules survived the trip, thanks to a Royal Indian marine ship which put into an uncharted bay on the coast and supplied them with water in the middle of a dry march of seventy-five miles.

The actual business of Wejh was settled by the navy and the landing party before the main army came up. Feisul was in time only to cut off some of the escaping garrison and capture all their reserves of arms and equipment. The naval force had a quite difficult fight, but eventually carried their points without undue loss by making free use of water communication to outflank the Turkish positions and by the very vigorous support given by the ship's guns to the various landing parties. The Turks intrenched themselves in the town, and fought from street to street, while the Arabs cleared the houses both of Turks and of all movable property. The whole place was taken in thirty-six hours, and the navy set the seal on its work by taking up other Arab landing parties to Dhaba and Moweilah on Feb. 8 and Feb. 9, by the action of which the whole of the northern end of the Red Sea, up to the Gulf of Akaba, was cleared of the enemy.

ORGANIZING DESERT TRIBES

After the occupation of Wejh, the Arab operations had to take a new phase. The Turks who had been advancing on Mecca at once fell back on Medina, and began to defend their pilgrim railway seriously. This gave the Arab Sherif Feisul the time and leisure he so much needed to construct his army of regular troops. It need hardly be said that Arabia provided no recruitable population. The Bedouin is hostile to discipline and unfit for regular service; though on his own day, in his own coun-

try, and in his own style, he will dispose of many times his number of any troops that can be brought against him. Feisul's regular army was composed of peasantry from Syria and from Meso-potamia. In part, they came from their own districts secretly to him. Many

derful. From time immemorial the desert has been a confused and changing mass of blood feuds and tribal jealousies. Today there are no blood feuds among the Arabs from Damascus to Mecca; for the first time in the history of Arabia since the seventh century there is peace along all the pilgrim road.

While forming his army and developing his policy, Feisul kept the Turks busy by frequent railway raids. He cut the line in dozens of places, and did each time what damage he could. But the construction of the Hedjaz railway is primitive and there are no great bridges or elaborate constructions which can be destroyed to interrupt the line for a sensible period. His work had to be done and redone continually, and very heart-breaking work it was.

A FIGHTING SHEIK

By early May, however, Feisul's propaganda in the north was crowned with success, by the adhesion to him of Sheik Auda abu Tayi, the leading spirit of the Howeitat and the finest fighting man in the desert. He is over 50 now, but still tall and straight and as active as a young man. He prides himself on being the quintessence of everything Arab. His hospitality is sweeping, often crushing; his generosity has reduced him many times to poverty and swallowed the profits of a hundred successful raids. He has married twenty-eight times, been wounded thirteen times, and in his battles has seen all his tribesmen hurt and most of his relatives killed. His escape from wounds in the last eight years he ascribes to an amulet, (the rarest and richest in the world, in his judgment,) a complete copy of the Koran produced in photo-miniature by a Scotch firm. His private "kill" in single fight is seventy-five since 1900—Arabs, be it understood, for Truks are not entered in Auda's game book. Under his hands the Howeitat had become the finest fighting men in the desert, and he has seen Aleppo, Basra, and Mecca in his raids. He is as hard-headed as he is hot-headed, has extreme patience, and ignores advice and abuse with the most charming smile. He talks abundantly, in a voice like a waterfall,



SCENE OF THE FIGHTING IN ARABIA

were deserters from the Turkish Army, for the Turks when war broke out had pressed 150,000 Arab-speaking subjects into their army, and these men, when the Sherif revolted, all knew that the day of reckoning with their masters was approaching.

Besides the labor of forming a regular army, Sherif Feisul at Wejeh devoted himself day and night to securing desert power, to take the place of the British sea power that henceforward could serve him only indirectly. In this he succeeded, thus gaining a means of approach and a line of communication for all enterprises he desired against the cultivated land of Palestine and Syria as ready and inviolable almost as the sea has proved to Britain. It took him months to obtain the suffrages of all the tribes, and the expenditure of as much tact and diplomacy as would suffice for years of ordinary life. What he achieved, however, is little short of won-

of himself usually, and in the third person. His great pride is to tell tales against himself, or to tell in public fictitious but appalling stories of the private life of his host or guests.

Auda came to Wejh and swore allegiance to the Sherif in the picturesque Arab formula, on the book, and then sat down to dinner with Feisul. Half way through the meal he rose with an apology and withdrew from the tent. We heard a noise of hammering without, and saw Auda beating something between two great stones. When he came back he craved pardon of the Sherif for having inadvertently eaten his bread with Turkish teeth, and displayed the broken remains of his rather fine Damascus set in his hand. Unfortunately, he could hardly eat anything at all afterward and went very sorrowfully till in Akaba the High Commissioner sent him an Egyptian dentist, who refurnished his mouth.

THE MARCH TO AKABA

From Wejh on May 9 Feisul sent off a small expedition of camel men under Sherif Nasir to take Akaba, 300 miles further north. They marched through the Hedjaz hills, picking up a few adherents, across a dreadful lava field, which fountered their camels, over the Hedjaz railway in a thunder of dynamite explosions, into the pathless central desert of Arabia, where they wandered for weeks in great pain of heat and hunger and thirst, losing many of their party and disheartening more. When they did reach water it was only to lose three more of their few men from snakebite, for the Wadi Sirhan is venomous. However, at length they reached the Howeitat tents, and under the burden of the tribe's most insistent hospitality spent some uneasy days. They had now marched some 400 miles and were getting short of food. Some of the party rested here to gather recruits, while others went out north and west to trouble the Turks by feints upon the railways of Syria and confuse them as to what they meant. They destroyed a bridge near Homs and one near Deraa and blew up a train near Amman.

The Turks believed that they must

be in Wadi Sirhan, and concentrated their available cavalry about the Hauran and sent out all that could move into the desert after them. Nasir moved at once, south and west, and captured two stations near Katraneh. The Turks blew up the wells in the desert (Nasir had now learned to do with little water) and reinforced the threatened sector from Maan. This latter was, however, the area the Arabs really wanted, and a day later a section of the Howeitat, on June 30, wiped out the first Turkish post on the new motor road from Maan to Akaba, after the Turks had won a first success and had cut the throats of thirteen Arab women and children. News of their attack reached Maan, and the mass of the garrison there set out to relieve the post. That day Nasir occupied the railway near Maan and blew up a series of bridges and then threw himself between Maan and the Turkish relief column, which had reached its objective only to find the ground held by squadrons of wheeling vultures busy on their dead.

FIGHTING IN FURNACE HEAT

Throughout July 2 Nasir fought the Turks in a heat that made movement torture. The burning ground seared the skin off the forearms of our snipers, and the camels went as lame as the men with the agony of the sun-burned flints. The Turks were hemmed in to a gentle valley, with a large spring in the bottom. The Arabs were dry. They had rifles, and the Turks were hemmed into a gentle valley, kept up the fight till evening. At dusk Auda collected our fifty horsemen in a crooked valley about 300 yards from the Turks, and suddenly burst at them over a rise, galloping into the brown of them, shooting from the saddle as he came. The Turks broke in panic, as Turks often will, and after one wild burst of musketry scattered in all directions, while the rest of the Arab force dashed down the hillsides into the hollow as fast as their cantering camels could take them. In five minutes it had become a massacre. Some of the Turks got away in the gathering darkness, but the Arabs took and killed more than their own total numbers.

There were still four Turkish gar-

risons between Nasir and the sea. The nearest was overrun in half an hour; the next but one surrendered without a shot fired. The third was strongly placed, but the Arab leader announced that a sudden darkness at the third night hour would enable it to be rushed without loss—and the moon was good enough to be eclipsed that night. Fortified by such evident proof of ghostly alliance, the Arabs pressed on down the great road that the Turks had prepared for the invasion of Egypt. The fourth post fell back before our approach to the main position of Akaba, where the Howeitat tribesmen, before even we were near, clustered about them like hornets, sniping any head or body that showed and cutting off all egress.

FALL OF AKABA

They were six miles from the beach in the mouth of an immense ravine, impregnable from attack by the sea, as they knew, and we knew, but very open to a force taking them, as we were doing, unexpectedly from the east. When Nasir came up he tried to make them parley; the local Arabs fiercely refused. "They tore our men in four pieces between yoked mules, why should we spare them?" * * * but the Sherif after a day and a night of earnest work regained control of his men. He then, with only one companion, advanced into the open between the Arabs and the Turks, so that his men had perforce to hold their fire, and sent in a prisoner with the white flag to tell the Turks that all was up. Fortunately, the Turkish commander agreed, and the Arabs swept through his camp into the village of Akaba in a mad rush of joy.

Our position, when we first arrived in Akaba, was miserable. We had no food, and hundreds of prisoners. They ate our riding camels, (we killed them two a day,) caught fish, and tried to cook the green dates, till the messengers, who had been sent off hastily to Egypt across the Sinai Desert, could send help and food by sea. Unfortunately, the camels by now had done 1,000 miles in five weeks, and were all jaded, so that it took the men two days to get to Suez, where Admiral Wemyss at once ordered

a man-of-war at top speed to Akaba, with all the food that was to be found on the quays. That ship is gratefully remembered in the desert, for it saved 2,000 Arabs and 1,000 Turks from starvation.

THE WILDERNESS ROAD

Feisul came to Akaba in August, and once again his tactics and the color of the Arab movement had to change. The abandon of the early days, when each man had his camel and his little bag of flour and his rifle, was over. The force had to be organized and become responsible. No longer could Feisul throw himself into the thickest of the doubtful fight and by his magnetic leadership, and still more wonderful snap-shooting, turn the day in our favor. No longer could the Sherifs in glowing robes hurtle out in front of their men in heady camel charges and bring back spolia opima in their own hands. Even our wonderful Arab bodyguards—Central Arabia camel men—dressed in all the colors of the rainbow, only one degree less gorgeous than their camel trappings, had to be sacrificed. The Sherifian army now stood on the threshold of Syria, and its work was henceforward with the townsmen and the villagers—excellent people, but not the salt of the earth, as are the Arabs of the desert.

The desert was Feisul's; he had worked his miracle, and made the wilderness peace; but the wilderness was only our road, the means by which we could arrive at the cultivated places we wished to raze or occupy. Another sobering influence was the knowledge that we formed part of the army of General Allenby. Akaba was on his extreme right, and the Arab army formed his right wing. Our plans were only a part of his plans, instead of being joyous ventures of our own. The Arab Army, however unorthodox its elements, tried its best to fulfill the wishes of the Commander in Chief and to contribute its uttermost to his plans. In return he gave it the materials, the advice, the advisers, and the help it needed, and enabled Feisul to transform what had been a mob of Bedouin into a small but well-made force of all arms.

CO-OPERATING WITH ALLENBY

The new Arab Army—now the right wing of General Allenby's army—was tried before the end of October, 1917, when 500 men of it, with two mountain guns and four machine guns, holding a selected position on the heights around Petro—the "rose red city half as old as time," whose ruins made notable the Nabathæan hills—held them against four Turkish infantry battalions, a cavalry regiment, half a mounted infantry regiment, six mountain guns, four field guns, and two machine-gun companies. The Turks attacked in three columns, drove back the Arabs at one point, and captured one mountain gun, but were counterattacked and driven in flight back across the plain. The Arab losses were heavy, but they retook the lost gun.

The Arab regular army then fell back from the hilltops because of the heavy snowfall of 1917-18. The Turks also had to fall back to near the railway, and there was only fighting of the Bedouin till Spring, when the Arab main army attacked Maan, between April 13 and 17, as their share of the British Amman attack. This phase of the operations has been dealt with by General Allenby in his last dispatch in full detail.

The Winter was, however, not uneventful for us, since Feisul tried, by means of the local tribes and peasantry, to share in the British descent to the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley. Sherif Nasir again led the forlorn hope, and again Auda abu Tayi joined us. There came also some of the Beni Sakhr clan from Moab. The force moved about the desert east of Maan, uneasily for a time, and then suddenly, in the first days of January, made an attack on the third railway station north of Maan, called Jurf. The Turks held the station buildings strongly and a covering knoll above it; but Nasir had with him a little mountain gun which knocked out the first Turkish gun, and so encouraged the Bedouin that they got on their camels and again repeated the camel charge that had won us the fight for Akaba. Bullets have little immediate effect on a camel that is going at twenty-five miles an hour, and before the Turks could do any-

thing the Arabs were over the trenches and among the station buildings. The survivors of the garrison, some 200 in number, surrendered at discretion.

CAVALRY WIN A SEA FIGHT

From Jurf Nasir marched to Tafileh and summoned it to surrender. The Turkish garrison of 100 laughed at us; but Auda galloped up under their bullets to the east end of the town, where the market opens on to a little green place, and in his voice, which at its loudest carries above all the tumult of a mêlée, called on the dogs of villagers to hand over their Turks. All the Arab world knows Auda, and while they regard him as a most trying friend, love him as a national monument; so without more ado they surrendered themselves and their Turkish garrison.

Tafileh is a village of about 6,000 inhabitants, and we looked, with the reinforcement of its men, to do great things. As a beginning our horse, with the help of Abu Irgeig and the Arabs of Beer-sheba, charged one night up the east bank of the Dead Sea from its south end, flying through the defiles between the hills and the lake and over the Turk patrols before they could give warning, till at dawn they passed over the roof of the flat promontory called the Lissan and came gently through the bushes till they were within easy shot of the little harbor where half the Turkish Dead Sea fleet was moored by cables to the shore. The crews were on shore breakfasting, and the Arabs, by a swift cavalry charge, were able to capture the Turkish fleet with its crews, sink the ships, and get the officers and sailors away with them before the garrison on the bluffs above had realized that irregularities were being committed. The "fleet" were of course only motor launches and fishing vessels; but there are few sea forces that have been captured by cavalry, and the disgust of the two very smart naval officers we took gave us great comfort.

FIGHTING AT TAFILEH

Meanwhile the Turks of Damascus had become alarmed at the Arab progress, and had sent down their G. O. C. Am-

man with a composite regiment of infantry, some cavalry, and two mountain howitzers to turn us out of Tafileh. He came along delicately, laying his telephone lines and making his roads, and with him were the new civil staff for Tafileh and the equipment of the new Post Office there. We got in touch with him on Jan. 24, 1918, and found him unpleasantly strong. In fact, he pushed us nearly out of Tafileh that night. The flashes of the Turkish rifles at the crest of the great gorge in which Tafileh lies were very visible, and there ensued a great panic in the town. All the women screamed with terror, and threw their household goods and children out of their houses into the streets, through which came plunging mounted Arabs, shooting busily at nothing in particular.

At dawn, however, we were still in the place, and were able to send up a few men with two automatic rifles to assist the peasantry. This improved things, but was obviously insufficient, and the fighting became very hot, with a good deal of shelling by the Turks and huge bursts of machine-gun fire from their twenty-seven machine guns. A shell knocked out one of our automatic rifles, and the other finished its ammunition. So we chose out a second position about two miles in the rear of the flint ridge we were actually holding, and sent back to collect all the men we could upon it.

As soon as they began to appear we sent back the thirty peasants (on foot) who were helping us in the forward position, and held it for another fifteen minutes only by thirty Howeitat horsemen. By then things had become quite impossible, with the air thick with bullets, and reply from our side nearly out of the question, so the horsemen mounted again and scampered back to the reserve line. The Turks occupied our old ridge a few minutes later, and were obviously astonished to see the second line in front of them, with a mob of men walking about on top of it. We had now about 300 men, and showed them all we could.

Shortly afterward Sherif Zeid joined us, with one mountain gun, four machine guns, and seven automatic rifles; also about 200 more men. We sent the Arab

horse away to the Turkish left to turn their distant flank, and a peasant force, with some automatics, to turn their right flank. Meanwhile in the centre we demonstrated, and fired our mountain gun, and carried out some astonishing tactics, till the outflanking parties were in position. We then attacked boldly across the hollow between the two ridges direct at the Turkish centre. As we were only about half their strength, this amused them so much that they did not notice our outlying parties till they opened fire and shot down all the Turkish machine gunners. At the same moment we charged (camels, horses, and men pell-mell) and carried their main position with its fifteen Maxims before sunset. The peasantry from miles round were rallying to us, and met the broken Turks falling back before our men, who were tired out and very hungry, since we had been fighting for thirty hours. The local people therefore relieved us of the duty of pursuit, and filled our place so satisfactorily that only about eighty of the Turks got away, and they lost the whole of their animals, carts, guns, and machine guns.

A HARD WINTER

After this affair we were in good spirits, and foresaw ourselves meeting the British shortly at Jericho. However, things went wrong. It was partly the reaction after a great effort, partly the stimulus we had given to the Turks, partly the awful weather—for just after the end of January the Winter broke for good, and we had days of drenching rain, which made the level ground one vast mud slide, on which neither man nor camel could pass. When this cleared we had snow, and snow, and snow. The hills round Tafileh are 5,000 feet high, and open on the east to all the winds that Arabia can send, and conditions soon became impossible.

Snow lay on the ground for three weeks. If the camels were strong and fit they would march for one day or two days through a coating six inches thick; but in all the hollows were drifts a yard deep, and at these our unfortunate men had to dismount and dig a way through with their bare hands. The Bedouin had

never remained in these hills for Winter before, and gradually quit them this year also. It increased one's misery to see below one, in Wadi Arabah, the level land of the Dead Sea depression flooded with sunlight and to know that down there was long grass sown with flowers and the fresh milk and comfort of Spring in the desert. The Arabs wear only a cotton shirt and a woolen cloak, Winter and Summer, and were altogether unfitted for weather like this; very many of them died of the cold.

One curious incident was when a party of 150 Arabs went out to raid the railway near Maan. They marched from Akaba, with its sweltering heat, for sixty miles and halted for the night. Next morning they climbed the escarpment, which looked, they said, like a negro with a white skull cap on, and marched through powdery snow till dark, which proved windy and with faint attempts at a blizzard. They then camped in a three-foot watercourse, barracking their camels for protection against the wall of the gulley to save them from the pitiless wind. They themselves lay down on the other side of the gulley and slept. It was a bitter night, and no one was lively enough to get up and look about him, as it snowed gently, and every one shivered all the time with the cold. At dawn, however, they found the side of the gulley where the camels were one smooth drift of snow, out of which, like dark islands, were sticking the humps and saddles of their beasts. They set to, with the large iron spoons in which coffee beans are roasted, and dug out many of them—but all except three were dead! The jest was our marching home those long miles barefooted and laden with all our baggage, while the local attempts at a blizzard became more and more realistic.

On another occasion Sherif Feisul sent out a party of thirty-four camel riders to carry money to his brother in Tafileh, eighty miles away—and four days afterward one solitary rider, the only one of the party, struggled in. After this we all gave up touring the hills of either Edom or Moab in Winter.

For many months whenever there was no operation in hand some one on the

Arab front (which was 400 miles long, and was held by some 40,000 Arabs) would say, "Let us undertake a railway raid," and something more or less exciting would happen. Unquestionably the greatest game of all railway work is blowing up trains. Once in September, 1917, an Arab party marched out of Akaba with explosives to Rum, a spring in the most wonderful red sandstone cliffs that look too regular to be natural and are yet far too overwhelming to be artificial. It is like an immense empty triumphal road, waiting for a procession or review greater than the world can bring it. At Rum we collected a raiding party of Howeitat. Though the very pick of the fighting men of Arabia, they were the most cranky, quarrelsome collection imaginable. In six days there had to be settled fourteen private feuds, twelve assaults with weapons, four camel thefts, one marriage portion, two evil eyes, and bewitchment. It took longer than making out company returns in triplicate.

We reached the line, and wandered up and down it, by day and night, keeping hidden till we found a place that pleased us, and there we laid an electric mine. The line crossed a valley on a high bank 500 yards long, pierced by three small bridges about 200 yards from each other. We laid the mine over the southernmost, connected it electrically with the firing mechanism under the middle one, and arranged for two Lewis guns to take position under the northernmost one. From this northern bridge ran up a long transverse gulley westward. It was about two feet deep and sprinkled with broom bushes, behind which the men (on foot) and the Lewis guns hid till wanted.

On the first day no train came; on the second a water train and a line patrol together. On the third, about 8 A. M., a train of twelve wagons came down from Maan and passed slowly over the embankment. The Bedouin were all lying behind their bushes, the Lewis gunners were under their arch, and the firing party under theirs, dancing a wild war-dance as the train rumbled over their heads. One man was left right out in the open to give the signal to the firing party when to fire the mine; he looked

a harmless enough Arab, and the officers in the train amused themselves by firing at him with their pistols. As soon, however, as the locomotive was over the mine he jumped up and waved his cloak, and instantly there was a shattering roar, a huge cloud of smoke and dust, the clanking of iron and the crushing of woodwork, and the whirring noise of the fragments of steel from the explosion sailing through the air.

CHARGING THE WRECK

Till the smoke cleared there was dead silence, and then the two Lewis guns which had come out to right and left at the edges of their abutments raked the troops as they leaped out of the derailed trucks. The Bedouin opened a rapid fire also, and in six minutes the affair was over, as the Arabs charged home on the wreck. We found that we had more prisoners than we wanted, some seventy tons of foodstuffs, and many little things like carpets and military stores. The Bedouin plundered at lightning speed, while we signed the duplicate way-bills and returned one copy to the

wounded guard, whom we meant to leave in place. Then we fired the trucks and drove off our now overladen camels before the relief parties of Turks, who were hurrying up from north and south, could cut us off.

Raids did not always go so well, but many of them were very damaging to the Turk. Thus it took him months to repair the break in the line made by Sherif Nasir in one raid about seventy miles north of Maan on May 18, 1918. All his operations in the Maan area were delayed until General Allenby was ready to take the offensive in the Autumn. Sheik Auda did a good thing during that fighting, for the Turks sent down the last survivors of their last company of camel corps. They penned their camels in a yard of the station while they fought. Auda could not resist the temptation to loot, and dashed in on his mare with twelve of his tribe; and for the loss of one man and two horses they brought out the whole twenty-five riding camels from within 100 yards of the Turkish machine gun. It was a very wonderful sight.

The Liberators of the World

By MAURICE MAETERLINCK

America understood that the issue at stake was not only a matter of elementary justice and pity, but that it was still more a question of high duty toward the eternal conscience and morals of mankind. Thanks to her intervention, it will not be declared and taught to our children hereafter that honesty, loyalty, and heroism are only dangerous lies and the stock-in-trade of dupes; that wrong, always and everywhere, is right if it has might to sustain it; and that the only reward permissible here below for duty magnificently performed is a sum total of sufferings, disasters, and death by hunger. An example of iniquity on so immense and triumphant a scale would have dealt a blow to human ideals from which they could not have recovered in centuries. You Americans have not allowed that blow to be dealt, and the future, which belongs to you more than to any other, will never forget it.



Latin America in the War

By BENITO JAVIER PEREZ-VERDIA

MEMBER OF THE MEXICAN BAR

EIGHT of the twenty Latin-American nations—Brazil, Cuba, Panama, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Haiti, and Honduras—declared war on Germany, the last five having entered the struggle after April, 1918. Four republics severed diplomatic relations with the German Empire—Bolivia, Peru, Uruguay, and Ecuador. El Salvador declared a benevolent neutrality toward the United States, which was understood to be more than a paper declaration, since it entailed the use of Salvadorean ports by United States warships and those of the Allies, regardless of the restrictions as to the length of stay of warships in neutral ports, set by international law.

Six Latin-American nations—Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay, and Venezuela—remained neutral. This neutrality in no way implied hostility to the policy of the United States; it meant that, as they had not suffered any direct grievance at the hands of Germany, their national interests received preference over every other political consideration. Thus in the case of Argentina, it meant that, as she filed her protest when the German submarines illegally sank the Argentine sailing ships *Monte Protégido* and *Oriana* and the steamer *Toro*, she succeeded in wresting from the German Government a promise to respect Argentine shipping and to pay an indemnity for all damages growing from the illegal acts.

Not all the Latin-American nations were treated alike by Germany. When the German Empire, on Jan. 31, 1917, instituted its submarine blockade of the British, French, and Italian shores, several Latin-American nations followed the lead of the United States and entered a strong protest against such a violation of international law. These nations were Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, Haiti, Honduras, Guatemala, Peru, and Uruguay. While the protests of Brazil and Uruguay fol-

lowed the normal course of such diplomatic communications, the Guatemalan protest and others from small nations were received with the greatest contempt. Accordingly, the Government of Guatemala, in a decree dated April 27, 1917, stated that "as the German Government has not had even the courtesy to acknowledge the receipt of Guatemala's protest against the submarine blockade, either directly or through her representative in Guatemala, the only becoming action in the circumstances is the severance of diplomatic relations."

Haiti protested on May 11, 1917, against the submarine blockade, holding Germany responsible for the lives and interests of Haitian subjects traveling on the high seas. When several natives of Haiti lost their lives on the *Karnak* and *Montreal* the proper representations were made. Germany in reply handed the *Chargé d'Affaires* of Haiti his passports, thus compelling Haiti in turn to dismiss the German *Chargé d'Affaires* in June, 1917.

CUBA AND PANAMA

Of the Latin-American nations which declared war on Germany, Cuba and Panama were the first to throw themselves into the world conflict—on April 7, 1917, that is to say, the day following the beginning of hostilities between the United States and Germany. President Menocal, in his message to the Cuban Congress, reviewed the causes which had brought about the state of war between the United States and Germany, and dwelt upon Germany's continuous violations of international law and of the rights of neutrals. The late President of Panama, in addition to the proclamation dated April 9, 1917, sent a friendly message to President Wilson following the declaration of a state of war between the United States and Germany. Panama on Dec. 10 and Cuba on Dec. 16, 1917, declared war on Austria-Hungary,

thus identifying themselves with the policy followed by the United States in regard to the Central Empires.

BRAZIL'S ACTION

As a result of the sinking of the steamer Parana by a German submarine without warning on the night of April 3, 1917, off Point Barfleur, with attendant loss of life, the Brazilian Government broke off diplomatic relations with Germany on April 11. Notwithstanding its declaration of neutrality on April 25, this status was maintained only a short time. The Brazilian Ambassador in Washington, in his note of June 4, 1917, to the Department of State, announced the passage of the law which revoked Brazil's neutrality in the war between the United States of America and the German Empire. The Republic thus recognized the fact that one of the belligerents was a constituent portion of the American Continent, adding: "We are bound to that 'belligerent by traditional friendship 'and the same devotion to the defense 'of the vital interests of America and 'the accepted principles of law. Brazil '* * * could not longer stand un-'concerned when the struggle involved 'the United States, actuated by no self-'interest whatever, but solely by a love 'of international judicial order, and 'when Germany included us and the 'other neutral powers in the most vio-'lent acts of war." Finally, on Oct. 26, the Brazilian Congress proclaimed the existence of a state of war between Brazil and Germany.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Guatemala entered the war on April 21, 1918, when, through a decree of her Legislative Assembly, it was resolved that "Guatemala assumes in the present 'international conflict the same bellig-'erent attitude as the United States 'against the German Empire." Nicaragua declared war against Germany, as well as against Austria-Hungary, "mak-'ing common cause with the United 'States of America and with the Latin-'American republics which are at war 'with the said Imperial Governments," and Costa Rica, which had suffered the effects of a revolution either encouraged

or promoted by Germans residing in that country, broke off diplomatic relations on Sept. 21, 1917, and on May 24, 1918, declared war on the German Empire. She was thus the third Central American republic to assume a belligerent attitude.

On July 19, 1918, Honduras declared war on Germany according to the following decree:

Considering that the motives which originated the severing of the diplomatic relations of this republic with the German Empire have become accentuated, being characterized every day by greater gravity for the international life of all peoples;

Considering that continental solidarity imposes upon the States of America the duty to contribute each according to the measure of its abilities toward the triumph of the cause of civilization and of right, which, with the allied nations, the United States of America defends, and consequently demands a definite attitude in the present conflict of the world;

Therefore, in council of Ministers, it is decreed:

That there exists a state of war between the Republic of Honduras and the Government of the German Empire.

The Government of Haiti declared war on Germany on July 12, 1918. The President, in a proclamation on the same date, said: "The small nations have in their 'international life a sole force—Right—'which is the guarantee of their ex-'istence. * * * Germany, the for-'midable military power fighting 'against the nations, has declared her-'self in open rebellion against Right. 'Our place, therefore, is among the peo-'ples which are fighting her, and which 'are fighting her with such heroism, 'supported by our powerful and natural 'ally, the United States."

PERU

The Peruvian bark Lorton was sent to the bottom on Feb. 4, 1917, while on her way from Callao to Bilbao with a cargo of nitrates; the sinking took place in Spanish territorial waters, completely outside the submarine zone decreed by Germany. Germany stubbornly asserted her right to submit the case to a German prize court, a proposition emphatically rejected by Peru. The unyielding attitude of Germany brought on a diplomatic rupture, although the Argentine

claims in the cases of the Monte Protegido Oriana, and Toro had been recognized in full. This is a striking case of the discrepancy of German standards in her dealings with neutral countries. Attention must be called, however, to a very important difference in these cases in favor of Peru, as the destination of the Lorton was a neutral port, while the Argentine ships were bound to a belligerent port.

The President of Peru, in his message to the Peruvian Congress on July 28, 1917, indorsed the principles set forth in President Wilson's war message, saying:

Peru, which in all her acts of international life has endeavored to incorporate these principles of justice in the judicial and political relations of the American peoples; Peru, which in a war not far back sacrificed for these ideals the blood of her sons, her wealth, and her hopes for the future, cannot be indifferent to the words of President Wilson, and adheres, once more, to these noble purposes.

ARGENTINA'S ATTITUDE

If Argentina did not sever her diplomatic relations with the German Empire, as did Peru on Oct. 6, 1917, it was because Germany had granted all her claims, besides making the solemn promise to respect Argentine shipping in an even more ample manner than that of the Sussex. It was during these diplomatic negotiations that Count Luxburg sent his notorious messages to his Government through the Swedish Legation at Buenos Aires, recommending the sinking of Argentine vessels without leaving any trace, "spurlos versenkt," as he said, in a phrase which has found its place in the history of diplomacy.

The Argentine Government, two days after the publication of the messages, dismissed this unscrupulous diplomat, and Germany hastened officially to disapprove the utterances of her representative. The indignation which spread over Argentina was so high that popular demonstration against Germany acquired a threatening character, and the House of Representatives and the Senate passed a resolution urging the immediate severance of diplomatic relations with the German Empire. The resolution passed by the Senate on Sept. 19, 1917, read as follows:

The Argentine Senate is deeply affected by the conduct of the ex-Minister of the German Empire, Count Luxburg, in the matter of the telegrams transmitted to the German Foreign Office through the Swedish Legation in this capital and published by the Department of State of the United States of America; it believes that such conduct is an offense against diplomatic morals and the most elementary principles of humanity as contained in our laws, against the traditional policy of loyalty, honesty, and justice of the Argentine Republic, and against the right of free navigation of vessels carrying her neutral flag in the present war; it is firmly convinced that such acts may jeopardize the immunity of her flag, the lives of her nationals, and the neutrality of the republic as well as her territorial sovereignty, in exercising within her jurisdiction acts of espionage to the detriment of the commerce of the republic and that of the belligerent nations which are friendly to her. It believes, furthermore, that the attitude to be adopted by the Government in this emergency must foster the uninterrupted fraternal friendship which has united at all times the States of this continent, upon the basis of common democratic ideals and of international justice. The order of expulsion against the above-mentioned Minister from the territory of the nation is not, in its judgment, sufficient reparation for the seriousness of the offense and wrongs committed. The Senate of the nation accordingly decrees: That the proper step to be taken in the present circumstances is that the Executive Power sever diplomatic relations with the Imperial Government of Germany.

In the course of diplomatic negotiations on the sinking of the steamer Toro an Argentine doctrine was proclaimed regarding the immunity of national products which, in the words of the Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs, are "the fruit of the efforts of the nation in its vital work, not to satisfy war requirements, but to meet the normal needs of humanity." This doctrine awaits the careful consideration of internationalists and Governments before being definitely accepted or rejected. It is unquestionably a step forward which would insure a victory for neutral rights over the unrestricted ambitions of belligerents. Its adoption would be a veritable conquest in international law—one of those conquests which have been ignored by Germany.

The Argentine doctrine of immunity of national products was not, how-

ever, the sole international doctrine proclaimed by the Latin-American countries in the course of the war. Uruguay, which proved itself to be one of the most zealous champions of international order, in a decree of June 18, 1917, revoking its neutrality, advanced a principle of American solidarity which goes far beyond any Pan-American doctrine heretofore announced. In this decree Uruguay established a precedent which may rank close to the Monroe Doctrine in importance. It is no longer the United States alone which, in the rôle of big sister, stands as the champion of the American continents against possible European aggression. It is now Uruguay—a small country of 85,000 square miles and of 1,500,000 inhabitants—which fearlessly declares that any American nation which fights in defense of its rights against a power of another continent shall find an ally in Uruguay. Complementing these statements, which mark a departure in American diplomacy, the Executive of Uruguay expressed in his message to Congress, Oct. 6, 1917, an earnest indorsement of the ideas of President Wilson on a League of Nations.

ECUADOR AND OTHERS

The President of Ecuador, in his message to the Congress, dated Aug. 10, 1918, made the following comment about the severance of diplomatic relations:

In December last we broke off diplomatic relations with the German Empire. In the sessions of 1917 the Congress had been already informed of our refusal to receive the German Minister, Mr. Pearl, a refusal which implied, of course, the suspension of our diplomatic intercourse with Germany. The attitude of Mr. Müller and our duty to follow a course which should express our solidarity to many countries of America, which have already adopted a similar method or have gone even further in their expressions of international policy, have seemed to us sufficient reason to justify Ecuador, which is a democratic country with liberal institutions, in adopting such a course.

And the President of Venezuela in his message of May 3, 1917, announced the policy to be adhered to by his country as follows:

Up to the present there has been no act of German submarines by which Vene-

zuela has been directly affected, and therefore it has not been involved in the complications which have drawn the United States into war with the German Empire. Notwithstanding this, Venezuela, in consequence of her respectful assertion of all her rights, reserves the right to defend the lives and the properties of her nationals. She follows the course of events with natural interest and is identified with the principle in defense of which the United States has entered the war, with the traditional friendship which has united us to that nation, and with those general interests that the republics of this continent enjoy in common.

This attitude, which was that observed by the rest of the neutral countries, was likewise proclaimed by the President of Chile on June 1, 1917, and reaffirmed on June 1, 1918. On both occasions the Chilean President took advantage of the opportunity of addressing the Congress to state that Chile had reserved to herself the right of taking the necessary steps in the event of any breach of the rules of international law affecting her.

Bolivia was the first Latin-American nation to break off diplomatic relations with Germany—on April 10, 1917. The Bolivian protest against the submarine warfare as conducted by Germany was couched in very strong terms, and the Department of Foreign Relations of Bolivia sought to unify Latin-American action to enforce the rules of international law. The Bolivian President in his message to the Congress, on Aug. 6, 1917, fully indorsed the stand taken by President Wilson in defense of the principles of humanity and justice.

Paraguay showed her friendship toward the United States, stating her regret "that military operations of the German Empire, opposed to the principles and conventions on which the rights of neutrals are founded and regulated in maritime warfare, have forced the United States of America to appeal to arms in order to re-establish the rule of law by the recovery of these rights," and declaring also that "Paraguay and its Government in these moments regard the course of the United States of America and the American Government with the most lively sympathy."

On Oct. 17, 1917, the Colombian Con-

gress passed a resolution protesting against the submarine campaign and expressing the opinion that submarines should not be admitted in Colombian ports. The resolution was worded as follows:

Whereas, The use of submarines against all kinds of merchant vessels, whether neutral or belligerent, without any discrimination, is a practice contrary to international law and so qualified not only by the Government of Colombia, but by other neutral Governments: Now, therefore, the Senate of Colombia protests against the aforesaid practice.

It is of the opinion that the submarines of the nations which use them as above described should not receive the same treatment as warships which follow the rules of international law. The Senate of the republic, therefore, believes that they should not be admitted into the ports and other jurisdictional waters of the republic, and that the nation should observe regarding these vessels the same conduct observed at the present time by other neutral Governments; such conduct is based on a sense of prudence and international safety.

MEXICO'S NEUTRALITY

The President of Mexico, on the occasion of the presentation of the credentials of the Belgian Minister in March, 1918, dwelt on the sacrifices of Belgium as follows:

It is a great pleasure for me to declare to your Excellency on this solemn occasion that Belgium, in taking up arms in defense of her neutrality, her honor, and her independence, has fulfilled the most heroic act of modern times to the glory

and example of weak nations. Countries which are not ready to shed the last drop of blood in defense of their autonomy and their institutions have no right to be counted in the concert of free nations, and those which do not measure dangers or curtail sacrifices to preserve them, although they may be defeated and chained, may rest assured of the advent of the bright day of their liberty, because they are worthy of it, because they live for it, and were born to enjoy it.

It is true that in the case of Mexico there was some friction, caused mainly by German propaganda, which in Mexico especially was secretly at work to create a feeling of hostility and distrust between the two countries. A sample of this hostile effort was the famous Zimmermann note. No other country in America, however, had better reasons for remaining neutral than Mexico, without committing thereby any act of hostility to the interests of the United States. Mexico needed her neutrality to heal her own wounds, to repair the immense losses in blood and treasure due to her recent civil strife; to prepare effectively to undertake the tremendous work of reconstruction which is required to bring the country prosperity through a sound development of her inexhaustible resources. In attaining these ends, the stirring declarations of President Wilson to a group of Mexican newspaper men on June 7, 1919, were naturally a powerful factor for the betterment of international relations between Mexico and the United States.

New Year's Day, 1919

[FROM A POEM BY LIEUTENANT GRANTLAND RICE]

Today no storming vanguard leaps
To leave its share of slain;
At dawn no rolling thunder sweeps
From Flanders to Lorraine;
The white year breaks against the sky
Beyond the last red flare,
Save where ten million ghosts drift by
Who neither know nor care.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR

[American Cartoon]

Skimming It Off



—From the Newark Evening News

[English Cartoon]

In Honor of the British Navy



—From *London Punch*

To commemorate the surrender of the German fleet.

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Kaiser's Iron Tonic Fails



From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

GERMANIA: "No, Doctor, you can't help me any more."

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Before the Portals



—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich

"What are you doing here, youngster?"

"I am cold standing so long outside."

"I also. But I will soon warm you."

[Spanish Cartoon]

David and Goliath

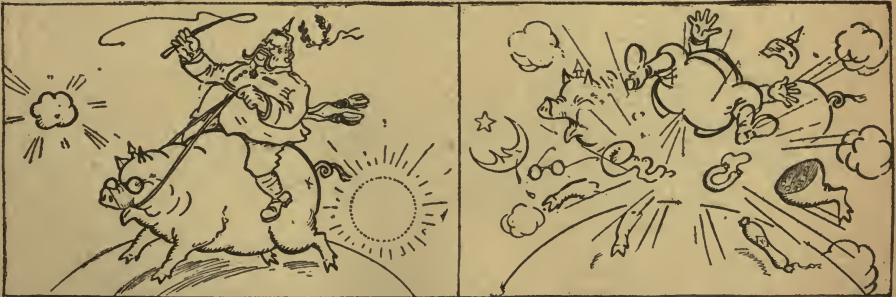


From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona

A Spanish artist's view of the Italian victory over Austria-Hungary.

[Spanish Cartoon]

The German Militarist Pig



—From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona

It inflated itself so much — — — — — that it burst.

[English Cartoon]

Applying the Armistice Terms



—From *The Passing Show*, London

FOCH: "I'd rather have wrung his neck."

A Pretty Good League



—*New York Herald*

The Day of Reckoning



—Baltimore Sun

"You would dance—you must pay the fiddler!"

Exhibit One--'At the Peace Conference



—Ohio State Journal

To Make It Seaworthy--- That's the Problem



—Portland Oregonian

[English Cartoon]

The Skipper Who Skipped



—From *London Opinion*

WILHELM THE SKIPPER: "I have piled my ship on the rocks, but I seem to have saved my own skin—for the present."

[English Cartoon]

Germania's Glad Eye



—From the Passing Show, London

CLEMENCEAU: "En Bien, Mon Cher President, if you knew the old Jezebel as well as we do, you wouldn't be deceived by her approaches, even though she has disguised herself in that Hat!"

In Case of Danger



—Detroit News

The Ghost of 1914



—Newark Evening News

Bury It!



—Cincinnati Post

Home With the Bacon



—Washington Times

[American Cartoons]

Back Again!



—From The New York Times

Lucifer



—New York World

For Distinguished Service



—New York Times

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Punishment They Would Get From the People



—From Esquella, Barcelona

[German Cartoon]

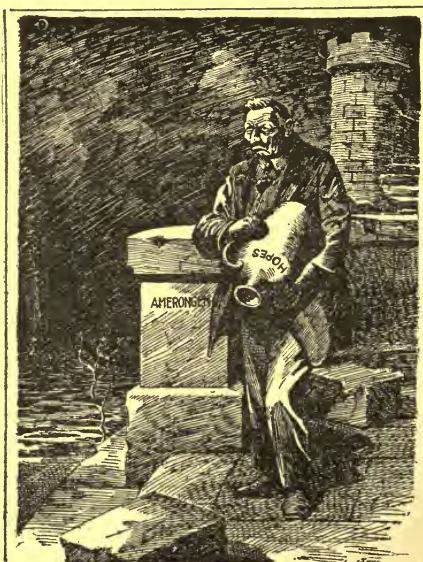
Out of Fashion



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

[American Cartoon]

The Outcast



—Dayton News

OLD BERLINER TO GERMANIA: "Ma-
dame, your headgear is out of date;
you'd better get a cap."

She Has His Seat



—St. Louis Republic

Now's the Time to Sign Him Up



—New York Tribune

Extra! Extra! France Surrenders!



—New York World

The Perilous Perch

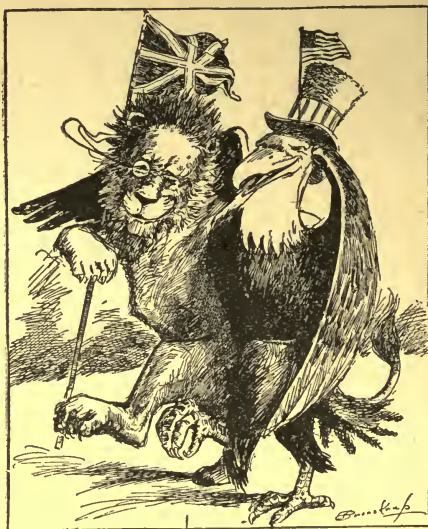


—St. Louis Globe-Democrat

Made in Germany



Pulling Together



New Version of an Old Song



Brooding



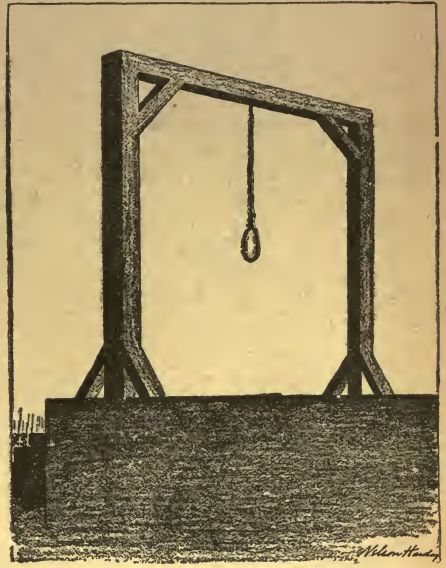
—From The San Francisco Chronicle

The "All Highest"



—Brooklyn Eagle

Proposed Arch for the Kaiser



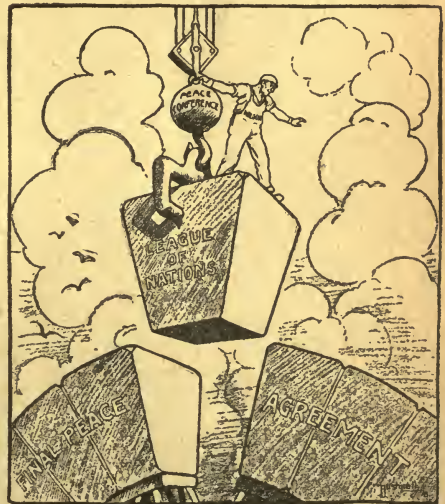
—Brooklyn Eagle

"Lest We Forget!"



—New York Herald

Laying the Keystone



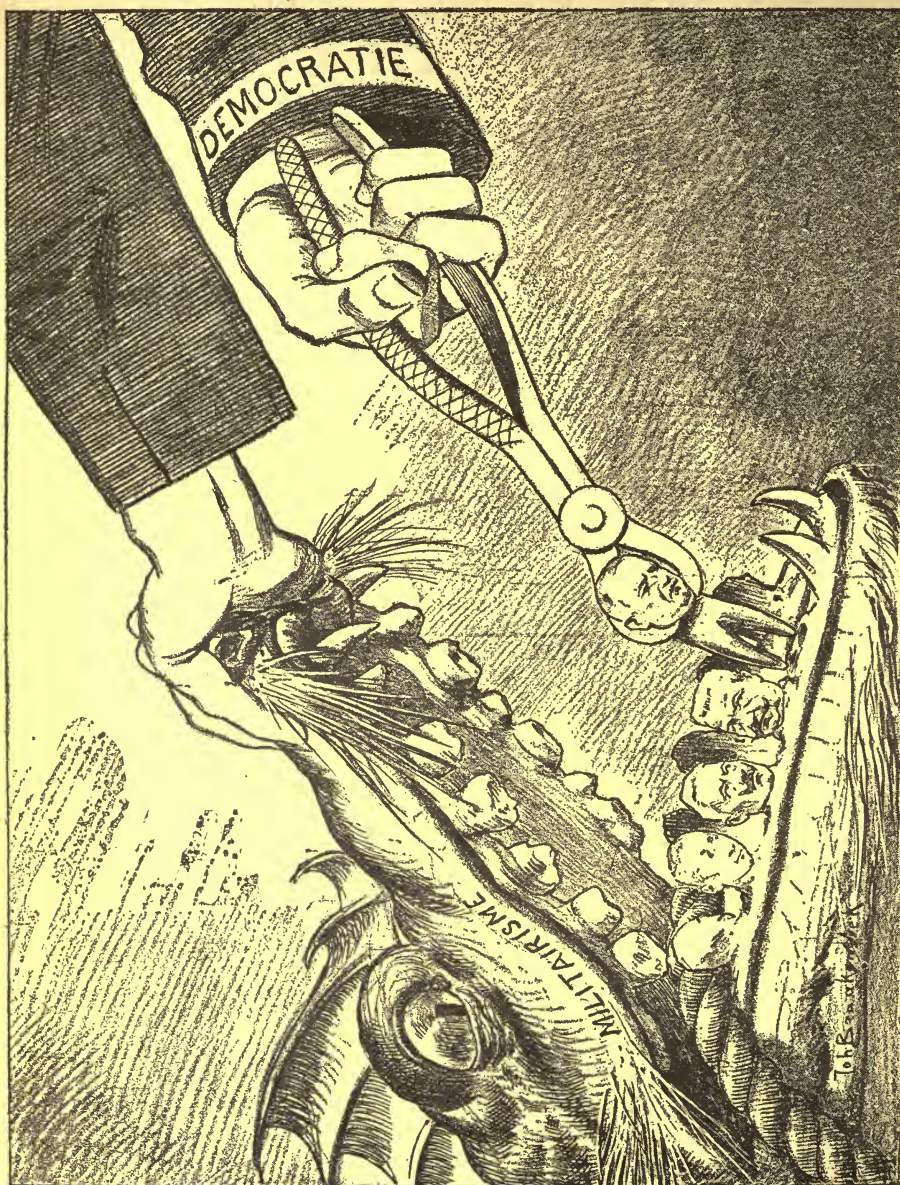
—Central Press Association

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Beginning of the End of Militarism

Democracy, the
Toothpuller,
Removing
Ludendorff.

—From
De Amsterdammer,
Amsterdam



[Norwegian Cartoon]
Cause and Effect



—Sondags Nisse, Stockholm

CRIPPLE: "If our rulers had not wooden heads, I should not have wooden legs!"

[German Cartoon]
Austria's Downfall



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

The German Cartoonist called Austria's defeat "One of History's Bad Jokes," adding, "The storm blew her down, but Italy claims the victory."

[Spanish Cartoon]
Hopeless



Esquella, Barcelona

"Whom are you seeking, Diogenes?"
"A pro-German."

[Italian Cartoon]
"The Devil a Saint Would Be"



—Il 420, Florence

[English Cartoon]

The Only Loophole Left



—From *John Bull*, London

[American Cartoon]

A Stanch Craft



—From *The New York Tribune*

"It'll take a bigger wave than that to wreck the old boat! Eh, Mate?"

[American Cartoon]

Frankenstein to Date



From *The Dayton News*

"Vait! Vait! Don't you know your master?"

MAJOR GEN. THOMAS H. BARRY



Gen. Barry Succeeded the Late Major Gen. J. Franklin Bell in
Command of the Department of the East
(© Western Newspaper Union)

WALKER D. HINES



Appointed Jan. 11, 1919, as Director General of Railroads,
Succeeding William G. McAdoo

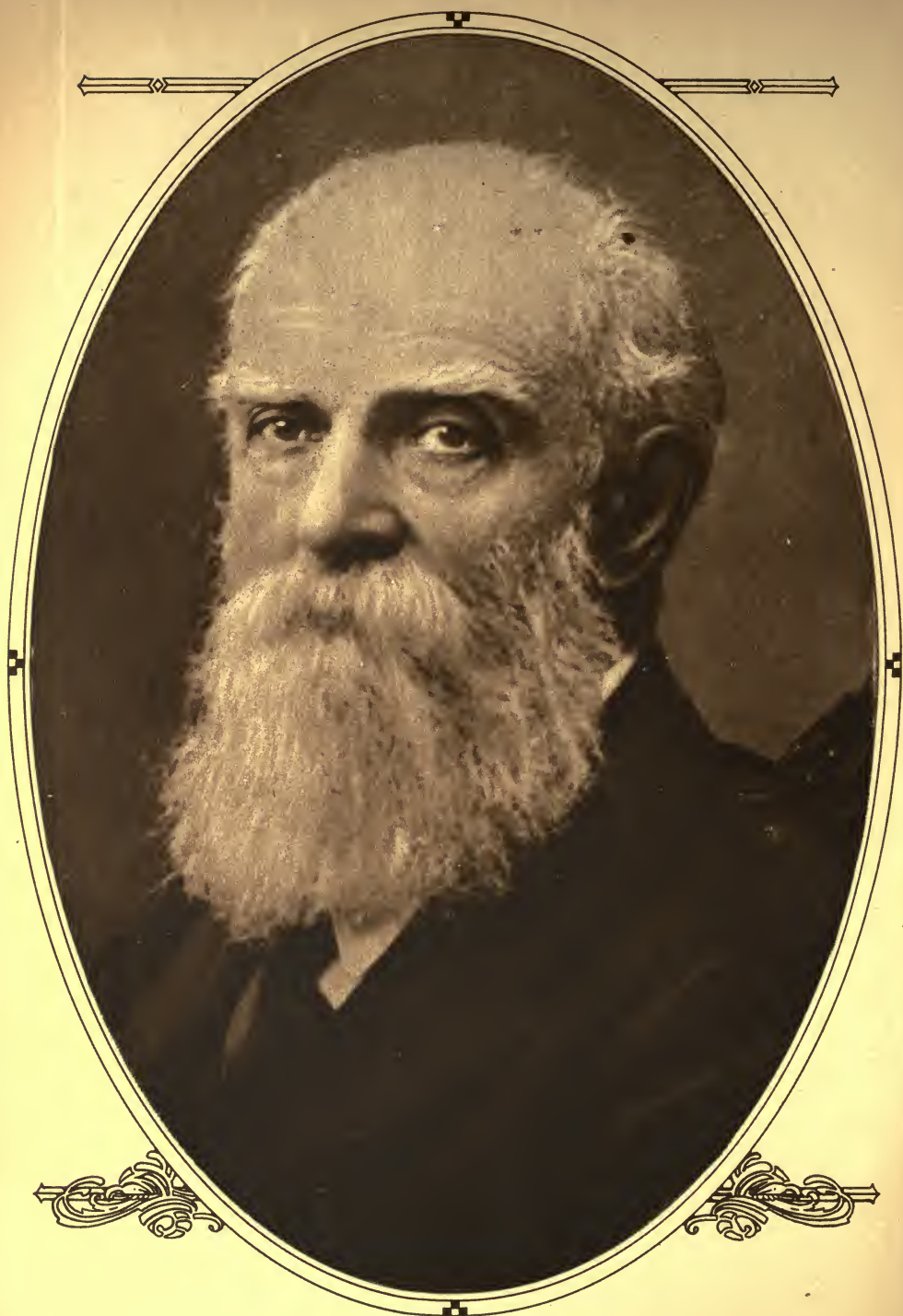
(© Harris & Ewing)

COUNT BROCKDORF-RANTZAU



German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Succeeding Dr. W. S. Solf

NICHOLAS TCHAIKOVSKY



Premier of the North Russian Government, Opposed to the
Bolshevist Régime

DR. KARL LIEBKNECHT



Leader of the Spartacan Revolt, Who Was Killed Jan. 15, 1919,
in the Berlin Riots

NEWSPAPER MEN AT PEACE CONFERENCE



George H. Perris
*British Correspondent at French
Front*



Philip Gibbs
*War Correspondent with British
Armies*



George Creel
*Chairman of Committee on Public
Information*



Ray Stannard Baker
*Official Reporter of Peace
Conference*

"THE WATCH ON THE RHINE"



American Sentry on Bridge at Coblenz, Germany, Opposite the
Famous Fortress of Ehrenbreitstein

(© Committee on Public Information from Underwood & Underwood)

WHERE THE PEACE CONFERENCE IS HELD



The Quai d'Orsay in Paris Houses the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and in One Salon of the Building the Peace Delegates Meet

(© Times Photo Service)

THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN SESSION



First Photograph to Reach This Country Showing the Peace Delegates Actually in Session. President Wilson Is at Left of Clock

(© Western Newspaper Union)



The President and Mrs. Wilson, Escorted by Gen. Pershing, Leaving the Town Hall of Chaumont, France, Headquarters of American Expeditionary Forces

(© Times Photo Service)

TRIUMPHANT FRENCH ENTRY INTO STRASBOURG



President Poincaré, Premier Clemenceau, and French Officers at Strasbourg During the Celebration of the Return of Alsace-Lorraine Described Elsewhere in These Pages

(1) Underwood & Underwood

AMERICAN ARMY OF OCCUPATION IN GERMANY



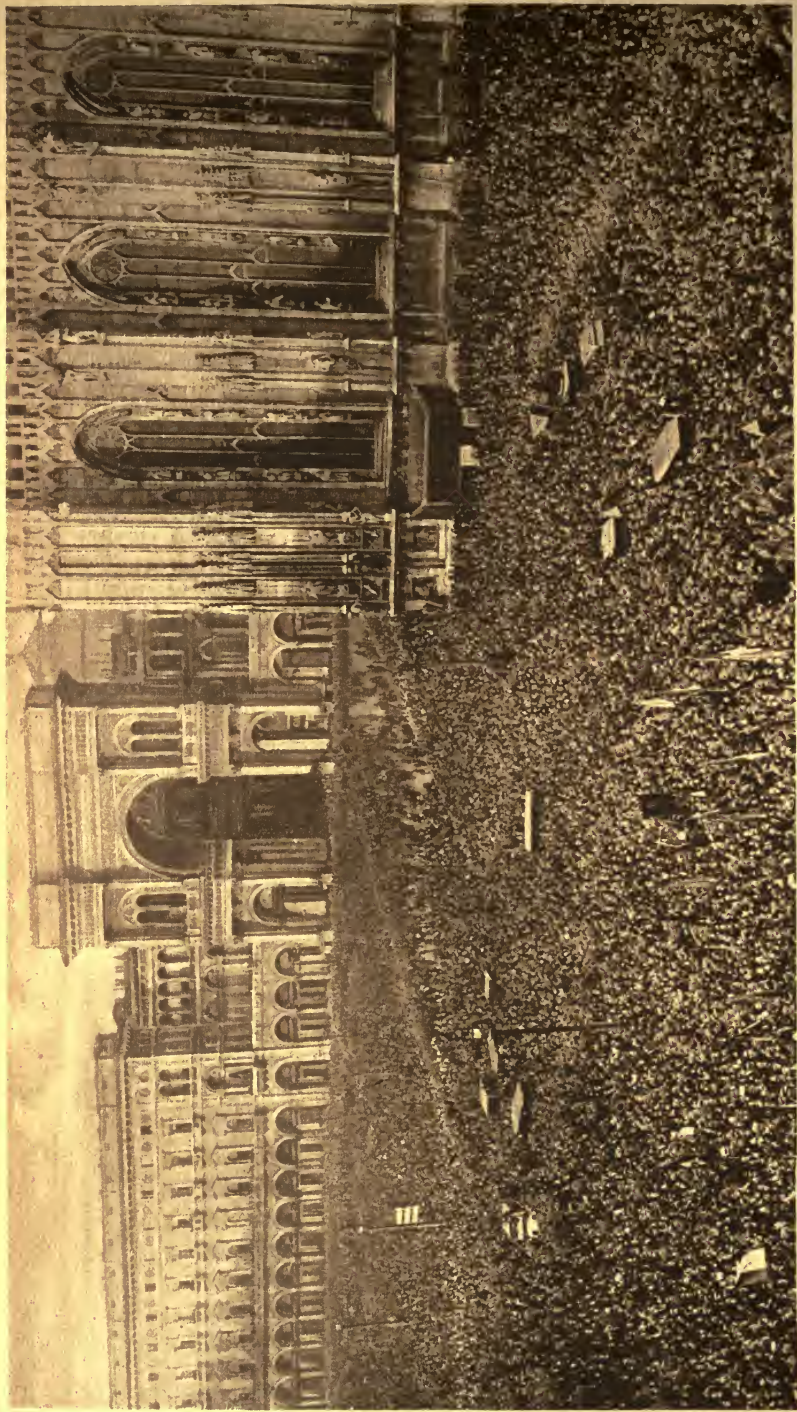
The 1st Division of the 28th American Infantry Entering Coblenz. Men Are Being Billeted Under Supervision of Officers
(© International Film Service)

THE ONCE BEAUTIFUL CLOTH HALL OF YPRES, BELGIUM



Utter Ruin of the Famous Structure That Was Not Only the Pride of Belgium but a Treasure of the World
(British Official Photo)

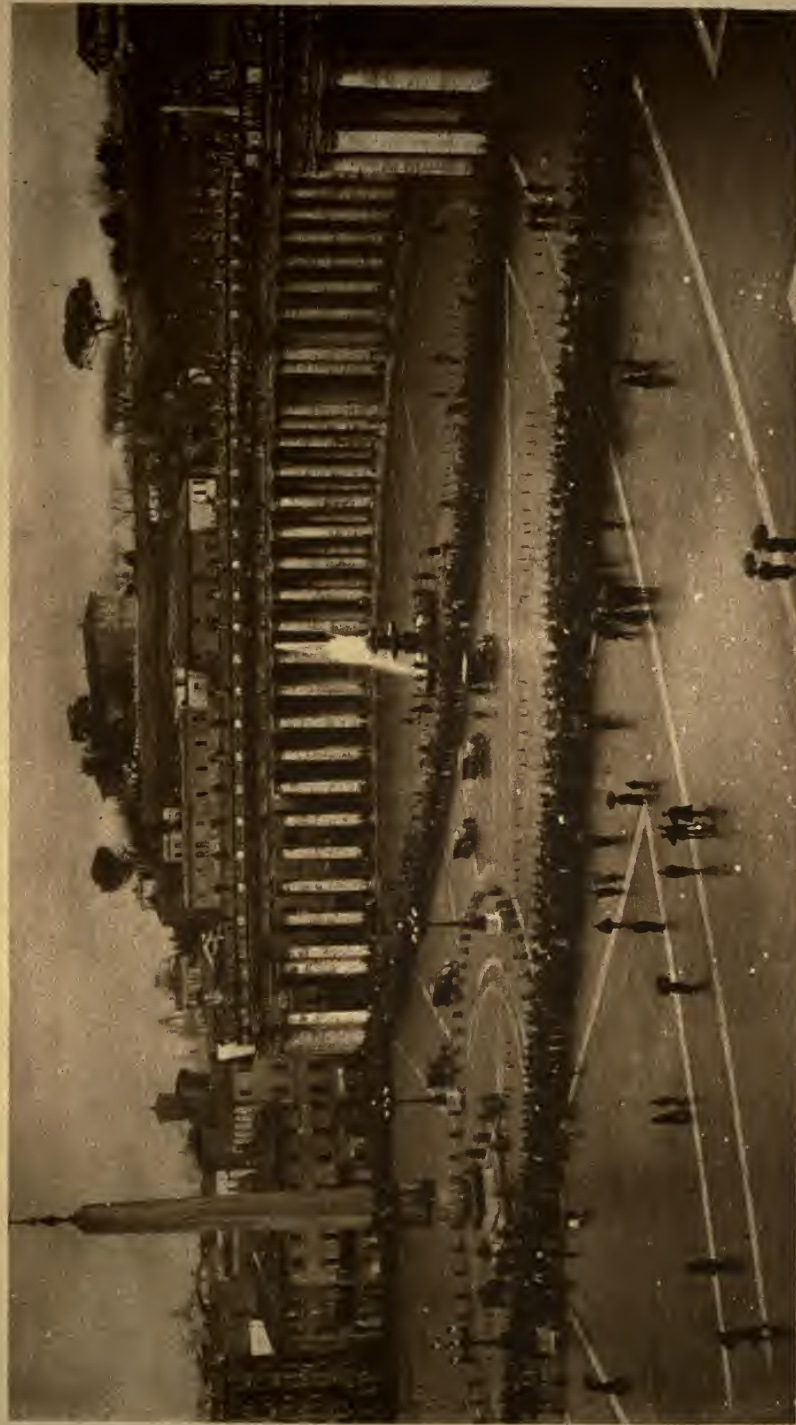
PRESIDENT WILSON AT MILAN, ITALY



A Tremendous Outpouring of People, Wild With Enthusiasm, Greeted President Wilson When He Visited Milan, Jan. 5, 1919

(Times Photo Service)

ROME, ITALY, GAVE THE PRESIDENT A GREAT WELCOME



The Presidential Party Entering the Spacious and Beautiful Piazza di San Pietro, Jan. 4, 1919

(© Underwood & Underwood)

MEETING OF TWO GREAT ALLIED GENERALS



Gen. Sir Edmund Allenby, Victor in Palestine, and Gen. Franchet d'Esperey, Conqueror of Bulgaria, Meeting at
Scutari, Opposite Constantinople

(© French Pictorial Service)

THE PEACE CONGRESS

A Tentative Constitution for a League of Nations Agreed Upon ---Other Proceedings

THE proceedings of the opening session of the Peace Congress, held at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris, Jan. 18, 1919, were recorded in the preceding issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. At that session the regulations governing the Conference proceedings were adopted—in sixteen sections. The following were the regulations regarding the composition of the Congress:

MEMBERSHIP

The belligerent Powers with general interests—the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan—shall take part in all meetings and commissions.

The belligerent Powers with particular interests—Belgium, Brazil, the British Dominions, and India, China, Cuba, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia, Siam, and the Czechoslovak Republic—shall take part in the sittings at which questions concerning them are discussed.

The Powers in a state of diplomatic rupture with the enemy powers—Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay—shall take part in the sittings at which questions concerning them are discussed.

The neutral Powers and States in process of formation may be heard either orally or in writing when summoned by the Powers with general interests at sittings devoted especially to the examination of questions directly concerning them, but only so far as these questions are concerned.

REPRESENTATION

The representation of the different Powers was fixed as follows:

Five for the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan; three for Belgium, Brazil, and Serbia; two for China, Greece, the King of Hedjaz, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Siam, and the Czechoslovak Republic; one for Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, and Panama; one for Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay.

The British Dominions and India shall be represented as follows: Two delegates each for Australia, Canada, South Africa,

and India, including the native States; one delegate for New Zealand.

Although the number of delegates may not exceed the figures above mentioned, each delegation has the right to avail itself of the panel system. The representation of the Dominions, including Newfoundland, and of India, may be included in the representation of the British Empire by the panel system.

Montenegro shall be represented by one delegate, but the rules concerning the designation of this delegate shall not be fixed until the moment when the political situation of this country shall have been cleared up.

The conditions of the representation of Russia shall be fixed by the conference at the moment when the matters concerning Russia are examined.

SECRETARIAT

The provision regarding the secretariat was as follows:

A secretariat, appointed from outside the plenipotentiaries, composed of one representative of the United States of America, one of the British Empire, one of France, one of Italy, and one of Japan, will be submitted to the approval of the Conference by the President, who will be the controlling authority responsible for its operations.

This secretariat will be intrusted with the care of drafting the protocols of the meeting, of classifying the archives, of providing for the administration and organization of the Conference and generally of insuring the regular and punctual working of the service intrusted to it. The head of the secretariat shall have charge of and be responsible for the protocols and archives.

The archives will always be open to the members of the Conference.

PUBLICITY

The publicity of the proceedings shall be insured by official communiqués prepared by the secretariat and made public. In case of disagreement as to the drafting of these communiqués, the matter shall be referred to the principal plenipotentiaries or their representatives.

A provision was made that all questions to be decided upon should be subject to two readings. The following pro-

gram regarding resolutions was agreed to:

DECISIONS

A committee shall be formed for drafting the resolutions adopted. This committee shall concern itself only with questions which have been decided. Its sole duty shall be to draw up the text of the decision adopted and to present it for the approval of the Conference.

It shall be composed of five members not forming part of the plenipotentiary delegates and composed of one representative of the United States of America, one of the British Empire, one of France, one of Italy, and one of Japan.

THE SUPREME COUNCIL

The Supreme Council, consisting of the two ranking delegates from each of the five chief Powers, held its first session after the adjournment of the Plenary Council on Jan. 20, and devoted the session to consideration of the Russian situation. The meeting was addressed by Joseph Noulens, the French Ambassador, who had recently returned from Russia. The session on the following day also was devoted to Russia, and M. Scavenius, Danish Minister to Russia, was heard. At the session of the council on Jan. 22 the decision was announced by which all Russian factions were invited to a conference at Princes' Islands, Sea of Marmora. The text of the announcement and other details appear elsewhere in this issue of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*.

At the meeting of the Supreme Council on Jan. 23 an order of business was announced for a plenary meeting of the Conference on Saturday, Jan. 25. The following questions were considered for this purpose:

First—International legislation on labor.

Second—Responsibility and punishments in connection with the war.

Third—Reparation for war damage.

Fourth—International régime of ports, waterways, and railways.

In addition, the meeting began consideration of the procedure to be adopted with regard to territorial questions.

SUPREME WAR COUNCIL

At the meeting on the 24th the Supreme Council first met as the Supreme War Council. Not only were there present President Wilson and the Premiers, and Foreign Ministers, but also Marshal

Foch, Field Marshal Haig, General Pershing, General Diaz, and the Generals of the Versailles War Council, including Generals Wilson, Belling, Bliss, and Robilant.

The council conferred with Marshal Foch and the other military experts as to the strength of the forces to be allowed to the various allied Powers on the western front during the period of the armistice. It was decided to set up a special committee composed of Mr. Churchill, Mr. Loucheur, Marshal Foch, General Bliss, and General Diaz to examine the question.

The Supreme War Council also agreed to recommend for the approval of the Governments concerned the issue of an identic medal and ribbon to all the forces of the allied and associated Powers who had taken part in the war.

WARNING TO FACTIONS

After the Supplementary Council, the President of the United States of America and the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of the allied and associated Governments, with the representatives of Japan, held a short meeting and agreed to the publication and transmission by wireless telegraphy to all parts of the world of the following communication:

The Governments now associated in conference to effect a lasting peace among the nations are deeply disturbed by the news which comes to them of the many instances in which armed force is being made use of in many parts of Europe and the East to gain possession of territory, the rightful claim to which the Peace Conference is to be asked to determine.

They deem it their duty to utter a solemn warning that possession, gained by force, will seriously prejudice the claims of those who use this means. It will create the presumption that those who employ force doubt the justice and validity of their claims, and purpose to substitute possession for proof of right, and set up sovereignty by coercion rather than by racial or national preference and natural historical association. They thus put a cloud upon every evidence of title they may afterward allege, and indicate their distrust of the Conference itself.

Nothing but the most unfortunate results can ensue. If they expect justice they must refrain from force and place their claims in unclouded good faith in the hands of the Conference of Peace.

MISSION TO POLAND

At a meeting of the council the same day the mission of the Allies and associated great Powers to Poland was discussed, and it was agreed that M. Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, should prepare draft instructions to the mission for the approval of the representatives of the powers. It was agreed that one press representative for each of the five great Powers should be permitted to accompany the mission.

The question of territorial readjustments in connection with the conquest of the German colonies was then taken up. Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada; Mr. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia; General Smuts, representative of General Botha, the Prime Minister of South Africa, and Mr. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand, were present and explained the particular interest of the respective dominions in regard to this question.

Second Plenary Session

Preliminary Steps for the Organization of a League of Nations

THE second plenary session of the Peace Conference, held on Jan. 25, 1919, with Premier Clemenceau in the chair, was marked by the adoption of the plan for a League of Nations. The plan was accepted unanimously, the principles upon which it was based being emphasized and firmly supported by the representatives of the allied Powers. After having called the delegates to order, M. Clemenceau read the resolution on the creation of a committee on the League of Nations, the text of which follows:

It is essential to the maintenance of the world settlement which the associated nations are now met to establish that a League of Nations be created to promote international obligations and to provide safeguards against war.

This League should be created as an integral part of the general treaty of peace and should be open to every civilized nation which can be relied on to promote its objects.

The members of the League should periodically meet in international conference and should have a permanent organization and secretaries to carry on the business of the League in the intervals between the conferences.

The Conference therefore appoints a committee, representative of the associated Governments, to work out the details of the constitution and the functions of the League and the draft of resolutions in regard to breaches of the laws of war for presentation to the Peace Conference.

That a commission, composed of two representatives apiece from the five great Powers and five representatives to be

elected by the other Powers, be appointed to inquire and report upon the following:

First—The responsibility of the authors of the war.

Second—The facts as to breaches of the laws and customs of war committed by the forces of the German Empire and their allies on land, on sea, and in the air during the present war.

Third—The degree of responsibility for these offenses attaching to particular members of the enemy's forces, including members of the General Staffs and other individuals, however highly placed.

Fourth—The constitution and procedure of a tribunal appropriate to the trial of these offenses.

Fifth—Any other matters, cognate or ancillary to the above, which may arise in the course of the inquiry, and which the commission finds it useful and relevant to take into consideration.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS

After the resolution had been read, the Chair recognized President Wilson, who made the following address to the assembly:

Mr. Chairman: I consider it a distinguished privilege to be permitted to open the discussion in this conference on the League of Nations. We have assembled for two purposes, to make the present settlements which have been rendered necessary by this war and also to secure the peace of the world, not only by the present settlements but by the arrangements we shall make at this conference for its maintenance.

The League of Nations seems to me to be necessary for both of these purposes. There are many complicated questions connected with the present settlements which perhaps cannot be successfully

worked out to an ultimate issue by the decisions we shall arrive-at here. I can easily conceive that many of these settlements will need subsequent consideration; that many of the decisions we make shall need subsequent alteration in some degree, for, if I may judge by my own study of some of these questions, they are not susceptible of confident judgments at present.

It is therefore necessary that we should set up some machinery by which the work of this conference should be rendered complete.

We have assembled here for the purpose of doing very much more than making the present settlements that are necessary. We are assembled under very peculiar conditions of world opinion. I may say, without straining the point, that we are not the representatives of Governments, but representatives of the peoples. It will not suffice to satisfy Governmental circles anywhere. It is necessary that we should satisfy the opinion of mankind.

The burdens of this war have fallen in an unusual degree upon the whole population of the countries involved. I do not need to draw for you the picture of how the burden has been thrown back from the front upon the older men, upon the women, upon the children, upon the homes of the civilized world, and how the real strain of the war has come where the eyes of the Government could not reach, but where the heart of humanity beats.

PERMANENT PROCESSES NEEDED

We are bidden by these people to make a peace which will make them secure. We are bidden by these people to see to it that this strain does not come upon them again. And I venture to say that it has been possible for them to bear this strain because they hoped that those who represented them could get together after this war and make such another sacrifice unnecessary.

It is a solemn obligation on our part, therefore, to make permanent arrangements that justice shall be rendered and peace maintained. This is the central object of our meeting. Settlements may be temporary, but the action of the nations in the interest of peace and justice must be permanent. We can set up permanent processes. We may not be able to set up a permanent decision.

Therefore, it seems to me that we must take as far as we can a picture of the world into our minds. Is it not a startling circumstance, for one thing, that the great discoveries of science, that the quiet studies of men in laboratories, that the thoughtful developments which have taken place in quiet lecture rooms have now been turned to the destruction of

civilization? The powers of destruction have not so much multiplied as they have gained facilities.

The enemy whom we have just overcome had in his seats of learning some of the principal centres of scientific study and discovery, and he used them in order to make destruction sudden and complete. And only the watchful and continuous co-operation of men can see to it that science, as well as armed men, is kept within the harness of civilization.

In a sense the United States is less interested in this subject than the other nations here assembled. With her great territory and her extensive sea borders it is less likely that the United States should suffer from the attack of enemies than that other nations should suffer. And the ardor of the United States—for it is a very deep and genuine ardor—for the society of nations is not an ardor springing out of fear or apprehension, but an ardor springing out of the ideals which have come in the consciousness of this war.

AIMS OF THE UNITED STATES

In coming into this war the United States never for a moment thought that she was intervening in the politics of Europe, or the politics of Asia, or the politics of any part of the world. Her thought was that all the world had now become conscious that there was a single cause of justice and of liberty for men of every kind and place.

Therefore, the United States would feel that its part in this war should be played in vain if there ensued upon it abortive European settlements. It would feel that it could not take part in guaranteeing those European settlements unless that guarantee involved the continuous superintendence of the peace of the world by the associated nations of the world.

Therefore, it seems to me that we must concern our best judgment in order to make this League of Nations a vital thing—a thing sometimes called into life to meet an exigency, but always functioning in watchful attendance upon the interests of the nations—and that its continuity should be a vital continuity; that its functions are continuing functions that do not permit an intermission of its watchfulness and of its labor; that it should be the eye of the nations, to keep watch upon the common interest—an eye that does not slumber, an eye that is everywhere watchful and attentive.

And if we do not make it vital, what shall we do? We shall disappoint the expectations of the peoples. This is what their thought centres upon.

I have had the very delightful experience of visiting several nations since I came to this side of the water, and every time

the voice of the body of the people reached me, through any representative, at the front of the plea stood the hope of the League of Nations.

Gentlemen, the select classes of mankind are no longer the governors of mankind. The fortunes of mankind are now in the hands of the plain people of the whole world. Satisfy them, and you have justified their confidence not only, but have established peace. Fail to satisfy them, and no arrangement that you can make will either set up or steady the peace of the world.

You can imagine, I dare say, the sentiments and the purpose with which the representatives of the United States support this great project for a League of Nations. We regard it as the keynote of the whole, which expresses our purposes and ideals in this war and which the associated nations have accepted as the basis of a settlement.

THE PEOPLE'S MANDATE

If we returned to the United States without having made every effort in our power to realize this program, we should return to meet the merited scorn of our fellow-citizens. For they are a body that constitute a great democracy. They expect their leaders to speak; their representatives to be their servants.

We have no choice but to obey their mandate. But it is with the greatest enthusiasm and pleasure that we accept that mandate. And because this is the keynote of the whole fabric, we have pledged our every purpose to it, as we have to every item of the fabric. We would not dare abate a single item of the program which constitutes our instructions; we would not dare to compromise upon any matter as the champion of this thing—this peace of the world, this attitude of justice, this principle that we are the masters of no peoples, but are here to see that every people in the world shall choose its own masters and govern its own destinies, not as we wish, but as they wish.

We are here to see, in short, that the very foundations of this war are swept away. Those foundations were the private choice of a small coterie of civil rulers and military staffs. Those foundations were the aggression of great Powers upon the small. Those foundations were the holding together of empires of unwilling subjects by the duress of arms. Those foundations were the power of small bodies of men to wield their will and use mankind as pawns in a game. And nothing less than the emancipation of the world from these things will accomplish peace.

You can see that the representatives of the United States are, therefore, never

put to the embarrassment of choosing a way of expediency, because they have had laid down before them the unalterable lines of principles. And, thank God, these lines have been accepted as the lines of settlements by all the high-minded men who have had to do with the beginning of this great business.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, when it is known, as I feel confident it will be known, that we have adopted the principle of the League of Nations and mean to work out that principle in effective action, we shall by that single thing have lifted a great part of the load of anxiety from the hearts of men everywhere.

We stand in a peculiar cause. As I go about the streets here I see everywhere the American uniform. Those men came into the war after we had uttered our purpose. They came as crusaders, not merely to win a war but to win a cause. And I am responsible for them, for it falls to me to formulate the purpose for which I asked them to fight, and I, like them, must be a crusader for these things, whatever it costs and whatever it may be necessary to do in honor to accomplish the object for which they fought.

I have been glad to find from day to day that there is no question of our standing alone in this matter, for there are champions of this cause upon every hand. I am merely avowing this in order that you may understand why, perhaps, it fell to us, who are disengaged from the politics of this great Continent and of the Orient, to suggest that this was the keystone of the arch, and why it occurred to the generous mind of your President to call upon me to open this debate. It is not because we alone represent this idea, but because it is our privilege to associate ourselves with you in representing it.

I have only tried in what I have said to give you the fountains of the enthusiasm which is within us for this thing, for those fountains spring, it seems to me, from all the ancient wrongs and sympathies of mankind, and the very pulse of the world seems to beat to the fullest in this enterprise.

SECONDED BY BRITAIN

President Wilson was followed by Premier Lloyd George, who made the following speech in support of the resolution:

Mr. Chairman: I rise to second this resolution. After the noble speech of the American President, I feel that no observations are needed in order to commend this resolution to the Conference, and I should not have intervened at all had it not been that I wished to state how emphatically the people of the British Empire are behind this proposal.

And if the national leaders have not been able during the last five years to devote as much time as they would like to its advocacy, it is because their time and their energy have been absorbed in the exigencies of a terrible struggle.

Had there been the slightest doubt in my mind as to the wisdom of this scheme, it would have vanished before an irresistible appeal made to me by the spectacle I witnessed last Sunday. I visited a region which but a few years ago was one of the fairest in an exceptionally fair land. I found it a ruin and a desolation.

I drove for hours through a country which did not appear like the habitation of living men and women and children, but like the excavation of a province, shattered and torn. I went to one city, where I witnessed a scene of devastation that no indemnity can ever repair—one of the beautiful things of the world disfigured and defaced beyond repair.

And one of the cruelest features to my mind was what I could see had happened—that Frenchmen, who love their land almost beyond any nation, in order to establish the justice of their cause had to assist the cruel enemy in demolishing their homes, and I felt that these are the results—only part of the results.

Had I been there three months ago, I would have witnessed something that I dare not describe. But I saw acres of graves of the fallen. And these were the results of the only methods, the only organized methods, that civilized nations have ever attempted or established to settle disputes among each other. And my feeling was: Surely it is time that a saner plan for settling disputes between peoples ought to be established than this organized savagery.

I don't know whether this will succeed. But if we attempt it, the attempt will be a success, and for that reason I second the proposal.

SUPPORTED BY ITALY

The Italian Premier, Signor Orlando, was next recognized by the Chair, and he expressed his support of the plan in the following words:

I wish to express fervent adhesion to the great principles which we are asked to consecrate, and I think by doing this we shall only fulfill the most solemn obligation we have undertaken toward our people. We asked them to make immense efforts and the counterpart of the responsibility we took was for them sacrifices, unnamed sufferings and death.

We are only doing our duty by keeping our sacred promise, and we must therefore bring into this full consent of mind, and if I may say so, purity of soul. No

people is more ready to accept in its entirety this principle. It is with no feeling of vanity that I shall now recall the great juridical tradition of the Italian people. The principle of law is not only the principle of protection and of justice against violence—it is the form guaranteed by the State of what is a vital principle to humanity—social co-operation and solidarity among men.

The plan which will be laid before us must give us not only guarantees against future wars, but must secure co-operation between nations. This is a great historical day. Today the right of peoples is born. It is only just that it should be born in this generous country of France, which has fought so well by her genius and by her blood to insure the triumph of the rights of man, and this is a happy omen in the beginning of these debates.

ATTITUDE OF FRANCE

Leon Bourgeois, a French delegate, then expressed his adherence to the plan. He said:

I express my gratitude to the President of the republic who appointed me to speak on this great occasion. Was it because of his memory of the part I took in The Hague Conference? Whatever the reason, half of the honor now given to me must go to those of my colleagues present who were at The Hague with me.

The strong expression used by President Wilson—that we are not only the representatives of Governments, but the representatives of peoples—is something we must reflect upon. What do the free peoples of the world wish for? They wish that the terrible experience of the last four and a half years should never be renewed; they wish for the thing so deeply desired by all the victims of this war, all those who died for freedom and the right—the men who died fighting, not only for their country, but as true crusaders for the liberty of the world.

The striking picture drawn by Mr. Lloyd George of what he saw in one of the devastated parts of France is only one instance of a great fact. The devastating effect of an international conflict cannot now be limited to the place near where the conflict started. There is now no possibility of limiting any conflict of this sort. It cannot happen anywhere without putting the whole world in mortal danger. The whole world is interdependent economically, morally, and intellectually.

Another reason makes it impossible for us to face the renewal of such a war. It is the great progress and the great future progress of science which—against its object, which is all for the benefit of

mankind—will be used as it has been used, if we do not find some way out of the difficulty, for purposes of wholesale destruction.

SAFEGUARDING THE FUTURE

By thinking of what has been done during this war we can imagine what will happen if another war takes place in another forty or fifty years. We have the right to say that the problem before our consciences—how to assure the future of our own country and the future of our common motherland, the world, while making superior its interest—is the problem of general peace. We can remember the scruples which at The Hague were felt even by the representatives of the most free and most peaceful countries, when they said that they were obliged to limit the stipulations to what would preserve the honor and vital interests of their respective countries.

At present the vital interest of all countries is for a universal peace, based upon the relevance of right, and the rights of all our countries separately are dependent upon it. How can we make a reality of what was thought to be a dream of yesterday? How is it that practical statesmen are now around this table with the common thought that will certainly be expressed by your unanimous votes on what we thought only yesterday to be Utopia?

If we look backward to the history of the last thirty years—and, especially, if I am permitted to refer to it again, The Hague Conference—we can see that, in spite of the disappointment we have suffered, such meetings as that of The Hague Conference had results. Such a dangerous conflict as that between France and Germany at the time of the Casa Blanca incident could be solved by a decision respecting the honor of both countries by a process of arbitration.

Why was it not possible to apply the same proceeding to the terrible conflict which has caused the world so much suffering? There are two causes for it, one of which you will deal with presently. It is because the map of the world did not show a state of things in conformity with the principles of right. It was impossible for Frenchmen not to remember that some of their old countrymen were under foreign rule. It was impossible for Italy to forget that some of the fair provinces of Italy were not yet members of their own mother country, and there were many other questions I need not mention now.

THE SITUATION CHANGED

How can you organize international peace by suppressing a just claim for unredeemed countries and populations? This could not be done. But after you have arrived at a settlement in conformity

with the principles of right and the wishes of populations themselves, then you will have a firm basis to build up what The Hague Conference was unable to establish.

The second difference between that time and the present time is that you will be able to sit and establish a system of punishments. At The Hague it was impossible because of the division between nations there, and that division showed already the same classification which had been shown in this war. The same group of nations was then adhering to every proposal against a peaceful settlement which we have seen since destroying the peace and happiness of the whole world. At present we are in a position not only to lay down the principles but also to establish a system of penalties.

By this you will be able to do a lasting work, and you will be able to enter with a serene mind into the temple of peace. In the name of the Government of the republic, it is my duty to say that we are ready to attempt and to lend our earnest will to everything that can bring us as far as possible on the road which has been pointed out by President Wilson's speech. You will see what measures have to be taken, but you can be certain that it is with a deep and sincere fervor that the whole of France will join in the efforts.

President Wilson said this question is in the heart of all mankind. Well that a united mankind is born, and we greet its birth.

VIEWS OF OTHER NATIONS

The Chinese delegate, Lou Tseng Tsiang, stated that he wished to give absolute support to the plan in the name of his Government, declaring that China associated herself entirely with the high ideals embodied in the resolution.

M. Dmowski, the Polish delegate, gave expression to his support in the following declaration:

I wish to express our deep gratitude for this great initiation, and I am speaking for a nation that has suffered very much in the past and hopes that such sufferings will be the last, and that what has not been destroyed during the past centuries and during the present war shall now be preserved for future generations. I am now speaking for a country where the danger is greater than elsewhere, and a danger that is permanent, because the war has not yet come to an end in Poland; because danger and fighting continue there on three different sides. If institutions can be established giving to the world guarantees of a general, permanent peace, danger to which Poland is now exposed would not exist. I

am speaking in the name of Poland and for the existence of those where the League of Nations is most needed.

M. Hymans, the delegate from Belgium, after stating that his country adhered whole-heartedly to the principles involved in the plan, requested an explanation of the paragraph of the resolution which said: "The Conference shall appoint a committee representative of the associated Governments to work out the constitution of the League." Premier Clemenceau replied as follows:

If you will let me speak you shall be satisfied. It has been decided that the committee for the League of Nations should contain two representatives for each of the five great Powers, and that five be elected by the other Powers. The delegates nominated by the five great Powers are, for the United States of America, President Wilson and Colonel House; for the British Empire, Lord Robert Cecil and Lieut. Gen. J. C. Smuts; for France, M. Bourgeois and M. Larnaude, Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Paris; for Italy, Signor Orlando and Senator Scialoja, and for Japan, Viscount Chinda and M. Ochiai.

It has been decided that the five delegates shall be elected by the other Powers, who will present them to the committee. I suggest there should be a meeting of all Powers interested here on Monday to elect their five representatives, and as the same principle is intended to apply to the election of the other committees it might be done at the same time.

M. Clemenceau then said that unless objections were heard the session could assume that the resolution enacting the League of Nations was adopted unanimously, and likewise that the other resolutions were accepted. The record showed unanimous approval.

BELGIAN REPRESENTATION

The Chair then gave the floor to the Belgian delegate, M. Hymans, who brought before the body the question of representation on the committee for the smaller nations, expressing his opinion with regard to Belgium in the following statements:

What has just been said by the Chairman puts before us the whole question of how those committees are to be formed. The system adopted, except for the Committee on War Damages and Reparations, which is on a different footing, is to give two delegates apiece to each of the

great Powers and five to the whole of the nineteen Powers which are conveniently called "Powers with Special Interests." I have no authority to speak except for my own country, Belgium.

The only committee on which Belgium has representation is the Committee on Reparation of Damages. There Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, and Poland are allowed two delegates, but in all other committees the nineteen Powers I have referred to will nominate five delegates among themselves, and it is not said what system they should adopt. Our desire in speaking for Belgium alone is that Belgium should have representation in the Committee on the League of Nations, and in the Committee on Labor Legislation, for on the League of Nations Belgium has evidently something to say because of her special international situation, and also because of her historical and geographical position.

M. Hymans went on to give reasons why Belgium should have representation on these and other committees, and ended with an appeal to the conference's sense of fair play.

CLAIMS OF OTHER NATIONS

M. Calogeras, the Brazilian representative, declared that the formation of committees seemed to have been undertaken without any of the most responsible interests having been heard, stating that with regard to the question of the League of Nations Brazil had a particular right to be heard, since the principle that no war of conquest could be sanctioned by its Parliament had been laid down as an absolute clause in its Constitution.

Sir Robert Borden, representing Canada, while admitting the difficulty of having too large a committee, reminded the assembly that in matters where all delegates were concerned it would be more appropriate to have any definite conclusions arrived at by the assembly as a whole in accordance with rules that had been adopted. Mr. Trumbitch, the delegate for Yugoslavia, seconded the claims of the Belgian delegate, declaring that the kingdom of the Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes expected the same rights of representation.

Premier Venizelos, the Greek delegate, supported the claims of Belgium without claiming the same position for his own country. He reminded the delegates,

however, that between 300,000 and 400,000 people of Greek nationality had been killed in the Turkish Empire during the war and that it would be but fair to accord Greece one delegate on a committee inquiring into the responsibility for crimes committed during the war. He also claimed a representative for Greece on the Committee on Ports, Waterways, and Communications, not only because of the position of Greece as a maritime country, but because some of the points of Greek territory are of international importance.

M. Benes, the delegate for Czechoslovakia, claimed representation for his country on committees dealing with the matter of reparation, transportation facilities in the way of railways and waterways, and with regard to the League of Nations. M. Bratiano, the Rumanian delegate, speaking in support of M. Hyman's declarations, claimed representation for Rumania in the matter of international communications, since the Danube, the great waterway for Central Europe, had its source in Rumanian territory. He also declared that the interest taken by Rumania in the furtherance of the scheme for a League of Nations justified her direct participation in the work of preparing the plan. Both the Siamese representative, Bidadh Kosha, and the Chinese representative, Lou Tseng Tsiang, brought forward claims touching the matter of representation on the Committee on the League of Nations and on economic committees. M. Dmowski, speaking for Poland, supported the claims made by the various other smaller nations and claimed representation for Poland on all such committees as interested her directly.

M. CLEMENCEAU'S REPLY

Premier Clemenceau made reply to the claims put forward for greater representation with the following speech:

I shall try to justify the action of the bureau and of the Chair. If we ever had thought that it was possible to give satisfaction to every one, that illusion would have vanished by this time. Sir Robert Borden expressed the reproach that we had decided upon certain questions. Well,

yes, we decided for instance, that all the nations represented here should come to this Conference.

There is no mystery about the meetings now taking place between the representatives of the five great Powers. Mr. Borden knows probably more than most people of those meetings, since only yesterday he was present there putting before us the special views of Canada about some colonial questions.

The five Powers are obliged to say that they are in a position to justify their attitude. At the time of the armistice they had together 12,000,000 men under arms on the battlefields. Their dead can be counted by millions. If the great idea of a Society of Nations did not shape the whole of our work here, it would have been possible for us five great Powers to consult only ourselves in the settlement.

That would have been, after all, our right. Well, that has never been our thought. We have asked all the nations interested in a settlement to meet with us here. We have asked them to give us their co-operation and their help.

EFFICIENCY THE OBJECT

Now, what about the method? Mr. Lloyd George, in very kind words at the opening of these meetings, reminded me that I was not quite young. I entered the French Parliament in 1871, and since that time I have seen a great many committees, and have been present at work on more than one. Now, my constant observation has been that the more numerous the members on those committees were, the less work was done and less facility there was for coming to conclusions. Now, conclusions are what we want. We have behind us the great force to which we owe consideration and respect—the force of public opinion. But public opinion expects us to do things. What they will ask of us is whether we have been arriving at conclusions.

Take the question of the great Society of Nations. They are listening to our debates most anxiously. They hope to hear that something has been done toward what they consider to be one of their most desired goals. What is our desire?

We have said that each of the five Powers intended to nominate two delegates to sit in these committees. Well, let us examine the question in its narrow form. In the observations that have been made really the question now before you has been more or less exceeded. We have nominated two delegates each, and we propose that five should be nominated by the other Powers. That is not enough, we are told from all sides. Well, then, I suppose I should propose that each Power should be represented in each committee. That would satisfy every one,

but would be the means of never arriving at any conclusion.

COMPLAINTS NOT VALID

The great complaint has been, as we have heard repeatedly from one country after another, that a country would not have a chance to be heard on the questions vitally interesting her. Now this cannot happen. You will have full right to attend, that is, to be present at the deliberations of any committee you choose. Those committees are entirely open to you; they are not created for any other purpose. You have the right to be fully heard whenever you please by any committee, and when you have been heard there, and when that committee has made its report and drafted something, you have the right to be heard again before this full sitting of the delegates, where you will be present yourself and will have the right to speak.

If we follow what has been suggested by M. Dmowski, then you are going to make proposals in writing. Well, that will come to the meetings of the five Powers. There should be no discussion about this; there should be no deliberations or discussion about the points of procedure when what is urgently required from us by public opinion is that we should pay less attention to form and deal with the substance of things. What they expect is to see our work taking material form and materializing. They wish that all those millions who are still mobilized should be enabled to return to their homes. These are the questions that interest public opinion. If we delay the vital discussion of things for an interminable debate on a question of procedure, we will, in a fortnight's time, still be at the same place from which we started.

M. Dmowski suggested that these questions should be put before the committee. I insist those questions should be put before your bureau, and to give my reason frankly, it is because I could not, we could not, accept that any commission should have the right to dictate to the five great Powers.

DESIRE TO BE FAIR

Now, I ask simply that our resolution, as drafted, should be accepted with, of course, the right to modify and to improve it later on. If we go out of this room with your vote, these committees will be established immediately. They will be able to work tomorrow. Our only preoccupation is to organize as soon as possible and to go to work without delay.

Who would take the responsibility of adding to the delays? I suppose none of us. But if any delegates think, after the names of the members of each of the

committees are known, that an important addition should be made, that some country's or some man's presence is vital, they will have the right to say so, and there's no reason why we should consider our resolution sacred or unchangeable.

But we must get to work as soon as we can. Think of the immense work before us. President Wilson, in his speech to our body today, had honorable words for those men who came here as crusaders, not to win the war, but to win a cause. Well, it is of the cause that we must think, and we must do our best, whatever procedure we adopt, to make it better as we go along. But let us go to work at once.

As for myself, I have come here ready to sacrifice many of my opinions in order to conciliate, in order to reach the conclusions we all wish for, and I have already sacrificed some of them, done it with joy for the great common cause which has united us here. I hope we all will be inspired by the same spirit. Your Conference officials, in the decisions which they have arrived at and which they have submitted to you, have no desire to be unjust to any one. They do not wish to be unjust to Belgium, or to Bohemia, or to the Serbians, Croats, Slovenes, or any of those who have expressed their opinions here. They simply wish to devise a procedure that will lead to immediate, speedy, useful work. And this is the only conclusion they can arrive at.

NEW COMMISSIONS CREATED

The following resolution in regard to reparation was adopted by the conference:

That a commission be appointed, which shall comprise not more than three representatives apiece from each of the five great Powers and not more than two representatives apiece from Belgium, Greece, Poland, Rumania, and Serbia, to examine and report:

First—On the amount of reparation which the enemy countries ought to pay.

Second—On what they are capable of paying, and,

Third—On the method, the form, and time within which payment should be made.

A resolution in regard to international legislation on industrial and labor questions was passed. It reads:

That a commission, composed of two representatives apiece from the five great Powers and five representatives to be elected by the other Powers represented at the Peace Conference, be appointed to inquire into the conditions of employment from the international aspect and to consider the international means necessary to secure common action on matters affect-

ing conditions of employment and to recommend the form of a permanent agency to continue such inquiry and consideration in co-operation with and under the direction of the League of Nations.

This resolution was adopted regarding international control of ports, waterways, and railways:

That a commission composed of two representatives apiece from the five great Powers and five representatives of the other Powers be appointed, to inquire and report upon the international régime for ports, waterways, and railways.

After the adoption of these resolutions the session adjourned.

Staff Personnel of the Conference

Members and Committees

THE personnel of the Peace Conference as finally perfected was announced Jan. 29 as follows:

Besides Georges Clemenceau, the French Premier, as President, and Secretary Lansing, Premiers Lloyd George of Great Britain, Orlando of Italy, and Saionji of Japan as Vice Presidents, the members are:

Secretary General—M. Dutasta, France.

Secretaries: For the United States—Joseph C. Grew, Minister Plenipotentiary; Leland Harrison, and Colonel U. S. Grant, 3d. For the British Empire—Lieut. Col. Sir Maurice Hankey, Herman Norman, and Eric Phipps. For France—M. P. Gauthier, Minister Plenipotentiary, and M. Debearn. For Italy—Comte Aldrovandi, Marquis Charles Durazzo, and M. G. Brambilla. For Japan—Sadao Saburi.

Committee on Verification of Powers—Henry White, United States; Arthur Balfour, British Empire; Jules Cambon, France; Marquis Salvago Raggi, Italy, and K. Matsui, Japan.

Committee on Drafting—James Brown Scott, United States; Mr. Hurst, British Empire; M. Fromager, France; Ricci Busatti, Italy, and H. Nagosaka, Japan.

THE COMMITTEES

Premier Clemenceau on Jan. 26 announced the following committees in conformity with the action of the conference:

Responsibility for the War—Great Britain, Sir Gordon Stewart; France, Captain André Tardieu and Ferdinand Larnaude; Italy, Vittorio Scialoja and Deputy Raimondo; United States, Robert Lansing.

Reparation—United States, B. M. Baruch, John W. Davis, and Vance McCormick; Great Britain, William Morris Hughes, Sir John Simon, and Baron Cunliffe; France, L. L. Klotz, L. P. Locheur, and A. F. Lebrun; Italy, Antonio Salandra and General Badoglio; Japan, Baron Makino and Baron Nobuaki.

International Labor Legislation—United States, E. N. Hurley and Samuel Gom-

pers; Great Britain, George Nicoll Barnes and Ian Malcolm; France, M. Colliard and L. P. Locheur; Italy, Signor Des Planches and Signor Cabrini; Japan, M. Otichian and M. Oka.

Regulation of Ports, Waterways, and Railroads—United States, Henry White; Great Britain, Sir John Simon; France, André Voiss and Albert Clavelle; Italy, Signor Grespi and Signor de Marino; Japan, M. Yamakawa and Colonel Sato.

The representatives of the nineteen small Powers met on Jan. 27 and gave full adhesion to the organization formulated by the five great Powers. Jules Cambon, French delegate, and former Ambassador to the United States, presided. The following appointments were made to the various committees:

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Belgium, Paul Hymans.

Brazil, Epitacio Pessoa.

China, Wellington Koo, Plenipotentiary.

Serbia, M. R. Vesnitch.

Portugal, Jaime Batalha Reis, Minister Plenipotentiary.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR

Belgium, (not yet appointed.)

Serbia, Slobodan Yovanovitch.

Rumania, Mr. Rosenthal.

Greece, M. Politis.

Poland, (not yet appointed.)

INTERNATIONAL LABOR LEGISLATION

Belgium, M. Vandervelde and M. Mahaim.

Cuba, A. S. Pustamante.

Poland, (not yet appointed.)

Czechoslovak Republic, M. Benes.

REGULATION OF PORTS, WATERWAYS, AND RAILROADS

Belgium, (not yet appointed.)

China, H. E. Thomas and C. T. Wang, Plenipotentiary Delegate.

Greece, M. Coromilas.

Serbia, M. Trumbitch.

Uruguay, Carlos Blanco.

Question of the German Colonies

Mandate Plan Adopted

THE Supreme Council at its session on Jan. 27 defined a program of work and the constitution of new committees for economic and financial questions as well as questions relating to private and maritime laws: The afternoon session continued the exchange of views on the former German colonies in the Pacific and the Far East. The representatives of the dominions and of China were heard. At the session of the Council on the 28th the question of the disposition of the German colonies in the Far East and the Pacific, and of those in Africa, was continued.

The representatives of the dominions were present at these two sessions, the representatives of China at that in the morning, and the Marquis Salvago Raggi (Italy) at that in the afternoon. In the morning the delegates of Australia, New Zealand, China, and Japan were heard. In the afternoon Henri Simon, French Minister of the Colonies, explained the views of his department on colonial questions. In addition, the fundamental principles of the League of Nations and their application were considered.

While no official announcement was made, it was known that a sharp difference of opinion had arisen regarding the disposition of the colonies, due to the insistence of Australia that the Pacific colonies taken from Germany by Australian troops be ceded outright to Australia, and the existence of treaties between Japan and Great Britain regarding the disposition of captured German possessions.

In the official report of Jan. 29 no reference was made to these differences, the communiqué regarding the day's sessions reading as follows:

The President of the United States, the Premiers, and the Foreign Ministers of the allied and associated Governments and the Japanese representatives held two meetings on Jan. 29. The morning sitting was devoted to hearing reports of delegates who made general statements on the Polish situation and Polish claims. In the afternoon the Czechoslovak delegates gave their views on the ques-

tion of the industrial basin in Silesia situated between Bohemia and Poland.

Since Monday last Mr. Barnes, British Minister without portfolio, has been conferring with prominent British trade unionists on the draft of a scheme for the international regulation of conditions of employment.

The scheme has been closely examined, and the experience of all present at the conference has been freely placed at Mr. Barnes's disposal. Many valuable suggestions have been made, and it is felt that full light has been given to the views of organized British trade unionists.

The conference concluded at noon, Jan. 29, and the draft scheme agreed upon will be submitted to the International Commission on Labor Regulation, which was appointed on Jan. 25 at the Peace Conference.

CHINA AND JAPAN

A sharp difference also arose between the Chinese and Japanese delegations over the question of Kiao-Chau and the Pacific islands. This was summarized by a correspondent as follows:

After the surrender of the German protectorate on the Chinese seacoast, Japan sent demands to China. China notified Japan that, military operations being over, she intended to declare the war zone ended. Japan responded with a demand that China give assent to all matters upon which the Japanese Government might agree with the German Government relating to the disposition of Germany's rights and concessions in the Province of Shantung. China was warned against making these demands known to any other Power; in addition, Japan's demands included the right to construct a railroad to Weissen and China was not to lease to any other country any territory on the coast of Shantung and must open some cities as commercial ports.

China made a bitter response. It asked the retrocession of Shantung and indemnification for the losses caused by Japan's military operations and demanded that China should participate in any negotiations with Germany over Shantung. Japan's reply was an ultimatum, giving China forty-eight hours to accede.

China finally gave in and signed the agreements, but issued a statement to the world saying that she had acted under constraint. These agreements provided that it should be left to Japan and Ger-

many to dispose of Germany's rights in Shantung, that China should apply to Japan for a loan for the new railway in Shantung, and that China should alienate no territory on the coast to any foreign Power.

It was agreed further that Kiao-Chau should be left to the disposal of Japan and that it would be restored by the Japanese to China on the condition that it be opened as a commercial port; that concessions under the exclusive jurisdiction of Japan should be established at a place to be designated by Japan; that an international concession should be established if the Powers chose, and that the disposal of the buildings and property of Germany was to be arranged between China and Japan before the restoration was made.

The Chinese assert that this agreement was obtained under a threat of hostilities and does not constitute a valid right. China announced that she would resist any encroachment in Shantung, and the controversy was one of the critical ones before the Peace Conference.

PROVISIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

At the meeting of the Supreme Council on Jan. 30, the subject of the colonies was thus referred to in the official communiqué:

The exchange of views continued on the German colonies in the Pacific and in Africa, in the presence of the representatives of the dominions and of M. Simon, French Minister of the Colonies, and of the Marquis Salvago Raggi, [Italy.]

In the afternoon satisfactory provisional arrangements were reached for dealing with the German colonies and the occupied territory in Turkey in Asia.

At the afternoon meeting the Belgian delegates were present. Messrs. Hymans, Van den Heuvel, and Vandervelde were accompanied by M. Ortiz, who explained the Belgian point of view concerning the Congo.

It was further decided that the military representatives of the allied and associated Powers at Versailles should be asked to meet at once and present a report as to the most equitable and economical distribution among those Powers of the burden of supplying the military forces for the purpose of maintaining order in the Turkish Empire pending the decisions of the Peace Conference regarding the government of Turkish territory.

THE MANDATE PLAN

The "satisfactory provisional arrangements" referred to in the official report

consisted in a tentative agreement, as it later developed, to incorporate in the constitution of the League of Nations a plan for administering the colonies under a system of "mandates" by which the League should assign them to various individual Powers for administration. The basic idea was that the colonies should be governed by mandate for the benefit of their own people. The most formidable opposition to the plan came from Premier Hughes, who insisted on the outright annexation of New Guinea to Australia. President Wilson and Premier Hughes had a sharp debate over the proposition, the former stoutly arguing for the mandate plan. The subsequent incorporation of the modified mandatory plan in the constitution of the League of Nations was a compromise, the mandate from the League of Nations being practically a delegation of administrative authority to the particular States over the colonies nearest to them.

BALKAN PROBLEMS

At the meeting of the Supreme Council Jan. 31 the delegates of the great Powers, composing the Interallied Commission to Poland, were introduced, to state the conclusions which they had reached after hearing the representatives of Poland and the Czechoslovak Republic regarding the provisional exploitation of the industrial district of Teschen.

After listening to the reports made by M. Noulens and by General Gothe, in the name of their colleagues, the allied Ministers decided to send to Teschen allied delegates for the purpose of assuring a peaceful exploitation in agreement with the Czechs and the Poles, pending a territorial settlement of the question by the Conference.

A statement of the views of the respective interests and rights of Rumania and Serbia in the Banat of Temesvar was then heard. M. Bratiano and M. Mishu represented the Rumanian Government, and the Serbian delegation was composed of M. Pashitch, M. Vesnitch, and M. Trumbitch.

The Rumanian and Serbian differences, it was understood, were being composed, and a better feeling was prevailing between the Czechs and Poles and between

the Jugoslavs and Italians regarding boundary questions.

It was definitely announced on the 31st that at the meeting of the council on the 30th, when an agreement was reached regarding the mandate plan for the colonies, President Wilson had told the members of the Supreme Council that he would not be party to a division of Germany's colonial possessions among the Powers which then held them, and then become party to a League of Nations which, in effect, would guarantee their title. There were inferences that the President even referred to a peace of "loot."

In the discussions President Wilson contended in no uncertain terms that to divide the colonies among the Entente nations would be in direct contravention of the "Fourteen Points," which were accepted as a basis of peace. Such a division, he is said to have added, would also violate the principles of the League of Nations as laid down at the Peace Conference on the 25th.

THE COLONIAL PLAN

On Feb. 1 an outline was made public of the accord reached by the Supreme Council concerning the disposal of the German colonies, which proved a correct forecast, as it was precisely confirmed by the constitution of the League of Nations, made public Feb. 15. This outline was as follows:

The allied and associated Powers are agreed that the German colonies shall not be returned to Germany, owing, primarily, to mismanagement, cruelty, and the use of these colonies as submarine bases.

The conquered regions of Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Arabia are to be detached from the Turkish Empire.

Provision is made whereby the well-being and development of backward colonial regions are regarded as the sacred trust of civilization, over which the League of Nations exercises supervisory care. The administration or tutelage of these regions would be intrusted to the more advanced nations, who would act as mandataries in behalf of the League of Nations.

These mandates would not be uniform, but vary according to the degree of development of the colonial region and its approach to the stage of self-government. The mandates in Palestine, Syria, and

other portions of Turkey, where well-developed civilization exists, would be comparatively light and would probably permit of provisional recognition of the independence of these communities.

On the other hand, colonies like those in Central Africa would require a mandatory with large powers of administration, responsible for the suppression of slave trade, liquor, ammunition and arms traffic, and the prevention of exercise of military authority on the part of the natives except for native police purposes.

Other colonies and localities, such as those in German Southwest Africa and some of the South Pacific islands, have such sparse and scattered populations and are so separated from other communities that the laws of the mandatory country would probably prevail in these regions.

The mandataries would report at stated intervals to the League of Nations concerning the manner in which a colony was being administered.

The foregoing general outline indicated on broad lines the terms whereby the conflicting views were finally reconciled and a common agreement was reached, acceptable to all the great and colonial Powers.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COMMISSION

The opening meeting of the League of Nations Commission was held in Colonel House's apartments in Paris, Feb. 3. President Wilson presided. There were present at the committee meeting: For the United States—President Wilson, Colonel House, and Mr. Miller, technical expert; for Great Britain—Lord Robert Cecil and General Smuts; for France—Léon Bourgeois and Ferdinand Lar-naude; for Italy—Premier Orlando; for Japan—Baron Chinda; also delegates from Belgium, Serbia, Brazil, Portugal, and China.

President Wilson greeted the members and took a leading part in the discussion. This was no longer general, but specific, as the meeting had before it the printed text of the agreed plan for the formation of the League. The text was in English, as had been decided upon at a previous meeting between President Wilson, Lord Robert Cecil, General Smuts, and Premier Orlando.

There was a general discussion in which all the delegates participated.

OTHER COMMISSIONS

On Feb. 3 three other important committees held their first formal meetings. Louis Klotz, French Minister of Finance, was elected President of the Committee on Reparation. Premier Hughes of Australia and M. Vanderheuvel of Belgium were elected Vice Presidents. Robert Lansing, American Secretary of State, was unanimously elected President of the Committee on Responsibility for the War. In proposing Mr. Lansing's name, Captain André Tardieu, the French member of the committee, said that before regulating a peace of justice it was necessary to impose penalties upon the authors of the aggressions which had brought death to millions.

The work of the committee, he explained, would be, first, to study the facts which would establish the guilt of those responsible for premeditated violation of treaties and international law, and, second, to fix the penalties which would be defined and applied.

This statement was issued:

The initial meeting of the Commission on the Responsibility for the War and Its Conduct was held today at 3 o'clock at the Ministry of the Interior, and was attended by the delegates of the Powers represented on the commission.

Robert Lansing, Secretary of State and

chief representative for the United States, was chosen President of the commission, and Sir Gordon Stewart of the British delegation and Senator Scialoja of the Italian delegation were chosen Vice Presidents. M. de la Pradelle was appointed secretary of the commission.

It was decided to appoint three sub-committees, two for the examination of questions of law and one for the examination of facts. The following persons were named as a committee of three to nominate members of the above-mentioned sub-committees and to determine the mandate under which the sub-committees in question will act: W. F. Massey of the British delegation, M. Tardieu of the French delegation, and M. Politis, Greek delegate.

The Commission on Ports, Waterways, and Railways also held its first meeting. The meeting was called to order by M. Clavelle, French Minister of Public Works. On his motion Signor Crispi, Italian Minister of Supplies, was named as Chairman and M. Sirtion of Belgium Vice Chairman. The Supreme Council transmitted a request for the admission of members of the smaller nationalities to this committee, which accordingly added a Czech, a Portuguese, and a Pole to membership. The French and British presented a program including recognition of the general principle of the right of nations to control international waterways and international railways, which was accepted by the commission.

Shaping the League of Nations Plan

Acute Differences Overcome

THE Commission of the Society of Nations held daily sessions, beginning Feb. 4, and made steady progress. As the meetings progressed it was clear that there were sharp differences, the chief contention arising over the question of the power to be delegated to the League to enforce its decisions. All the reports indicated that the American and British delegations were in accord on a modified form of authority, while the supporters of a League with power to enforce its decrees by arms were led by the French delegation. The clash of ideas was such as to cause apprehension at times that there would be

no agreement. The most acute differences arose on Feb. 9, when Premier Clemenceau issued an appeal to the American people through The Associated Press, which was construed by many correspondents as an attempt to reach the American public over the head of President Wilson. This appeal is printed on Page 405. It was vigorously applauded by the French press and was followed by a general expression among French journals of serious apprehension that the pacific attitude of President Wilson would cheat France of the fruits of victory and place the country in perpetual peril from a revived and

strengthened Germany. Some of these protests went to extremes, until at length an official hint was issued to the effect that if the Paris press were not tempered the congress would be removed to another city.

After this outburst the atmosphere was quickly cleared and a better feeling prevailed, which resulted on the 13th in a compromise agreement on the main features of the constitution of the League, which was finally presented to the Plenary Council on the 14th by President Wilson as a unanimous report. The chief factor which calmed the troubled waters was the agreement by the Supreme Council on new armistice terms to be imposed on Germany, of so drastic a character that the French and Belgian delegates felt that their execution would prevent any possibility of Germany reopening hostilities or resisting the terms of peace.

SUCCESS OF THE LEAGUE

A semi-official statement was made Feb. 14 through The Associated Press, in which the development of the League of Nations plan was reviewed. It was as follows:

While there was unanimity as to the desirability of a League of Nations, it soon developed that some delegates, skeptical of its immediate efficiency, desired to maintain the old order of balances of power and protected frontiers until the new system had demonstrated its capacity to meet the needs of peace-loving nations. Patient endeavor and many long sessions of the Supreme Council itself, and afterward of the special commission created to deal with the subject, were necessary to establish to the satisfaction of these threatened dissenters the impossibility of continuing the old order while installing the new.

It was only within the last week that the difficulties facing the League of Nations were overcome, although with some misgivings. The doubting nations were induced to try the experiment of relying upon the honor and common interest of the other nations to insure the success of the project. Then there was the difference over the question of mandatories for backward peoples. Rather heated arguments developed at times, but these differences also were adjusted with unanimity in the end.

Various big issues presented themselves, some of which were skillfully diverted to

commissions which are to report afterward to the League of Nations, while others were rather suddenly disapproved in the light of the development of the plan for the League of Nations.

Of such was the vexed question of freedom of the seas that jeopardized the support of Great Britain. It was realized that with a perfect League of Nations there would be no neutrals, and that consequently no questions could arise as to freedom of the seas in time of war, while in time of peace equitable relations between nations were guaranteed by special provisions of the covenant.

THE ENEMY STATES

Finally, after these discussions were over, it can be stated that no hard feelings remained. There was absolute unanimity, so far as the special commission was concerned, and those nations which at first had doubted the efficiency of the project came out of the discussions in an attitude of its firmest advocates.

Looking to the future, the special commission attaches much importance to the provision made for the admission to the League of neutral and enemy States.

The enemy States are known to be anxious to adhere, but the commission has taken every precaution to make sure that they enter with proper motives and prepared to live up to the obligations of the League.

The point was made that such adhesion should be encouraged, as it was highly desirable, having at heart the interest of the whole world, that the industries of enemy States and neutral countries, which suffered from the blockade, be set in motion at the earliest possible moment.

This decision was not based upon sympathy for Germany, but upon the conviction that the safety of Continental Europe, and perhaps of the world, depended upon turning the German population into ways of industry, so that it might be able to produce goods to pay off the enormous indemnities which are to be imposed upon it. It was the conviction that otherwise Germany might soon drift into the condition of Russia, and that there would be no responsible Government with which the peace treaty could be concluded. In that case it would be necessary for the Peace Congress to continue indefinitely in existence, awaiting the social and economic reorganization that might follow an era of Bolshevism lasting, perhaps, for years.

Russia itself was regarded by the delegates as the great problem yet to be settled, although the hope was expressed that the Prinkipo conference would be realized and something like peaceful relations restored between the factions. It was regarded as necessary at the outset to convince the Bolshevik elements that the Peace Conference had no desire to

force upon them settlements of debts and other such matters as conditions of a successful conference.

THE FINAL SESSION

The final session of the League of Nations Commission was held Feb. 13. The French delegate presented a clause for an interallied military force to compel peace; it was defeated, receiving only two affirmative votes, those of the French and Czechoslovaks.

The Japanese delegation presented an amendment providing that racial discrimination should not be tolerated in immigration laws. Several delegates urged that this would open such a large question that great delay might ensue, and the matter was dropped without a vote.

At this session the constitution as finally drafted was unanimously adopted by the committee, and President Wilson was designated to present the completed plan to the Plenary Council on Feb. 14, and read it in person.

PRESENTED TO THE CONFERENCE

The plenary session of the Conference was held on the afternoon of Feb. 14. After reading the draft, President Wilson followed with a speech in support.

Lord Robert Cecil, head of the British delegation on the League of Nations, followed in an earnest speech. It was a good omen, said Lord Robert, that the document had been laid before the world before being finally enacted, so that people everywhere could advise upon and criticise it. The problem had been one of great difficulty, for it was to preserve the peace of the world with the least possible interference with national sovereignty.

The results accomplished, he continued, embraced two main principles—first, no nation shall go to war until every other means of settlement shall be fully and fairly tried; second, no nation shall forcibly seek to disturb a territory's integrity or interfere with the political independence of the nations of the world.

These were the great principles, but later another great principle must be laid down, namely, that no nation shall retain armaments fit only for aggressive purposes.

Dr. Vittorio Orlando, the Italian Prime

Minister, expressed deep satisfaction at having collaborated in what was going to be one of the greatest documents of history. "Thus born out of the pains of war," the Premier exclaimed, "this is a document of freedom and right which represents the redemption of humanity by sacrifice."

VIEWS OF OTHER DELEGATES

Léon Bourgeois of the French delegation spoke in behalf of France on the good-will which, he said, had prevailed in formulating the project. At the same time, he said, the French delegates reserved the right to present their views on certain details of the plan, as a whole, which was a work of right and justice, and knew no distinction between great and small States.

Dangers to States were not all equal, M. Bourgeois said. Some States, like France and Belgium, were especially exposed and required additional guarantees. He urged a system of permanent inspection of existing armaments and forces as one means of avoiding a renewal of warfare.

Baron Makino of Japan, after approving the high purposes of the League, added that a proposal would be submitted later, which, it was hoped, would receive favorable attention. The nature of this proposal he did not make known, but it is supposed to refer to an amendment abolishing racial distinctions in international affairs. George Nicoll Barnes, British Minister of Labor, and Premier Venizelos of Greece also spoke approvingly of the League of Nations. Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, the Chinese delegate, gave China's adherence to the League.

The Arabian delegate pointed out that the constitution of the League recognized the right of self-determination, but said that certain secret treaties were in existence that would prevent this self-determination. He therefore hoped that such treaties as affected Asiatic Turkey would be declared by the Powers null and void.

Premier Hughes of Australia asked if full opportunity was to be given for discussion of the proposed League, and when. Premier Clemenceau replied that President Wilson had presented the docu-

ment with the expectation that there would be the fullest opportunity for discussion, but when this would occur would be determined later.

The conference adjourned at 7 o'clock, and President Wilson hastened homeward to prepare for the journey to the United States.

President Wilson's Comment on the League Constitution

PRESIDENT WILSON, after reading the constitution of the League of Nations to the Plenary Conference, spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman: I have the honor, and assume it a very great privilege, of reporting in the name of the commission constituted by this Conference on the formulation of a plan for the League of Nations. I am happy to say that it is a unanimous report, a unanimous report from the representatives of fourteen nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, China, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, and Serbia.

I think it will be serviceable and interesting if I, with your permission, read the document, as the only report we have to make.

President Wilson then read the draft. When he reached Article XV. and had read through the second paragraph, the President paused and said:

I pause to point out that a misconception might arise in connection with one of the sentences I have just read: "If any party shall refuse to comply, the council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations."

A case in point, a purely hypothetical case, is this: Suppose there is in the possession of a particular Power a piece of territory, or some other substantial thing in dispute, to which it is claimed that it is not entitled. Suppose that the matter is submitted to the Executive Council for recommendation as to the settlement of the dispute, diplomacy having failed, and suppose that the decision is in favor of the party which claims the subject matter of dispute, as against the party which has the subject matter in dispute.

Then, if the party in possession of the subject matter in dispute merely sits still and does nothing, it has accepted the decision of the council in the sense that it makes no resistance, but something must be done to see that it surrenders the subject matter in dispute.

In such a case, the only case contemplated, it is provided that the Executive Council may then consider what steps will be necessary to oblige the party against whom judgment has been given to comply with the decisions of the council.

CASE FOR USE OF FORCE

After having read Article XIX. President Wilson also stopped and said:

Let me say that before being embodied in this document this was the subject matter of a very careful discussion by representatives of the five greater parties, and that their unanimous conclusion is the matter embodied in this article.

After having read the entire document, President Wilson continued as follows:

It gives me pleasure to add to this formal reading of the result of our labors that the character of the discussion which occurred at the sittings of the commission was not only of the most constructive but of the most encouraging sort. It was obvious throughout our discussions that, although there were subjects upon which there were individual differences of judgment with regard to the method by which our objects should be obtained, there were practically at no point any serious differences of opinion or motive as to the objects which we were seeking.

Indeed, while these debates were not made the opportunity for the expression of enthusiasm and sentiment, I think the other members of the commission will agree with me that there was an undertone of high respect and of enthusiasm for the thing we were trying to do which was heartening throughout every meeting, because we felt that in a way this Conference did intrust unto us the expression of one of its highest and most important purposes, to see to it that the concord of the world in the future with regard to the objects of justice should not be subject to doubt or uncertainty, that the co-operation of the great body of nations should be assured in the maintenance of peace upon terms of honor and of international obligations.

IRRESISTIBLE UNION OF WILLS

The compulsion of that task was constantly upon us, and at no point was there shown the slightest desire to do anything but suggest the best means to accomplish that great object. There is very great significance, therefore, in the fact that the result was reached unanimously.

Fourteen nations were represented, among them all of those Powers which for con-

venience we have called the great Powers, and among the rest a representation of the greatest variety of circumstances and interests. So that I think we are justified in saying that the significance of the result, therefore, has the deepest of all meanings, the union of wills in a common purpose, a union of wills which cannot be resisted, and which, I dare say, no nation will run the risk of attempting to resist.

Now as to the character of the document. While it has consumed some time to read this document, I think you will see at once that it is very simple, and in nothing so simple as in the structure which it suggests for a League of Nations—a body of delegates, an Executive Council, and a permanent secretariat.

When it came to the question of determining the character of the representation in the body of delegates, we were all aware of a feeling which is current throughout the world. Inasmuch as I am stating it in the presence of the official representatives of the various Governments here present, including myself, I may say that there is a universal feeling that the world cannot rest satisfied with merely official guidance. There has reached us through many channels the feeling that if the deliberating body of the League of Nations was merely to be a body of officials representing the various Governments, the peoples of the world would not be sure that some of the mistakes which pre-occupied officials had admittedly made might not be repeated.

It was impossible to conceive a method or an assembly so large and various as to be really representative of the great body of the peoples of the world, because, as I roughly reckon it, we represent, as we sit around this table, more than twelve hundred million people. You cannot have a representative assembly of twelve hundred million people, but if you leave it to each Government to have, if it pleases, one or two or three representatives, though only with a single vote, it may vary its representation from time to time, not only, but it may originate the choice of its several representatives.

Therefore, we thought that this was a proper and a very prudent concession to the practically universal opinion of plain men everywhere that they wanted the door left open to a variety of representation, instead of being confined to a single official body with which they could or might not find themselves in sympathy.

PROVISION FOR DISCUSSION

And you will notice that this body has unlimited rights of discussion—I mean of discussion of anything that falls within the field of international relations—and that it is especially agreed that war or international misunderstandings, or anything that may lead to friction or trouble, is everybody's business, because it may affect the peace of the world.

And in order to safeguard the popular power so far as we could of this representative body, it is provided, you will notice, that when a subject is submitted, it is not to arbitration, but to discussion by the Executive Council. It can, upon the initiative of either of the parties to the dispute, be drawn out of the Executive Council into the larger forum of the general body of delegates, because through this instrument we are depending primarily and chiefly upon one great force, and this is the moral force of the public opinion of the world—the pleasing and clarifying and compelling influences of publicity, so that intrigues can no longer have their coverts, so that designs that are sinister can at any time be drawn into the open, so that those things that are destroyed by the light may be promptly destroyed by the overwhelming light of the universal expression of the condemnation of the world.

Armed force is in the background in this program, but it is in the background, and if the moral force of the world will not suffice, the physical force of the world shall. But that is the last resort, because this is intended as a constitution of peace, not as a league of war.

The simplicity of the document seems to me to be one of its chief virtues, because, speaking for myself, I was unable to see the variety of circumstances with which the League would have to deal. I was unable, therefore, to plan all the machinery that might be necessary to meet the differing and unexpected contingencies. Therefore, I should say of this document that it is not a straitjacket, but vehicle of life.

A LIVING THING IS BORN

A living thing is born, and we must see to it what clothes we put on it. It is not a vehicle of power, but a vehicle in which power may be varied at the discretion of those who exercise it and in accordance with the changing circumstances of the time. And yet, while it is elastic, while it is general in its terms, it is definite in the one thing that we were called upon to make definite. It is a definite guarantee of peace. It is a definite guarantee by word against aggression. It is a definite guarantee against the things which have just come near bringing the whole structure of civilization into ruin.

Its purposes do not for a moment lie vague. Its purposes are declared, and its powers are unmistakable. It is not in contemplation that this should be merely a league to secure the peace of the world. It is a league which can be used for co-operation in any international matter. That is the significance of the provision introduced concerning labor. There are many ameliorations of labor conditions which can be effected by conference and discussion. I anticipate that there will be a very great usefulness in the Bureau of Labor which it is contemplated shall be set up by the League. Men and women and children

who work have been in the background through long ages, and sometimes seemed to be forgotten, while Governments have had their watchful and suspicious eyes upon the manoeuvres of one another, while the thought of statesmen has been about structural action and the larger transactions of commerce and finance.

Now, if I may believe the picture which I see, there comes into the foreground the great body of the laboring people of the world, the men and women and children upon whom the great burden of sustaining the world must from day to day fall, whether we wish it to do so or not, people who go to bed tired and wake up without the stimulation of lively hope. These people will be drawn into the field of international consultation and help, and will be among the wards of the combined Governments of the world. There is, I take leave to say, a very great step in advance in the mere conception of that.

Then, as you will notice, there is an imperative article concerning the publicity of all international agreements. Henceforth no member of the League can claim any agreement valid which it has not registered with the Secretary General, in whose office, of course, it will be subject to the examination of anybody representing a member of the League. And the duty is laid upon the Secretary General to publish every document of that sort at the earliest possible time.

I suppose most persons who have not been conversant with the business of foreign affairs do not realize how many hundreds of these agreements are made in a single year, and how difficult it might be to publish the more unimportant of them immediately, how uninteresting it would be to most of the world to publish them immediately, but even they must be published just as soon as it is possible for the Secretary General to publish them.

PROTECTION OF THE HELPLESS

Then there is a feature about this covenant which, to my mind, is one of the greatest and most satisfactory advances that have been made. We are done with annexations of helpless peoples, meant in some instances by some Powers to be used merely for exploitation. We recognize in the most solemn manner that the helpless and undeveloped peoples of the world, being in that condition, put an obligation upon us to look after their interests primarily before we use them for our interests, and that in all cases of this sort hereafter it shall be the duty of the League to see that the nations who are assigned as the tutors and advisers and directors of these peoples shall look to their interests and their development before they look to the interests and desires of the mandatory nation itself.

There has been no greater advance than this, gentlemen. If you look back upon the history of the world you will see how helpless peoples have too often been a prey to

Powers that had no conscience in the matter. It has been one of the many distressing revelations of recent years that the great Power which has just been, happily, defeated put intolerable burdens and injustice upon the helpless people of some of the colonies which it annexed to itself, that its interest was rather their extermination than their development, that the desire was to possess their land for European purposes and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in these places to the next higher level.

Now the world, expressing its conscience in law, says there is an end of that, that our consciences shall be settled to this thing. States will be picked out which have already shown that they can exercise a conscience in this matter, and under their tutelage the helpless peoples of the world will come into a new light and into a new hope.

A PRACTICAL DOCUMENT

So I think I can say of this document that it is at one and the same time a practical document and a human document. There is a pulse of sympathy in it. There is a compulsion of conscience throughout it. It is practical, and yet it is intended to purify, to rectify, to elevate. And I want to say that, so far as my observation instructs me, this is in one sense a belated document. I believe that the conscience of the world has long been prepared to express itself in some such way. We are not just now discovering our sympathy for these people and our interest in them. We are simply expressing it, for it has long been felt, and in the administration of the affairs of more than one of the great States represented here—so far as I know, all of the great States that are represented here—that humane impulse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies whose peoples were yet at a low stage of civilization.

We have had many instances of colonies lifted into the sphere of complete self-government. This is not the discovery of a principle. It is the universal application of a principle. It is the agreement of the great nations which have tried to live by these standards in their separate administrations to unite in seeing that their common force and their common thought and intelligence are lent to this great and humane enterprise. I think it is an occasion, therefore, for the most profound satisfaction that this humane decision should have been reached in a matter for which the world has long been waiting and until a very recent period thought that it was still too early to hope.

Many terrible things have come out of this war, gentlemen, but some very beautiful things have come out of it. Wrong has been defeated, but the rest of the world has been more conscious than it ever was before of the majority of right. People that were suspicious of one another can now live as friends and comrades in a single family, and desire

to do so. The miasma of distrust, of intrigue, is cleared away. Men are looking eye to eye and saying: "We are brothers and

have a common purpose. We did not realize it before, but now we do realize it, and this is our covenant of friendship."

Text of the Proposed Constitution of the League of Nations

FOLLOWING is the text of the covenant and draft of the Constitution of the League of Nations as read by President Wilson to the plenary session of the Peace Conference:

COVENANT

PREAMBLE—In order to promote international co-operation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the Powers signatory to this covenant adopt this Constitution of the League of Nations:

ARTICLE I.—The action of the high contracting parties under the terms of this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of a meeting of a body of delegates representing the high contracting parties, of meetings at more frequent intervals of an Executive Council, and of a permanent international secretariat to be established at the seat of the League.

ART. II.—Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at stated intervals and from time to time, as occasion may require, for the purpose of dealing with matters within the sphere of action of the League. Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at the seat of the League, or at such other places as may be found convenient, and shall consist of representatives of the high contracting parties. Each of the high contracting parties shall have one vote, but may have not more than three representatives.

ART. III.—The Executive Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, together with representatives of four other States, members of the League. The selection of these four States shall be made by the body of delegates on such principles and in such manner as they think fit. Pending the appointment of these representatives of the other States, representatives of — shall be members of the Executive Council.

Meetings of the Council shall be held from time to time as occasion may require, and

at least once a year, at whatever place may be decided on, or, failing any such decision, at the seat of the League, and any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world may be dealt with at such meetings.

Invitations shall be sent to any Power to attend a meeting of the council at which such matters directly affecting its interests are to be discussed, and no decision taken at any meeting will be binding on such Powers unless so invited.

ART. IV.—All matters of procedure at meetings of the body of delegates or the Executive Council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the body of delegates or the Executive Council, and may be decided by a majority of the States represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the body of delegates and of the Executive Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ART. V.—The permanent secretariat of the League shall be established at —, which shall constitute the seat of the League. The secretariat shall comprise such secretaries and staff as may be required, under the general direction and control of a Secretary General of the League, who shall be chosen by the Executive Council. The secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General subject to confirmation by the Executive Council.

The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the States members of the League, in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ART. VI.—Representatives of the high contracting parties and officials of the League, when engaged in the business of the League, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities, and the buildings occupied by the League or its officials, or by representatives attending its meetings, shall enjoy the benefits of extraterritoriality.

ART. VII.—Admission to the League of States, not signatories to the covenant and not named in the protocol hereto as States to be invited to adhere to the covenant, requires the assent of not less than two-thirds of the States represented in the body of

delegates, and shall be limited to fully self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies.

No State shall be admitted to the League unless it is able to give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations and unless it shall conform to such principles as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its naval and military forces and armaments.

ART. VIII.—The high contracting parties recognize the principle that the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety, and the enforcement by common action of international obligations, having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, and the Executive Council shall formulate plans for effecting such reduction. The Executive Council shall also determine for the consideration and action of the several Governments what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the program of disarmament; and these limits, when adopted, shall not be exceeded without the permission of the Executive Council.

The high contracting parties agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections, and direct the Executive Council to advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those countries which are not able to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The high contracting parties undertake in no way to conceal from each other the condition of such of their industries as are capable of being adapted to warlike purposes or the scale of their armaments, and agree that there shall be full and frank interchange of information as to their military and naval programs.

ART. IX.—A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the League on the execution of the provisions of Article VIII. and on military and naval questions generally.

ART. X.—The high contracting parties shall undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all States members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Executive Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.

ART. XI.—Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the high contracting parties or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the League, and the high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

It is hereby also declared and agreed to be the friendly right of each of the high contracting parties to draw the attention of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council to any circumstance affecting international intercourse which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ART. XII.—The high contracting parties agree that should disputes arise between them which cannot be adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy they will in no case resort to war without previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Executive Council, and until three months after the award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the Executive Council, and that they will not even then resort to war as against a member of the League which complies with the award of the arbitrators or the recommendation of the Executive Council.

In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the recommendation of the Executive Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ART. XIII.—The high contracting parties agree that whenever any dispute or difficulty shall arise between them, which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole matter to arbitration. For this purpose the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any convention existing between them. The high contracting parties agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered. In the event of any failure to carry out the award the Executive Council shall propose what steps can best be taken to give effect thereto.

ART. XIV.—The Executive Council shall formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice, and this court shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognize as suitable for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article.

ART. XV.—If there should arise between States, members of the League, any dispute likely to lead to rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the high contracting parties agree that they will refer the matter to the Executive Council; either party to the dispute may give notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties agree to communicate to the Secretary General as promptly as possible statements of their case, all the relevant facts and papers, and the Executive Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

Where the efforts of the council lead to the settlement of the dispute, a statement shall be published, indicating the nature of the dispute and the terms of settlement, together with such explanations as may be appropriate. If the dispute has not been settled, a report by the council shall be published, setting forth with all necessary facts and explanations the recommendation which the council think just and proper for the settlement of the dispute. If the report is unanimously agreed to by the members of the council, other than the parties to the dispute, the high contracting parties agree that they will not go to war with any party which complies with the recommendations, and that if any party shall refuse so to comply the council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations. If no such unanimous report can be made it shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements, indicating what they believe to be the facts, and containing the reasons which they consider to be just and proper.

The Executive Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the body of delegates. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request must be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute. In a case referred to the body of delegates, all the provisions of this article, and of Article XII., relating to the action and powers of the Executive Council, shall apply to the action and powers of the body of delegates.

ART. XVI.—Should any of the high contracting parties break or disregard its covenants under Article XII. it shall thereby ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League, which hereby undertakes immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Executive Council in such case to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The high contracting parties agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which may be taken under this article in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State and that they will afford passage through their territory to the forces of any

of the high contracting parties who are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

ART. XVII.—In the event of dispute between one State member of the League and another State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the high contracting parties agree that the State or States, not members of the League, shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Executive Council may deem just, and upon acceptance of any such invitation, the above provisions shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the League.

Upon such invitation being given the Executive Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances and merits of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

In the event of a power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of the League, which in the case of a State member of the League would constitute a breach of Article XII., the provisions of Article XVI. shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute, the Executive Council may take such action and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ART. XVIII.—The high contracting parties agree that the League shall be intrusted with general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest.

ART. XIX.—To those colonies and territories which, as a consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the constitution of the League.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations, who by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the

territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities, formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire, have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory power.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory, subject to conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific Isles, which, owing to the sparseness of the population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the mandatory State and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory States as integral portions thereof, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the mandatory State shall render to the League an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration, to be exercised by the mandatory State, shall, if not previously agreed upon by the high contracting parties in each case, be explicitly defined by the Executive Council in a special act or charter.

The high contracting parties further agree to establish at the seat of the League a mandatory commission to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatory powers, and to assist the League in insuring the observance of the terms of all mandates.

ART. XX.—The high contracting parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own

countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend; and to that end agree to establish as part of the organization of the League a permanent bureau of labor.

ART. XXI.—The high contracting parties agree that provision shall be made through the instrumentality of the League to secure and maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all States members of the League, having in mind, among other things, special arrangements with regard to the necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918.

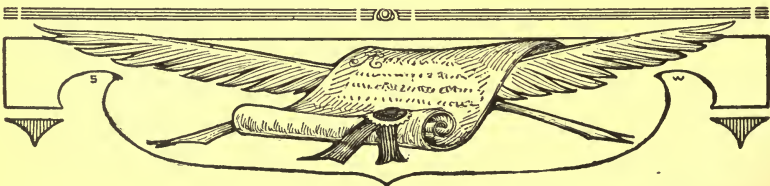
ART. XXII.—The high contracting parties agree to place under the control of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties, if the parties to such treaties consent. Furthermore, they agree that all such international bureaus to be constituted in future shall be placed under control of the League.

ART. XXIII.—The high contracting parties agree that every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any State member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretary General and as soon as possible published by him, and that no such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ART. XXIV.—It shall be the right of the body of delegates from time to time to advise the reconsideration by States members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and of international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

ART. XXV.—The high contracting parties severally agree that the present covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly engage that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof. In case any of the Powers signatory hereto or subsequently admitted to the League shall, before becoming a party to this covenant, have undertaken any obligations which are inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such Power to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ART. XXVI.—Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Executive Council and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the body of delegates.



Premier Clemenceau's Appeal to America

THE following address to the people of the United States was made by Premier Clemenceau on Feb. 9, 1919, through The Associated Press:

I lived in the United States in my young and formative days. Perhaps, therefore, I may be indulged to say a few words to our allies on the other side of the Atlantic. Not by way of advice or propaganda, but frankly as friend to friend.

The friendship between our peoples which has subsisted for a century and a half is a very beautiful thing. The like of it has never existed for the same length of time between any other two peoples. This cordiality, cemented by our contact during the war, must endure in closer measure hereafter. To this end our minds must meet.

The entrance of America into the great war was full of dramatic interest. The application of nation-wide conscription without the slightest disturbance, the universal self-denial to supply us with food and all other requirements, the unity of purpose, and the amazing energy of 110,000,000 people of so varying and complex a character, challenged our admiration and gratitude in such fashion as no one but ourselves can know.

And the way the American soldiers fought! Nothing could have been finer. Inspired by the holiest ideals, I may say transfigured, they entered upon their task with all the determination, all the fervor, all the spiritual purpose of the old-time Crusaders. They did work! France might have died. She would not have surrendered. But do not mistake me. I do not mean to minimize the importance of the American military aid, nor of the American Red Cross, nor the Salvation Army, nor any of the helpful agencies. There never has been in all the world's history so perfect a co-ordination of the holy purpose of the righteous-minded inhabitants of the earth.

And now the war is won. The world is made safe for democracy, for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, as Jefferson said in the American Declaration of Independence. And the future is before us. What has it in store?

FAITH IN AMERICANS

I am told that some of these gallant American soldiers, who lived in trenches, slept in dugouts, and burrowed in the mud in devastated and war-torn France, when they crossed the Rhine and in an undevastated land found clean beds and baths, rather regret that they fought on the side of freedom and would rather have fought on the side of the murdering Germans. I do not believe it. I am sure there is no American soldier who does not recognize that France, the battlefield of the war, could not give him the comforts that Germany, undevastated,

was able to. I do not and will not believe so meanly of a single one of the brilliant warriors who came from the States to our aid in the great struggle for civilization against savagery. It is incredible. It is the tragedy of the war that devastated France could not give them the comforts that unbroken Germany could.

I believe there is some criticism that there have been overcharges by the French for food and other things. Well, there are things to be said about that. First, for many years the Americans have been coming to Europe and with abundant means and great generosity have been spoiling our people. They have paid for everything with a bounteous hand. As a result, they have taught our people, who were willing pupils, that they were very rich and very, very generous. It was but human that our people should expect much from the Americans.

It is only fair to say that in every case where the attention of the French Government has been brought to a case of extortion an earnest and, I think, effective, effort has been made to stop it. Compared with the United States France is a small country and limited in her resources. Necessarily she is provident, perhaps unpleasantly careful, I would say; not miserly nor certainly intentionally extortionate. But also you must know that all the time our own French people have paid the same prices for what they bought that our American friends have.

Throughout the war our relations with the American Army have been most cordial, and your Treasury officials will assure you, I am sure, that there has always been a spirit of generosity on both sides. Any suggestion that we have asked payment for trenches or the burial places of your brave soldiers is atrocious. For all future ages the graves of American soldiers will be in the tender and sacred keeping of our grateful people.

I have said that the war is won. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that there is a lull in the storm. At least it is as well to face squarely all the possibilities.

MEANT TO EXTERMINATE FRANCE

Recent disclosures have enabled us to look deeper into the purposes of the enemy than we could heretofore. It was not purely a dream of military domination on the part of Prussia. It was a definite, calculated conspiracy to exterminate France, as well industrially and commercially as in a military sense. In this effort the German bankers and manufacturers joined their General Staff. The exposures of Dr. Mühlson of the Krupp Works and of Kurt Eisner at the Berne Socialist Conference make this clear.

And this fact explains many of the activities of the German Army which we were not able to understand. We can now see why they stole the machinery from our factories,

why they destroyed the coal mines of Lens, why there was all the wanton devastation of French territory, even when they were in retreat. It was thought to be a part of their tactics of military frightfulness. Instead, we can see now that it was a part of their deliberate commercial design.

And in this phase of their war-making effort they have not been altogether unsuccessful. The industrial life of France has been so wrecked that its resuscitation is most difficult, while by reason of her military surrender Germany has been able to save her factories intact and ready for immediate efficient operation. Industrially and commercially, as between France and Prussia, for the present the victory is with the Hun.

And financially, by reason of the blockade, (the value of which as a military factor no one will question,) the German war debt is almost wholly a debt to her own people, easily repudiated, while the debt of France is one which must be paid. Here again the war has proved something like a Pyrrhic victory for France.

The French fortune invested abroad before the war was large—some fifty or sixty billions (francs) of French stock. What has become of that fortune? The best that we can hope for is that payments on about two-thirds of it may be considered as simply deferred; that the immense sum accumulated by French thrift and loaned abroad will be collectible eventually.

INVESTMENT IN RUSSIA

France has something like twenty billion francs invested in Russia, two-thirds of that sum in Russian Government securities and the remainder in industrial enterprises. The French people have other billions in Balkan and Turkish obligations. Then, just before the war, the disorders in Mexico deprived us of any revenue from about two and a half billions of francs invested there, and we are having the same experience with several other billions in South America, notably the immense French investments in railways.

I mention some of these financial details to show how the French fortune has shrunk, so that our people can no longer derive a large income from abroad. The paying investments abroad are relatively inconsiderable compared to the debts that France has contracted abroad during the war, particularly in America and in England. The French Government has also loaned considerable sums to her small allies, just as America has done with her associates.

We look forward, therefore, to an immediate future in which we must regularly meet great interest charges in America and elsewhere abroad, to provide which we will have only the resources at home.

If our national debts were due only to our own people the problem would not be so difficult, because we would not then have to consider the sending out of the country of great sums at disadvantageous rates of exchange. The money collected from the French people for interest on the national loans would be distributed among the French people, unequally perhaps, but nevertheless the interest payments would remain in the country, to be used partly for reconstruction and as capital for the development of our industrial life.

Even as to the military triumphs of Germany there is a situation not altogether without disquieting features for France. It is quite true that the Allies have taken the German Navy and in large measure have disarmed the enemy, but there remains a chaotic yet fruitful Russia from which great help may be drawn by the Teutons.

With the British Army demobilized, the American Army back home, and France isolated there might be a danger of a reopening of the military debate by Germany which might embarrass us were it not for the assurance which President Wilson gave us in the Chamber of Deputies the other day that under the operation of the League of Nations, "whenever France or any other free people is threatened the whole world will be ready to vindicate its liberty," so that "there never shall be any doubt or waiting or surmise." This has given us great solace. And so we bid the departing American soldiers godspeed and a happy return to their peaceful firesides.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S PROMISE

Of course, a Society of Nations in which America and France enter must be supported profoundly by the conviction of their peoples and by a determination of each nation entering into the agreement to be willing to renounce its traditional aloofness from other peoples and willing to employ the national strength outside its own country in time of peace as well as under the pressure of war.

We shall have problems, but France will face them, as she has done, with courage and with an abiding faith in the triumph of right and justice. As was said of Chevalier Bayard, so must it be said of France—she will continue "sans peur et sans reproche."

All our plan are based upon the splendid platform laid down by President Wilson. In perfect harmony with the principles which he has enunciated, we are striving for higher and holier idealism in the conduct of the affairs of the world. Divested of all mercenary aspirations, we join heartily and unreservedly in the effort to make a better world and one of simple justice to all mankind.

The Prinkipo Conference Plan

An Attempt to Arrange a Meeting Between Delegates of the Allies and of Russian Factions

EARLY in January, 1919, the British Government submitted a proposal to the French Foreign Office that an invitation be dispatched by wireless to the Soviet Government at Moscow, to General Kolchak at Omsk, to General Denikine at Ekaterinodar, to M. Tschaikovsky at Archangel, as well as to all the other Governments appointed by the various Russian nationalities, for the declaration of a truce among the different contending factions during the period of the Peace Conference. In the event that the Soviet and other Russian Governments accepted this invitation they might be allowed to send delegates to the Peace Conference.

The French Foreign Minister, Stephen Pichon, responded on Jan. 5 with a diplomatic note, declaring that, while the French Government acknowledged the generous English spirit of worldwide reconciliation, approval could not be given the suggestion, since it did not take into consideration the principles that still inspired the policies of the French and other allied Governments in Russia.

FORMER AMBASSADOR'S VERDICT

On Jan. 20 the Supreme Council gave a hearing to Joseph Noulens, the French Ambassador, who had just returned from Russia, where he had witnessed personally the changes that had taken place in Governmental and economic life. He summarized his views in the following authorized statement:

The Bolshevik power is the enemy of the Entente. It is responsible for the Russian defection from the Entente. It furnished Germany with food during the war. It protested against the terms of the German armistice. These acts show an uncompromising attitude of hostility against the Entente.

Tyranny and terror, which are increasing daily, should place the bloody chiefs at Moscow and Petrograd outside the pale of humanity. No society of nations could deal with such a régime, which constitutes today the most serious ob-

stacle to a general peace. Until the régime falls, which I hope to see the Allies actively undertake, Europe will continue to be exposed to the severest risks of agitation and war.

THE INVITATION SENT

On Jan. 22 the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference adopted a proposal laid before it by President Wilson for action regarding Russia. The plan adopted was that of sending a wireless message to the various Russian Governments, inviting them to send delegates to Princes' Islands, in the Sea of Marmora, to confer with allied representatives on Feb. 15. There are eight islands in the group chosen for this rendezvous, of which the largest and most beautiful is Prinkipo, a popular Summer resort, only twelve miles from Constantinople.

The text of the message sent was as follows:

The single object the representatives of the associated Powers have had in mind in their discussions of the course they should pursue with regard to Russia has been to help the Russian people, not to hinder them or to interfere in any manner with their right to settle their own affairs in their own way.

They regard the Russian people as their friends, not their enemies, and are willing to help them in any way they are willing to be helped. It is clear to them that the troubles and distrust of the Russian people will steadily increase, hunger and privation of every kind become more and more acute, more and more widespread, and more and more impossible to relieve unless order is restored and normal conditions of labor, trade, and transportation once more created, and they are seeking some way in which to assist the Russian people to establish order.

They recognize the absolute right of the Russian people to direct their own affairs without dictation or direction of any kind from outside. They do not wish to exploit or make use of Russia in any way.

They recognize the revolution without reservation and will in no way and in no circumstances aid or give countenance to any attempt at a counter-revolution.

It is not their wish or purpose to favor or assist any one of the organized groups now contending for the leadership and guidance of Russia as against the others. Their sole and sincere purpose is to do what they can to bring Russia peace and an opportunity to find her way out of her present troubles.

The associated Powers are now engaged in the solemn and responsible work of establishing the peace of Europe and of the world, and they are keenly alive to the fact that Europe and the world cannot be at peace if Russia is not. They recognize and accept it as a duty to serve Russia as generously, as unselfishly, as thoughtfully, as ungrudgingly as they would serve any other friend and ally, and they are ready to render this service in the way that is most acceptable to the Russian people.

In this spirit and with this purpose they have taken the following action: They invite every organized group that is now exercising or attempting to exercise political authority or military control anywhere in Siberia, or within the boundaries of European Russia as they stood before the war just concluded, except in Finland, to send representatives, not exceeding three representatives for each group, to Princes' Islands, Sea of Marmora, where they will be met by representatives of the associated powers, provided in the meantime there is a truce of arms among the parties invited and that all armed forces anywhere sent or directed against any people or territory inside the boundaries of European Russia as they stood before the war, or against Finland, or against any people or territory whose autonomous action is in contemplation in the fourteen articles upon which the present negotiations are based, shall be meanwhile withdrawn and aggressive military actions cease.

These representatives are invited to confer with the representatives of the associated Powers in the freest and frankest way, with a view to ascertaining the wishes of all sections of the Russian people and bringing about, if possible, some understanding and agreement by which Russia may work out her own purposes, and happy, co-operative relations be established between her people and the other peoples of the world.

A prompt reply to this invitation is requested. Every facility for the journey of the representatives, including transportation across the Black Sea, will be given by the Allies, and all the parties concerned are expected to give the same facilities. The representatives will be expected at the place appointed by Feb. 15, 1919.

This action of the Supreme Council produced a flood of protests from the

more conservative elements in Russia, and from the various factions fighting the Bolshevik régime. The council of the national and democratic bloc of Russian political organizations abroad sent a strongly worded protest to Premier Clemenceau against the decision of the Supreme Council to call a conference of the Russian factions. It read in part:

We would be men without honor and courage if we accepted for a single moment a truce such as proposed to us while all that are dear are in danger of death—violent death by execution or assassination or slow death through hunger. The interest of humanity in general and democracy in particular requires the establishment in Russia of a régime based on the sovereignty of the people freely expressed. An improvised meeting at the Princes' Islands cannot be an expression of this sort. Russia has long clamored for the free election of a Constituent Assembly. The attempt was stifled by the Bolsheviks by force of arms, and they are today asked to make the voice of Russia heard!

Nicholas Tschaikovsky, the head of the Northern Government of Russia, voiced the hostility of his Government to a compromise with the Bolsheviks, saying:

The suggestion that we other Russians should enter into negotiations for an accommodation with the Bolsheviks is impracticable, because we have no common ground with them. They deny every democratic principle that we affirm, fundamentally the liberty of the subject. There is only one settlement possible between us: either we prevail over them or they prevail over us.

The policy of the conference is not only useless, is not only impracticable, but it is humiliating to the representatives of Russia. We cannot enter into discussions with criminals and outrage-mongers. To do so would be to recognize Bolshevism as a party, or to recognize crime as a normal political weapon and to tolerate the loosening of the foundation of democracy.

Sergius Sazonoff, former Russian Foreign Minister, who represents the Governments of Ekaterinodar and Omsk at Paris, declared that he would not participate in the meeting with Bolshevik representatives proposed by the Supreme Council. He went further, making a plea on Jan. 24 that anti-Bolshevik Russians be allowed to raise a volunteer army in other European countries with the purpose of combating the Bolshevik régime and restoring order in Russia.

General Horvath of the Siberian Government, in discussing the invitation to Princes' Islands, declared on Feb. 1, at Vladivostok, that it would be impossible for the factions to reach an agreement with the Bolsheviks. The General said:

We cannot conclude an armistice with them, because it would be impossible to secure guarantees which would not be violated by the Bolsheviks.

The Omsk Government, under Admiral Kolchak, in its formal reply to the invitation, expressed strong reserve, while not indicating absolute rejection of the proposal.

The Government of Georgia, in Transcaucasia, responded on Feb. 3 with a declination to attend, on the ground that Georgia, like Finland, already had achieved her independence, and was no longer a portion of Russia.

The Lithuanian delegation in Paris, representing the whole of Lithuania in Russia, comprising a population of about 15,000,000, replied on Feb. 6 that they were ready to accept the invitation on condition of the indorsement of the principle by the Peace Conference of absolute autonomy and independence for Lithuania.

ESTHONIA ACCEPTS

The official reply of the Estonian Government, made public Feb. 11, was as follows:

The Estonian people, by the intermediary of its National Council, which springs from universal suffrage, determined to separate from Russia, and thereupon proclaimed Estonia an independent republic. The Government has been provisionally recognized by the English, French, and Italian Governments. Not only does the Estonian Government exert its authority independent of any Russian Government, but for three months, after having organized a regular army, it has been at war with the Russian Soviet communist republic.

Therefore, we in no wise consider ourselves a part of Russia, although we accept the invitation of the allied powers and of the United States to go to Princes' Islands. We believe that the participation of the representatives of Estonia and of the communist republic of Russian Soviets is of importance to the future relations between Russia and the Estonian Republic.

The Lettish Republic responded on Feb. 12 that it would send delegates to

the conference. The official text of the reply, in part, follows:

Although, from a political point of view, the provisional Government of Letvia is in a situation exactly similar to that of Poland and Finland, it finds itself, nevertheless, invited, according to an official declaration made by the Secretary General of the Peace Conference on Feb. 10. In the name of the provisional Lettish Government, the Lettish delegation has the honor to bring to the attention of the Peace Conference of Paris the following declaration:

"The provisional Lettish Government will send three delegates to Princes' Islands, provided that all armed forces sent or directed by Russia against the Lettish State be withdrawn from Letvia, and that all offensive military action cease.

"Letvia announces its separation from Russia, and announced, in January, 1918, at the Constituent Assembly of Russia, the Constitution of an independent and sovereign Lettish State.

"The Lettish delegation sent to the Peace Conference will participate in the conference at Prinkipo in order to:

"1. Make peace with Russia, this peace to be recognized by the great allied powers.

"2. Regulate, under the auspices of the great allied powers, the political and economic affairs as they result from the separation of Letvia and Russia.

"3. Make treaties in and take the necessary steps toward the establishment of States."

By Feb. 12 the Ukrainian Soviet Government announced that it was willing to accept the invitation of the Supreme Council to the conference at Princes' Islands. The Government of the Crimea also informed the Allies about that time that it was willing to send delegates to the meeting.

BOLSHEVIST ATTITUDE

On Jan. 25 M. Tchitcherin, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, sent a wireless message to the Soviet representative in Sweden asking for confirmation of the proposal of the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference to send a mission to confer with representatives of the different Russian factions at Princes' Islands. In his message M. Tchitcherin raised objections to the isolation of the islands as tending to surround the proposed meeting with secrecy, and also to leaving the choice of participants to the Entente.

On Feb. 6, 1919, the Russian Soviet Government, in a wireless message to the Entente Governments sent out from Moscow by M. Tchitcherin, announced that it was willing to begin conversations with the Entente with the object of bringing about a cessation of military activities. Moreover, it offered to guarantee the payment of interest on its debts by means of stipulated quantities of raw materials, and to place concessions in mines, forests, &c., at the disposal of citizens of the Entente, provided "the social and economic order of the Soviet Government was not affected by internal disorders connected with these concessions." The message added:

The extent to which the Soviet Government is prepared to meet the Entente will depend on its military position in relation to that of the Entente Governments, and it must be emphasized that its position improves every day.

The Supreme Council, on receiving the acceptance of the Russian Bolshevik

Government, immediately made arrangements to send a joint committee of two representatives from each of the five great powers to meet the representatives of the Soviet Government. On Feb. 7 William Allen White of Emporia, Kan., and Professor George Davis Herron were appointed the American delegates to the Marmora conference with the Russian factions. Other countries named the following delegates on Feb. 8: M. Conty, the French Minister to Copenhagen, and General Bampon, for France; Sir Robert Borden, Premier of Canada, and a military delegate, for Great Britain, and the Marquis della Torretta, former Ambassador in Petrograd, for Italy.

Meanwhile the Bolsheviki showed no signs of complying with the provision for a military truce, and the project had encountered so many other obstacles that the Peace Conference took up the whole question anew on Feb. 16, with a view to hastening the solution.

Armistice Extension

An Economic Council Added to the Commission and New Details Arranged

THE Supreme War Council devoted its sessions on Feb. 7, 8, and 9 to a discussion of the terms for a renewal of the armistice with Germany. Statements were made by Marshal Foch and other military leaders of France that the Germans had not complied with the previous terms, and urgent representations were made in favor of imposing new and more drastic terms and compelling their rigid execution. At the meeting of the council on Feb. 8 the following resolution, proposed by President Wilson, was approved:

First—Under present conditions many questions not primarily of military character, which are arising daily and which are bound to become of increasing importance as time passes, should be dealt with on behalf of the United States and the Allies by civilian representatives of these Governments experienced in such questions—finance, food, blockade control, shipping, and raw materials.

Second—To accomplish this, there shall be constituted at Paris a Supreme Economic Council to deal with such matters for the period of the armistice. The council shall absorb or replace all such other existing interallied bodies and their powers, as it may determine from time to time. The Economic Council shall consist of not more than five representatives of each interested Government.

Third—There shall be added to the present international permanent armistice commission two civilian representatives of each Government, who shall consult with the allied high command, but who may report direct to the Supreme Economic Council.

At a meeting of the Supreme Council on Feb. 10 M. Klotz, French Minister of Finance, presented documents of the German General Staff, published in 1916, showing a systematic plan to destroy French industry, not only as a military measure, but as a means to promote German industrial interests. These docu-

ments were referred to the new Economic Council.

The council at its sessions on Feb. 12 brought together, besides President Wilson and representatives of the great powers, Marshals Foch and Pétain, Field Marshal Haig, General Diaz and Generals Pershing and Bliss; also economic and financial experts. Civilian Americans taking part were Norman Davis of the Treasury, Vance McCormick of the War Trade Board, and B. M. Baruch of the War Industries Board. The presence of these officials indicated that economic and financial, as well as military, features were incorporated in the new terms.

The German authorities were asked to furnish information confirming the amount of their war material, cannon, airplanes, and other equipment. This question came up in the recent sessions of the council when the extent of this material was advanced as a reason for taking measures against the renewal of warlike activities. Before determining on any such step it was considered desirable to request information, both as a memorandum dealing with the subject and as testing the good faith of the enemy in disclosing the status of his military equipment.

The new armistice terms were presented to the German Commissioners by Marshal Foch at Treves, on Feb. 14. Mathias Erzberger replied for the Germans. He handed two notes to Marshal Foch. One concerned the employment of the German mercantile marine for various purposes, while the other was longer and contained several requests, including the release of German prisoners and the maintenance of economic intercourse between Germany and occupied territories. The point made with reference to the German ships was that they would be released to bring food to Europe, provided Germany were allowed to obtain part of it, to be paid for by a collateral pledge rather than cash.

Among the declarations made by Herr Erzberger was one to the American representative on the Armistice Commission—that Germany went to the aid of the United States from 1862 to 1865 during

the great economic crisis, furnishing money, clothes, shoes, and machinery. If the United States came to the aid of Germany today, more than fifty years afterward, Erzberger said, she could give Germany food and raw materials against a German loan, and at the same time would be doing a good stroke of business.

Herr Erzberger said that Germany was suffering from hunger. The doctors had made known the number of victims of the blockade. More than half a million men, women, and children had died from exhaustion or the results of lessened capacity to resist disease, he added. He declared that Bismarck gave succor to Paris in 1871, immediately after the Franco-Prussian War, and he gave warning that Bolshevism would result from hunger in Germany.

He also protested against what he termed the oppression against everything German in Alsace-Lorraine and against the encouragement given by the Entente to "the Polish appetite for conquest." Germany, he asserted, had accepted President Wilson's fourteen points for peace, and the Allies also had accepted them. Article II., he said, did not give the Allies the right to forbid the German people to defend themselves against such encroachments as the Poles were making.

Marshal Foch stated that the terms of the armistice were fixed by the Supreme War Council and gave notice that unless the new agreement was signed by 6 o'clock Feb. 16 he would regard the armistice as no longer in force and would leave Treves to issue the necessary orders to the allied troops.

Herr Erzberger left Treves for Weimar on Feb. 17 to consult the German Government. The Cabinet, after a six-hour session, instructed Herr Erzberger to sign the armistice and at the same time to hand to Marshal Foch a written statement, declaring that the German Government was aware of the serious consequences involved in either signing or rejecting the agreement. The Government's statement said:

Instructing its delegates to sign, it does so with the conviction that the allied and associated Governments are endeavoring to restore peace to the world. The Ger-

man Government is obliged to define its standpoint toward three articles:

First, the agreement entirely ignores the German Government which has arisen in an orderly manner from the will of the people. It imposes in the form of curt orders provisions for the evacuation in favor of the insurgent Poles a number of important places, including Birnbaum and Bentschen. Although we are ready to cease all military aggressive action in Posen and other regions, we must expect the Poles to respect the line of demarkation; otherwise we must be authorized to defend ourselves by force.

Second, Germany promises to carry out those armistice terms which she hitherto has not succeeded in doing, but she ventures to assume that her obligations will not be interpreted in a manner incompatible with President Wilson's principles. We must wait and see whether we are in a position fully to follow the contemplated instructions of the allied supreme command.

Third, objection is raised to the point in the agreement giving only three days' notice for its denunciation.

The new armistice was signed at 6 o'clock on the evening of Feb. 16. Under its provisions: (1) the old terms must be carried out completely by Germany; (2) it can be denounced on three days' notice; (3) it is renewed for an indeterminate period; (4) it fixes a line of demarkation between Germany and Poland, by which a considerable portion of Posen is relinquished to Poland; (5) all offensive movements against the Poles must be abandoned; (6) a plan of disarmament and demobilization of the German forces is to be executed as prescribed by the military and naval advisers of the Allies; (7) and, finally, when this is done certain features of the blockade are to be relaxed. It was reported that the ultimate naval terms would provide for dismantling the fortifications of Heligoland and the Kiel Canal.

Making the New Map of Europe

Summary of Boundary Disputes

THE conflicting territorial claims brought before the Peace Conference for adjustment are so many and varied that a mere summary of them must fill several pages. Coupled with the problems of the former German colonies, they are demanding a large share of the thought of the peace makers at Paris.

Great Britain presents no territorial claims on the Continent and demands only that a permanent and just peace be concluded, and that, according to the principle of self-determination, there should be international freedom of transit by railroads and waterways. She proposes, however, to take the mandate over the German islands south of the equator for Australia and over German Southwest Africa for the Union of South Africa. Great Britain also expects to have the mandate over German East Africa and some parts of Arabia, having particular claims in this respect over Mesopotamia.

France regards Alsace-Lorraine as

nothing less than a portion of French territory to be rightfully returned after an enforced separation, and demands an unconditional award of those provinces to France. With the tragic events of the Summer of 1914 still before them, the French desire the right to fix the French frontiers in their relation to the Rhine, and also, according to the suggestion of Marshal Foch, the erection of buffer States, one of which would be the Palatinate and the other Rhenish Prussia. France desires that, so far as the left bank of the Rhine further south is concerned, the Peace Conference should forbid military works of any kind—barracks, bridgeheads, forts, and fortresses—in that zone. She also desires the entire Rhine to be neutralized, in which desire she has the support of Switzerland. With regard to the government of the region, France feels that the inhabitants of the district should determine for themselves whether they are to join France, become an independent State, or return to Germany. France also desires

to have returned to her the valley of the Sarre.

France, because of her traditional interests in Syria, feels that she should exercise some sort of guardianship over that country until it is fully able to govern itself. The King of Hedjas, recognized as such by the Allies soon after he had assumed his new title in November, 1916, plans an Arab confederation in which Syria is to be included. His son, Prince Feisal, presented this claim to Syria, on the part of his father, before the Peace Conference. The main difficulty in connection with this particular problem lies in the treaty concluded between Great Britain and the King of Hedjas, under which Damascus was to be included in the territory awarded to Hedjas. One section of French opinion, at least, is strongly opposed to Damascus remaining under control of the King of Hedjas, by whom it is now being administered. France also has conflicting claims with Armenia and Arabia to certain parts of Turkey's Asiatic possessions.

PROBLEM ON THE ADRIATIC

Italy desires possession of the Trentino as far as the Brenner Pass, including the whole of Southern Tyrol, Trieste, Istria, Fiume, Zara, Sebenico, the larger part of the Dalmatian Islands, Avlona and its hinterland, the islands in the Aegean, which were taken from Turkey in the Tripolitan war, and, should France and England take territory in Asia Minor, the province of Adalia. Should France and England extend their colonial possessions in Africa, Italy desires to enlarge her holdings in Eritrea and Tripoli. Italy desires also that the Dalmatian Islands and such parts of the Dalmatian coast as are not awarded Italy should be neutralized. A protectorate over Albania is desired by Italy.

The Italian claims to the Islands of the Dodecanesus and other islands in the Aegean Sea conflict with the Greek claims. These islands were occupied by Italian troops, but are, and always have been, inhabited by Greeks.

There is a sharp conflict between the Italian desires regarding the east coast of the Adriatic and the Jugoslavic

claims in that region. Italy stands on the London treaty of 1915, holding that the territory promised by England, France, and Russia therein is necessary to the future protection of Italy and, therefore, the peace of Europe, and that the territory promised Italy in 1915 was far less than what she asked as her allotment for entering the war.

Jugoslavia, the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes," desires the Croatian seaboard and Fiume, conflicting herein with the Italian demands. With regard to the Dalmatian Islands and Albanian Islands, both Jugoslavia and Italy lay claim to these. The Jugoslavic State claims the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were seized by the Hapsburg monarchy in 1908, and is opposed by no one in the Entente group in this claim. The union of Montenegro and Serbia as part of a greater Jugoslavic State was voted by the Montenegrin Parliament, but a faction representing King Nicholas of Montenegro and his adherents protests against a union which will not leave to Montenegro entire local self-government.

THE BALKAN COUNTRIES

Serbia has occupied the Banat to the south of Hungary, and her claims to that region are disputed by Hungary and Rumania. The territory is bounded by the Danube, Theiss, and Maros Rivers almost entirely, except on the east, where the Transylvanian Carpathians shut it in. Belgrade, the Serbian capital, is on the southwest corner.

Rumania, like Serbia, moved troops into the Banat of Temesvar to secure her claims to that part of Hungary. Rumania also desires to retain possession of that portion of Russian Bessarabia given her by the Central Powers under the canceled treaty of Bucharest and now in her possession. And further to insure her command of the mouth of the Danube, Rumania desires the Southern Dobrudja as ceded to her by Bulgaria after the second Balkan war.

Greece desires the possession of Northern Epirus and Thrace, from which latter, however, she excepts Constantinople and the shores of the Bosphorus and



DISPUTED BOUNDARIES AND TERRITORIES IN EUROPE WHICH THE PEACE CONFERENCE MUST APPORTION

Dardanelles on condition that they be internationalized. Bulgaria, despite her unconditional surrender, has claims in Thrace, on the Aegean coast, and in Southern Macedonia that conflict with Greek desires. Greece further lays claim to the Vilayet of Smyrna, a former Turkish possession in Asia Minor, and to the former Turkish islands in the Aegean, which Italy desires.

NEW SLAVIC STATES

In Central Europe the new State of CzechoSlovakia carved out its territories almost entirely at the expense of the old Austria-Hungary. The old kingdom of Bohemia, Moravia, and the Slovak regions of Northern Hungary have already been incorporated into the proposed State, but there are certain conflicts with the Poles, Ruthenians, Ru-

manians, and Germans, as well as with the Austrians and the Magyars, because the Czechs assert that parts of German Saxony and German Silesia belong ethnographically to the new State.

The Czechoslovaks are coming into opposition to Polish claims in Silesia, both parties being desirous to secure control of the Teschen mining district, and in sections of Galicia, while to the northeast Czechoslovak expansion has brought them into contact with the Ruthenians, or Ukrainians, in Eastern Galicia, and with other fringes of spheres claimed by the

Rumanians. The new State desires expansion southward over a frontage on the Danube and over a corridor to the Adriatic.

The Poles, with an inadequate army, are endeavoring to establish possession of disputed regions on three sides of Russian Poland and Galicia, which constitutes the nucleus of the new Polish State. The Poles desire Eastern Galicia to include Lemberg, which is in the Ukraine, and the disputed Province of Kholm, in Little Russia.

To the northeast the Poles desire to



REGIONS IN ASIA MINOR AND THE CAUCASUS CLAIMED BY MORE THAN ONE NATION

have Vilna recognized as Polish. Both the Lithuanians and the Bolsheviki have raised claims to Vilna, the Bolsheviki supporting their pretensions by a menacing offensive. The Poles are contending against the Germans not only for German Silesia and Posen and West Prussia, as provinces populated chiefly by Poles, but also for the City of Danzig, so as to provide Poland with direct access to the sea.

Should the Poles have Danzig, East Prussia would be cut off from the rest of Germany and would remain an island populated by Germans surrounded by Polish dominions.

BELGIUM AND OTHERS

Belgium asks that her reparation for damages wrought by Germany shall be the first lien upon German assets to the extent of at least 15,000,000,000 francs, or up to a much larger sum if Germany does not return the machinery and the materials taken from Belgium. Belgium believes that she should be paid first because she was the first to be invaded, because her neutrality was violated and because she has suffered more from despoliation than any other country in the war.

Belgium, having reasserted her independence and thus emerged from her old state of neutrality, desires from Holland the left bank of the Scheldt and the peninsula of Maastricht, which protrudes into Belgian Limburg. Belgium is also ready to assent to a plebiscite in Luxembourg to decide whether that country wishes to join Belgium or France or to retain its autonomy.

The foregoing may be considered the extreme claims of Belgium. They come into conflict with Holland, which resists any infringement of the frontiers asked for by the Belgian annexationists. The Government of Holland appears willing to revise the Scheldt navigation treaty so that Belgium shall enjoy equal rights in the river with Holland.

Denmark desires that Northern Schleswig, seized from her by Prussia in 1864,

be returned to her. This claim is not seriously disputed by Germany. In Sweden there is a strong movement for the union of the Aland Islands with that country, the islands being considered by the Swedes as the naval key to Stockholm, the capital of Sweden. Finland also has interests here, but the settlement in this case is not expected to be difficult.

Japan desires to retain the former German concessions on the Shantung Peninsula in China and the former German South Pacific islands north of the equator which Japan occupied during the war. China demands the return of Tsing-tao, formerly German, and Kiaochau, which Japan captured from Germany.

NEW ZIONIST STATE

The project of the Zionists again to form a nation of Jews after two thousand years has received the enthusiastic support of President Wilson; France, Italy, and Japan have also indorsed the declaration of Balfour on Nov. 2, 1917, which is the modern Jewish charter. That declaration stipulates that "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object."

As nearly as possible, the new Palestine under the Union Jack is intended to be coterminous with the territory from "Dan to Beersheba" of the Old Testament. Thus no foreign power can wedge itself between Lebanon and the Egyptian border. The territory extends on both sides of the Jordan, but it does not include the desert, though that belonged to ancient Palestine. It stops short at the Hedjaz Railway as a recognition of Arab rights. Nor does it take in Damascus, which is regarded as the Arab capital. For practical purposes, therefore, it is the old historic Palestine, with certain adjustments of an economic order, such as complete possession of the essential waterways.

The Lesser Belligerents

Sketch of the Chief Developments in Belgium, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Other States Since the Armistice

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 16, 1919]

AFTER the withdrawal of the Germans, Belgium was faced by a serious problem—how to induce the people to assume a normal attitude. Foreign correspondents asserted and the local press confirmed the fact that the Belgians were still celebrating their release three months after the event and could not be induced to resume work. There is plenty of work for all, for the Germans destroyed railways, telephone and telegraph systems, roads and factories, yet it is with the greatest difficulty that workmen can be found who are willing to restore these things; and this notwithstanding the fact that coffee at Brussels is \$5 a pound; meat, \$2.50; sugar, 62 cents, and eggs 40 cents each. There were on Feb. 15, 1919, still 60,000 unemployed in Belgium who continued to receive the Government stipend of \$20 a month.

How dire is the need of re-establishing transportation may be gathered from official figures: The Germans in their retreat destroyed 690 miles of railway tracks and rendered useless 260 miles; they took 2,614 locomotives out of a total of 4,534; 9,062 passenger coaches out of 10,812; and 80,568 freight cars out of 94,737. It is estimated that 100,000,000 pounds of steel will be required to re-open traffic by railway and restore the bridges.

The new Ministry, which came into power on Nov. 19, was made up of six Catholics, three Liberals, and four Socialists, as follows:

CATHOLIC PARTY

Premier and Minister of Finance..M. Delacroix
RailwaysM. Renkin
InteriorBaron de Broqueville
AgricultureM. Vandevyvere
Science and the Arts.....M. Jaspert
Economic Relations.....M. Harmignies

LIBERAL PARTY

WarM. Janson
Foreign Affairs.....M. Hymans
ColoniesM. Franck

SOCIALIST PARTY

Public Works.....M. Anseele
JusticeM. Vandervekde
Industrial WorksM. Wauters
Under Secretary (Public Works)..M. Coppieters

The new Government announced the following program: Universal suffrage at the age of 21 years, with a six months' residential qualification; a general election to be held as soon as possible; a simpler method sought for amending the Constitution; the repeal of Article 310 of the Penal Code regarding the freedom of labor; the establishment of a Flemish University in progressive stages by the extension of certain courses at Ghent University.

The political fight is being waged upon the basis of universal suffrage—one man, one vote. Before the war the priests had four votes, land owners and nobles as many votes as they had estates in different provinces, and Socialists and Liberals only one vote each. The Socialists were mostly workingmen and the Liberals mostly professional men. This enabled the Catholic Party to be in power for more than forty years. Under the universal suffrage system which would relegate priests and land owners to the same category as workingmen, doctors, and lawyers, it is asserted the Catholic Party may be placed in the minority. Nevertheless, Cardinal Mercier's great personality and the energy he displayed in behalf of Belgians during the war is said to have greatly helped the cause of the Catholic Party.

One cause of bitterness and animosity in Belgium is the Flemish movement, which now is practically dead owing to the efforts of the late German Governor von Bissing to make use of it to divide Belgium into two parts. King Albert, in his speech to the Parliament after returning to Brussels, announced that the Government would propose a bill to create the basis of a Flemish University

at Ghent, reserving the details to the new Parliament to be elected later.

Pro-Germans and "activists," who supported the German scheme to drive a wedge between the Flemings and the Walloons in Belgium, are now ostracized socially. Many arrests have been made in Brussels, Ghent, and Bruges. The people of Ghent divide their hatred evenly between the Germans and the "activists." Bruges is filled with a deep-rooted hatred of everything German, while Brussels ridicules both pro-Germans and "activists." In Bruges 153 women who dealt with Germans were beaten and their hair was shorn. In Ghent pro-Germans and "activists," both men and women, were physically punished.

PORTUGAL

The attempt at a Royalist revolution which began in Northern Portugal on Jan. 19 with the proclaimed idea of restoring Dom Manuel failed on Feb. 14, when the citizens of Oporto, assisted by the republican troops, dispersed the last of the revolutionists and captured their leader, Paiva Couceiro.

Certain preceding events appeared to many to have led to the uprising, particularly the assassination of President Sidonio Paes on Dec. 14, and the anarchist riots in Lisbon and Oporto in the middle of January. On Dec. 17 Admiral Canto y Castro, who had been a Colonial Governor under the old régime, and, during the war, Minister of Marine and in active control of the coast defense, was elected by Parliament to fill the late President's unexpired term. When the Royalist uprising took place his Government had sufficiently investigated the assassination and the riots to enable it to make the following official statement in regard to the uprising:

A revolutionary movement broke out on Jan. 19, at 1 P. M., at Oporto, Braga, and Vizeu. The movement is restricted to these three localities. Forces loyal to the Government are marching against the revolutionaries. All the garrisons of the country have declared their loyalty to the Government and to the republic. At Lisbon and in all the rest of the country order has not been disturbed. The present political strifes in Portugal are not to be attributed to Bolshevism; they are

all fought on questions of party politics, and do not aim at any social reform.

Although the revolution first proclaimed itself behind the aegis of Dom Manuel, there is evidence to show that other hands held that protecting shield. Dom Manuel himself formally denounced the revolution, and his representative in Portugal, Senhor Ornellas, the head of the Royalist Party there, did the same by pledging his support to the Government of Admiral Canto y Castro and ordering all Royalists to refrain from disturbing the public peace.

Although the chief delinquent in the attack on Dr. Paes, José Julio Costa, confessed that he was an anarchist pure and simple, documents were found connecting him with Senhor Magalhaes Lima, Senhor Brito Camacho, and Dr. Affonso Costa, who was Premier under Machado. Lima is a Senator, Grand Master of Portuguese Free Masons, and former Republican Minister of Public Instruction; Camacho, having supported Paes in the beginning, soon lined up with the opposition, and last Fall was violently attacking him in his paper, *A Lucta*. So far as known no documents have been found on the so-called Royalist leader, Couceiro, connecting his "revolution" with either Dom Manuel or Senhor Ornellas.

It is believed that Couceiro's movement, although appropriated by the rank and file of the Dom Manuel faction as their own, was really instituted for Dom Miguel, the pretender, who has an American wife.

Piava Couceiro, whose mother was an Englishwoman, was a Captain of infantry when the republic was proclaimed, Oct. 5, 1910, two years nine months after the assassination of Dom Manuel's father and elder brother, King Carlos and Prince Luiz Philip. He was the only officer who openly opposed the republican régime. He left Portugal late in 1911, declaring that he would work abroad to overthrow the Government. In the Autumn of 1911 he led a Royalist invasion with 2,000 men and captured several small towns, among them Vizeu, from which the American wife of the pretender, the Countess of Vizeu, (née Stewart,) derives her title. The movement was defeated, and in the following

June he was condemned in absentia to six years' imprisonment. He tried again in July, and still again in September, 1913, every time meeting with failure. His attempt previous to that of last January was a few months after the war began. It cost many thousand dollars, and was publicly repudiated by Dom Manuel.

TURKEY

While Talaat Pasha, the chief leader of the Young Turks and Grand Vizier during most of the period of the war, and Enver Pasha, the Minister of War, are in Germany awaiting developments, the new Sultan of Turkey, Mohammed VI., with the aid of the aged Tewfik Pasha and Djavid Bey, the financial expert, is trying to bring order out of chaos in both the finances and the army of Turkey. Meanwhile, the plans for an Armenian Commonwealth extending like a belt 300 miles broad from the Caucasus to the Mediterranean, and separating Anatolia on the north from Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia on the south; the claims of the new Kingdom of Hedjaz, of France and England to Syria and of Italy and Greece to Smyrna are unnoticed in Constantinople, although the subject of serious debate at the Paris Peace Conference.

Early in January the British Admiral, Calthorpe, with a staff of British, French, Italian, and American officers, took control of the police and sanitary forces of Constantinople and in a month produced marked improvements. The city and the vilayet beyond have been cleared of both criminals and vermin, the former principally held on the charge of being agents acting for the Talaat Government in the matter of the Armenian, Greek, and Syrian massacres.

When the armistice came the Committee of Union and Progress, which had been thoroughly trained in German efficiency, ignored the Sultan and attempted to run the Government. Then came a series of calamities due to the fact that not only the army but all public employes without waiting for demobilization started for their homes. The train service between Constantinople and Asiatic Turkey broke down completely owing

to the desertion of train and station men; carriers, engineers, and laborers of all sorts followed. The committee tried to keep about 3,000 Indian, 100 English, 600 Russian, 1,000 Serbian, and 200 Italian prisoners of war at work on the Taurus tunnel of the Bagdad Railway, and did succeed in keeping them until Dec. 1.

Before the Young Turks could begin to make trouble for the new pro-Entente Cabinet, the Minister of the Interior read an irade from the Sultan. It was only fifty words, but it dissolved Parliament by virtue of an amendment to Article VII. of the Constitution, which the committee itself had caused to be adopted in 1909 to be used through Mohammed V. whenever there was a Parliament which declined to do its bidding. So the Committee of Union and Progress fell a victim to a petard of its own forging. There is no question of a new election until the fate of the empire shall have been decided at Paris. Meanwhile, the Sultan, who actually rules under the direction of the inter-allied commission, sent abroad an appeal for all liberal Turks to return home and take part in rehabilitating their country.

Aside from the police work proper, which, according to a report made by the American Commissioner Heck to the State Department, on Feb. 1, had already caused the arrest of thirty-five leading members of the committee and placed Keimal Bey, Governor of Diarbekir, on trial, thousands of Armenian and Greek prisoners were to be sought out and set free. Owing to an order published in the press by the Chief of Police, calling on all Turks to hand over to the police within the week of Jan. 20 all Armenian and Greek women and children detained in Turkish houses, something was accomplished. The enormous difficulty of the quest may be illustrated by a single case reported to the commission:

At a private house which was visited we found an Armenian girl. A Turk had killed her parents and had then handed the girl, who was well off, over to his son, who, after having forcibly converted her to Islam, married her, and thus obtained the wealth that belonged to her. The girl, when asked if she would leave,

could not make up her mind. She is expecting to become a mother. If she leaves she knows she has a child to support, and that her own people will not take her in, so that she will be a waif for life, as she can recover none of the property which became her husband's by their marriage.

Some scheme on a large scale should be immediately put in operation for the benefit of girls similarly situated, for the Turk, as we all know, will only keep these girls as long as the bloom of youth is on them. There must be hundreds, if not thousands, of cases such as the one cited.

BULGARIA

Of all the countries actively engaged in the war Bulgaria suffered less than any other. Like Germany she capitulated before she could be invaded. Meanwhile, she had made huge profits off the Germans and Austrians with whom officially and privately she had dealings, whether by the lease of her public works or the furnishing of food supplies. Before her troops evacuated Serbia and Greek Macedonia she had extracted from warehouse and private dwelling and field everything that could be transported—tobacco, wheat, maize, farm implements, live stock, hides, perfumes, and metal work—and is now prepared to sell them as her own, her chief needs being machinery, cereals, and textiles.

Bulgaria's new Foreign Minister, General Theodoroff, issued a manifesto on Jan. 8, in which he disclosed a part of his Government's ambitions. Brushing aside the charges made by the Greeks and Serbians of Bulgar atrocities, he proceeded:

In the East we think we are justified in asking for the restoration of the Adrianople district as far as the Media-Enos line, which was awarded to Bulgaria by the London treaty of May, 1913. On the south we expect free access to the Aegean Sea from Enos to Orfani. * * * In Macedonia we expect that portion which was admitted by the Serbians in their treaty with us in 1912 as of Bulgarian origin and character, which includes the towns of Monastir, Prilep, and Veles, (Koprili.) As for the part which is designated in the treaty as the "contested zone," which includes the districts of Uskub and Kumanova, the decision respecting which was to be left under the terms of the treaty to the then Russian Emperor, we are content to leave to the

Peace Conference to determine. As to Dobrudja, we hope the Peace Conference will undo the injustice done Bulgaria when this province was taken from her by the Russians in order that they might give it to Rumania in return for Bessarabia. * * * In short, everywhere, we rely upon President Wilson's principle of nationalities.

Aside from numerous pamphlets and leaflets, the chief organ of Bulgarian propaganda is *L'Echo de Bulgarie*, a daily paper published in Sofia, in the French language. Ten thousand copies of every edition of this paper are delivered to Government agents for missionary work in the countries of the Entente. Aside from attempting to rehabilitate Bulgaria in the eyes of Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Americans, it has special messages for French and Italian ears; to the first it shows by the history of Bulgaria that neither the Rumanians nor the Greeks are to be trusted; to the second it reveals by the same method the alleged perfidy of the Serbians. An appeal is now being made for French moral support and Italian trade.

RUMANIA

Out of a maze of false reports coming through Berlin and Vienna, including that of an insurrection against King Ferdinand, the following real facts regarding Rumania appear from official Bucharest dispatches: Among the reforms contemplated by the Rumanian Government is a division of the great landed estates among the peasantry; a formidable army was mobilized on the frontier of Bessarabia against the Bolsheviks, and several of them were executed in Rumania itself; rights of citizenship were granted to all Jews born in the country; and everybody is working hard, from Minister of State to the peasant, on the reconstruction program. Details of this work up to the last fortnight in January, transmitted by mail, are now available.

The war Premier, Jean Bratiano, was actually being tried on the charge of high treason at Bucharest when the armistice came. The visible director of his trial was the pro-German Government of Marghiloman, while standing in the shadow behind it and directing its moves

was the Kaiser's Field Marshal von Mackensen. Marghiloman went out with the Germans and Austrians, and then, on Dec. 14, after a military administration under General Coanda, M. Bratiano resumed his old place as President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, with the following colleagues:

M. A. Constantinesco.....	Industry and Commerce
General Vaitolano.....	War
M. Saliqa.....	Public Works
M. Buzdagan.....	Justice
M. Osdar Kiriacesco.....	Finance
M. Duca.....	Public Instruction
M. Marsezoe.....	Interior
M. Enesco.....	Agriculture
M. Inoculez.....	} Ministers without portfolio
Dr. Cingureano.....	
M. Pherekyde.....	

In submitting the policy of his Government the President said that the foreign program would aim at the complete realization of the rights of the Rumanian Nation, which were based on their great war sacrifices. Internal policy would direct all its efforts to the immediate application of the two reforms recently introduced, namely, universal suffrage and the breaking up by way of expropriation of large estates and the distribution of land thus secured among the peasants.

The foreign program M. Bratiano laid before the Peace Conference at Paris on Feb. 2; it included the incorporation within the Kingdom of Rumania the Rumanian-speaking parts of Transylvania and Hungary, Bukowina, and Bessarabia. According to the provisions of the treaty which Rumania made with France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia, Aug. 17, 1916, by which the country entered the war, Rumania was to receive most of the territory indicated, and also the Banat, which is now claimed by Serbia. The treaty, however, is a dead letter, technically at least, for if Russia failed to live up to her part of the agreement and send men and munitions, Rumania herself surrendered to the enemy.

The Ukraine now claims all of Bessarabia and part of Bukowina. From the latter territory Rumanian troops were withdrawn on Jan. 31 at the request of the Paris Conference. A Franco-Rumanian force passed through Bessarabia on its way to Kiev, but no attempt was made to occupy the country. The Banat,

although north of the Danube, contains about 20 per cent. Serbs, 40 per cent. Magyars, and 40 per cent. Rumanians. It is, however, both geographically and ethnically a part of Transylvania.

The armistice had scarcely been signed when the Rumanians of Transylvania and Hungary began to organize for a National Assembly. On Dec. 1, the Assembly was convened at Alba Julia, or Klausenburg, north of Hermanstadt, and solemnly proclaimed union with Rumania by virtue of the following document, included in an account of the event published in the *Vildág* of Dec. 3, a translation of which is as follows:

The National Assembly of the Rumanians of Transylvania, Hungary, and the Banat, held on Dec. 1, 1918, at Alba Julia, declares the union of all Rumanians with the Kingdom of Rumania, the union with that country of all territories inhabited by Rumanians, and its imprescriptible rights over the portion of the Banat comprised between the Rivers Maresiu, Tissa, and Danube. Until the Constituent Assembly, which is to be elected by universal suffrage, should decide otherwise, the National Assembly guarantees provisional autonomy to these territories.

The political principles of the united Rumanian Nation are:

(a) Complete national liberty for all races inhabiting this territory. Each of these nations will govern itself, using its own language, and will have its own administration and courts of law. They will choose their own officials from among themselves. Each nation will have the right to be represented in the Legislature. Each will take a share in the Government of the country proportionate to its numbers.

(b) All religions will have equal rights, and will be autonomous.

(c) The Government will be a democratic one in all branches of public life. Every man and woman, upon reaching the age of 21, will have a vote. The ballot will be equal, secret, and by communes.

(d) There will be complete liberty of the press, of meetings, and of the right of assembly. Every one will be free to propagate his ideas.

(e) There will be radical agrarian reforms. The conscription of landed property will be carried out, especially of large properties. As a basis for this conscription, the right of fidel comis will be abolished. The latifundia will be diminished, and the purchase of landed proprietorship will be made easy for the peasants and their families. The guiding

principle will be a general social leveling up and increased production.

(f) Industrial workers will be assured all the rights which they enjoy in the most advanced Western countries.

To conduct the affairs of the Rumanian Nation of Transylvania, Hungary, and the Banat, the National Assembly has elected a National Council, which is fully empowered to represent the Rumanian Nation at any time and any place, with all the nations of the world, and this council will take all measures which are necessary in the interests of the race.

The Assembly has constituted the Grand National Council, consisting of 200 members, of whom 20 are Socialists and 10 representatives of the army.

This Grand Council has chosen from among its members an Executive Committee, or government, composed as follows: Jules Maniu, President; other members: Messrs. Vasile Lucaciu, Vasile Goldis, Al. Vaida, St. Pop, Ivan Luciu, Aurel Vlad, Octavian Goga, Emil Hatze-gan, Valeriu Braniste, Aurel Lazar, Victor Bontescu, Romulus Boila, and the Socialists, Ivan Flueraș and Josif Zumanca.

The members of the Government have taken the oath in the presence of the Rumanian Orthodox Bishop of Arad. Sibiu was chosen as the seat of Government and it was installed there on Dec. 4. The Rumanians of Bukowina, Bessarabia, and of the former Kingdom of Rumania were represented at the Assembly, and the flags of all the Allies were flown. The 200 delegates of the comitat of Torontal were not present, the Serbian military authorities (who are in occupation of the comitat) having refused them passports.

A deputation of the National Assembly reached Bucharest Dec. 14 and made known to King Ferdinand the nature of the resolutions adopted at Alba Julia. On Jan. 10 the Official Gazette of Bucharest published the following decree:

1. The Rumanian territories comprehended by the decisions of the National Assembly of Rumanians at Alba Julia on Dec. 1, 1918, are herewith and henceforth incorporated in the Kingdom of Rumania.

2. Until a definite arrangement shall be made the public affairs of the said territories shall be directed by the Council of Government which has hitherto directed them.

3. The Royal Government of Rumania will administer the foreign affairs, the customs, finances, and the public defense.

4. The territories restored to Rumania shall provisionally be represented in the Royal Rumanian Government by Min-

isters without portfolios who shall give their special advice to different departments of the Government.

5. The Council of Government at Sibiu is directed to prepare for the territories administered by it an electoral reform based on direct, equal, and secret suffrage, also a project of law for agrarian reform.

GREECE

Greece has undertaken to obtain as much of the Greek-populated territory in Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, the islands of the Aegean, and the littoral vilayets of Asia Minor as M. Venizelos can induce the Peace Conference to grant.

Early in February Stephanos Skouloudis, former Premier, and D. G. Rhal-lis, Stephanos Dragoumis, General Yanakitsas, and M. Codjakos, members of his Cabinet in 1916, were arrested and are now being tried on charges of treasonable conspiracy with former King Constantine in attempts to destroy the State. They are held without bail on the recommendation of a committee of the Chamber and will be tried by the Bulé sitting as a High Court of Justice. Meanwhile the Eleutherios Tipos and other newspapers are publishing documents and interviews tending to establish the guilt of the accused. One of the latter is from Admiral Coudouriotis, who was Minister of Marine in the Skouloudis Government, and refers to the surrender of Fort Rupel. It reads in part:

"None of my colleagues in that Cabinet knew anything of that dishonorable act except M. Skouloudis and M. Gounaris. In a Cabinet council held eight days later I jumped up from the table and shouted at the top of my voice, 'Nobody has the right to dispose of the territory of Greece, won by the blood of her sons, as if it was his own private property. All her sons alike are equal owners, and nobody without their consent can smuggle away even an inch of it as you have done.'"

"What was M. Skouloudis's reply?"

"Alarmed at the scene I was making he mumbled and fumbled away and produced a document which the German Minister in Athens had given him, which contained a guarantee from the German Government for a return of Fort Rupel to Greece later on. That document bore a date three days before the actual surrender of the fort took place. All M. Skouloudis's explanations to the Entente and his statements to the Chamber were delib-

erate lies, resorted to to deceive both Greek public opinion and the Governments of the Entente."

If one may judge from the tone and substance of the press of Athens the war's blight practically passed it by, for the occupation of Saloniki by the Allies was a godsend to all Hellas in more ways than one. The Greek banks have plenty of money, and already companies are being formed for the exploitation of Levantine trade, whatever may be the decision of the Peace Conference as to the ownership of the littoral and islands. The whole Levant is pictured as crying for goods in exchange for the gold it got and saved from the Germans and the Turks.

Politically, where national policy concerns its neighbors, the Athens press promotes a greater Serbia rather than a Yugoslavia; it has faith that Italy will do what is right in the Adriatic as well as in the Aegean, but it utters perpetual warnings against the Allies being taken in by the "honeyed words" of the Bulgars.

SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO

It is still a disputed point (February, 1919) whether there is to be a greater Serbia with Croatian and Slovene appendages or a Yugoslavia consisting of a single political and territorial entity. Meanwhile, the Serbian scheme, along the lines laid down in the Declaration of Corfu, July, 1917, has the advantage, for Serbia has full recognition at the Peace Conference with delegates to advance the monarchical cause. Then there is the case of Montenegro and King Nicholas.

Was the meeting which was held at Podgoritzta dethroning him and declaring for absorption by Serbia legal? Does it express the wishes of the Montenegrins? Dr. Philippe Dobretchitch, delegate at large for the dynasty and member of the Montenegrin Parliament, declares that it does not. He says in a manifesto:

Montenegro was the first to declare war against Turkey in 1912, and she suffered huge sacrifices for the liberation of her enslaved brothers. In the second Balkan war she sent ten thousand soldiers to help the Serbian Army against the Bul-

garians, and of these the greater part were killed or wounded. As soon as Austria declared war against Serbia Montenegro did not hesitate one moment to help the Serbian people, although she was quite exhausted and deprived of all supplies after two horrible Balkan wars.

For one year and a half she fought in this war against Austro-Germans, and several times she had splendid successes; especially in the Autumn of 1915 she protected the retreat of the Serbian Army through her own land and Albania to the shore of the Adriatic Sea, rendering thereby a great service to Serbia and the Allies. Meanwhile after the Balkan catastrophe and the invasion of Serbian territory by the enemy, Montenegrin troops remained in a desperate situation, and, finding it impossible to effect a retreat, they were encircled and overwhelmed from all sides by much stronger forces of Austro-Germans. In such circumstances they were captured, when help from the Allies could not reach them.

As in the old days, when Montenegro had to fight for the liberty of all Serbians and Jugoslavs, so it was for the same high ideals and for the unity of the Yugoslav race that she entered into this great war. Montenegro is not opposed to unity with the Yugoslav countries, as some of the Balkan statesmen wish to prove, but she is against the manner of settling the question which they try to impose upon her with a view to bringing about the annexation of her territory. Montenegro as a free allied country voluntarily came into this struggle; she is entitled to a free hearing and to fair play, and should be directly represented at the Peace Conference.

From reliable information received from Montenegro I can say that the meeting which was held at Podgoritzta was quite illegal and unjust, for all the deputies elected for that meeting and who participated in it were under the influence of agents and partisans of Montenegro's adversaries, and so were compelled to vote for unity with the Jugoslavs and the deposition of the King. Under the Constitution of Montenegro it is only through the Parliament elected before the war, or through a new one legally chosen at a new election, that the people can decide their destiny. * * * The form and organization of our future common State will be settled after the Peace Conference, leaving it to the Yugoslav countries to settle the matter by self-determination as to whether they will have a federation of united States, a monarchy, or even a republic.

A new paper called the *Novo Doba*, started at Belgrade, espouses the cause of a Greater Serbia. *La Serbie*, published during the war at Geneva, rather

leans toward a Yugoslavia. La Serbie, which is edited by Dr. Marcovitch, formerly a Professor at the University of Belgrade, stands for a united Yugoslavia

with maximum claims to the eastern Adriatic littoral. Its attitude toward Bulgaria is similar to that of the Athens press.

Peace Issues in Neutral Countries

New Problems Faced by Holland, Scandinavia, Luxemburg, Switzerland, and Spain

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1919]

AS the discussions of the new arrangement of Europe proceeded in Paris during January and February the claims of the few nations which remained neutral throughout the long struggle became more definite and their future position more clearly outlined. Some stood to gain considerably by the readjustments, others could expect nothing, and one at least saw its chief problem in retaining what it had. This last was Holland, whose position throughout the war had been the most difficult of any neutral, and for whom the armistice has brought no relief. Blockaded by the Allies during hostilities, threatened and bullied by Germany, Holland has become the unwilling host of the former Kaiser, the camping ground of various German agents, and in addition sees a determined effort on the part of Belgium and France to have a new adjustment of the boundary questions which were settled so much to the displeasure of Belgium by the treaty of 1839. After a brief pause The Hague became a hotbed of intrigue, crowded with missions from Central European States, who hoped somehow to get in touch with the allied representatives in Paris. The most celebrated of these agents was Dr. von Kühlmann, former German Foreign Minister, the father of the notorious Brest-Litovsk treaty with the Bolsheviks.

THE FRONTIERS OF HOLLAND

But Holland had trouble of her own with the Peace Conference. The demands for territorial adjustments for the benefit of Belgium, which began soon

after the signing of the armistice in newspaper articles in the French press and some few organs of public opinion in Belgium, took a strong tone in the first weeks of February. These questions commanded the most serious attention of the Dutch press, although the Government has not taken notice of them officially. Newspapers in the principal Dutch cities devoted a large amount of space to arguments against any cession of territory of Holland, together with expressions from societies in the disputed territory in favor of retaining their bonds with Holland. The territory in question, as described in the preceding issue of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*, is the peninsula of Maastricht, or Dutch Limburg, and the south bank of the river Scheldt, or Dutch Flanders. The New York Times correspondent at The Hague telegraphed on Jan 16:

The case of Van Groendal, the member of the first chamber who is accused of treason in favoring the annexation of Limburg to Belgium, continues to be the subject of discussion and official investigation. According to the *Limburgsche Koerier*, Van Groendal said that most Limburgers desired the separation from Holland, as Limburg did not belong to the latter, but that geographically and ethnologically it was a part of Belgium, and that propaganda in favor of annexation showed this. Moreover, he said the towns of Wert and Maastricht were in favor of this plan.

Social disturbances in Holland, predicted for the latter part of January, failed to materialize. David Wijnkoop, a Socialist leader, positively asserted that a revolution would be carried out on Jan. 20. Nothing happened. The Haag-

sche Post stated that 4,000,000 gulden had been sent into Holland for Bolshevik propaganda. A correspondent at The Hague said:

The people of Holland were greatly surprised at the final outcome of the last uprising. The great royalist demonstration at the time was the feat of the Catholic Party, with the help of the capitalist and Court circles. The oldest and most aristocratic families turned out to cheer the Queen on Amalie Field at The Hague, but big demonstrations of this sort can hardly be repeated.

Holland is greatly interested in the new colonial settlement. The question of the sale of her American possessions to the United States was discussed in the period under review. The Haagsche Post raised the question of the sale of Surinam or Dutch Guiana to the United States, and Holland's share of the Island of Borneo to England, leaving Holland free to concentrate on her rich possessions of Java and Sumatra.

AIMS OF SWITZERLAND

Switzerland was the only neutral to put all her cards on the table and come out with an official statement of her views on the peace settlement. President Ador of the Swiss Federation arrived in Paris on Jan. 22, and at once gave out the statement of the Swiss Federal Council, which was to be laid before the Peace Conference. The text of the document follows:

(1.) Switzerland expects to be admitted with other States to the peace negotiations as far as they will deal with her own special interests or with problems of general importance. Exclusion from deliberations on problems of the League of Nations would be considered by the Swiss people as inconsistent with the principles of democracy. Neutral States, not having been called upon to make as heavy sacrifices as belligerents, have, nevertheless, suffered severely in consequence of the war. All have been able, especially in the case of Switzerland, to render considerable service to humanity.

(2.) Switzerland highly approves of the creation of a League of Nations for preserving peace, and expects from it a complete reform of international relations. Consequently, the maintenance of peace should not really depend upon the observation of a procedure of inquiry previous to a declaration of war, but must be founded upon a general interdiction to

parties in conflict not to resort to arms. International conflicts must, as far as their character allows, be solved either by arbitration tribunals formed by the free consent of the parties, or else by a permanent international court offering every guarantee of political independence. All other international disputes must be submitted to a procedure of mediation through which lasting settlements on the basis of equity and justice can be arrived at.

(3.) Switzerland recognizes the necessity for action which may ultimately consist of military pressure within the system of the League of Nations. Nevertheless, Switzerland is determined not to abandon her neutrality, which is laid down in the Swiss Constitution, and based on the tradition of 400 years of peaceful politics. This neutrality is necessary for Switzerland, considering the composition of her population, as well as on account of her being in a particularly exposed strategic position. In case armed conflict should, after all, occur under the reign of the League of Nations, the existence of the several permanently neutral and inviolable States would be a great benefit also for the League itself. The institution of the Red Cross must be based on the existence of such neutral territory if it is to be able to entirely fulfill its task.

(4.) Freedom of production and commerce is of vital importance for Switzerland. The Swiss people hope peace will re-establish the principle of commercial freedom. As far as limitations will be imposed concerning importation, exportation, and free passage of goods and raw materials, all States should mutually accord each other most-favored-nation treatment.

(5.) Switzerland as a landlocked country mainly dependent upon its share of the world's commerce, highly approves of the principles of free access to the sea. First of all, Switzerland attributes great importance to the maintenance and improvement of the existing international waterway of the Rhine from Basle to the North Sea. Switzerland fully expects, besides, that it will soon be possible to come to an understanding with France and Italy for opening the Rhine and Po-Ticino Rivers for navigation on a big scale, and obtain recognition of such similar principles regarding these rivers as are in vogue for already internationalized waterways. It is also of vital interest to Switzerland to obtain the right of passage over railroads to the sea and through European States eastward.

(6.) The political, legal, and economic principles formulated by President Wilson are so entirely in conformity with the traditional wants of Switzerland that she will adhere to them, whatever difficulties may lie in the way of their realization.

AFFAIRS IN LUXEMBURG

Following the revolution in Luxemburg and the abdication of Grand Duchess Marie Adelaide in favor of her sister Charlotte, the council of the Grand Duchy introduced a bill in the Chamber providing for a referendum to decide whether the people preferred to change the form of government to a republic. The new Grand Duchess made a statement of friendship and gratitude toward the Entente and announced that appointments to her personal staff would all be native Luxemburgers. The former Grand Duchess went to Switzerland.

American Army Headquarters issued an official denial of the report spread abroad that the American forces on entering Luxemburg suppressed a movement against the reigning house. *L'Independance Luxembourgeoise*, organ of the Republican Luxemburgers, published a story to the effect that at the time of the change of rulers the French forces prevented the setting up of a republican Government in Luxemburg. The paper charged that General de la Tour of the French Army by clearing the streets in the neighborhood of the Parliament building prevented the people from carrying through their plan for a complete overthrow of the Nassau house instead of merely changing Grand Duchesses. The French soldiers also prevented the people from neighboring villages from getting into the capital to share in the demonstration, the paper declared.

Belgium suggested to the Peace Conference that the people of Luxemburg be allowed to vote on their annexation to the Belgian Kingdom, a union that was greatly desired when Belgium was being formed, 1831-39. There was no sign that the powers favored this change.

SCANDINAVIAN INTERESTS

The following summary of the aspirations of the Scandinavian countries was made by The Associated Press correspondent at Paris on Feb. 8:

The territorial aspirations of the three Scandinavian powers are considered modest. Denmark wishes to annex that part of Northern Schleswig inhabited predominantly by Danes, but has not asked to regain the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, taken from Denmark by Prussia

in the war of 1864, or to extend her frontiers southward to the Kiel Canal.

Norway has certain aspirations to Spitzbergen, or a part of it, but is not pressing these claims energetically.

A strong Socialist movement in Sweden favors the union with Sweden of the Aland Islands, which are regarded by the Swedes as the naval key to Stockholm. Swedish interests in this connection are in conflict with those of Finland. Sovereignty over the islands has belonged to Finland since the fall of the Russian Imperial Government. Nothing has been heard since the collapse of Germany of earlier Finnish plans to obtain an outlet by the annexation of parts of Russian Karelia, lying between Finland and the Murman coast, and even of adjacent Finland, which belongs to Norway. This contention on the part of Finland led to the landing of allied troops at Murmansk to prevent the establishment of a German submarine base in the northern seas.

In the case of Denmark there was an extension of the movement in Schleswig for union with the Danish Kingdom. The Danish claim was for only the northern part of Schleswig, but in Central Schleswig, where the population is mixed, the Danish inhabitants of their own accord demanded their right to determine their future allegiance and complained that the German authorities were preventing the free expression of opinion. Complaints against the Councils of Soldiers and Workmen in Northern Schleswig said that the Danish inhabitants were being despoiled of their food supplies and their live stock to such a point that it seemed the intention of Germany to hand over to Denmark "only an empty shell."

On Feb. 5 an event occurred of first importance for Norway, the resignation of the Knudson Cabinet, which had been in office for six years. It was the most radical Government anywhere outside of Russia, but it had lost nearly all its popular support. The party lost twenty-two seats in the Autumn elections for the Storting, while the conservatives gained twenty-nine. The new Parliament is notable for the number of prominent Norwegian business men in it.

Sweden is contesting with Finland for possession of the Aland Islands, basing the Swedish claim on self-determination for the people of the islands. Hjalmar

Branting, writing in the *Social-Demokraten*, says:

The primary point of the Swedish claims is the application in this particular case of the right of peoples to a Government of their choice. The Government of Finland will see itself soon obliged to make known its attitude publicly, and one may hope that its obscure manoeuvres will have less success now that our Government maintains the right of the people to the Government of their choice, which was proclaimed by the victors in the world war, the Government receiving in this question the unanimous support of the Swedish people.

The two other Scandinavian countries support Sweden in the claim to the Aland Islands, as in the case of the Schleswig annexation for Denmark.

SPAIN'S AWAKENING

Although slow to awaken to the new currents of the time and the issues at stake in the world war, there are increasing signs that the Spanish Government is making energetic efforts to put the country in touch with the victorious Entente Powers and the League of Nations idea. King Alfonso XIII., in an interview with a Spanish journalist, said:

We are today in the presence of the results of the world transformations which have come about during the four years of the war; unfortunately we have been a little late in taking account of the situation, and we must make up for lost time.

It is a positive fact that Spain no longer constitutes a corner of Europe. She has become the passage way of world transit. It is, therefore, necessary and urgent that we improve our lines of communication with the rest of Europe, with Africa and America.

If we do not do this for ourselves, it will be forced on us, or rather it will be done for us. I have on this subject a clear opinion, and it is for this reason that I propose the establishment of an electrical railroad direct from Madrid to the frontier, by which Madrid will be not more than seventeen hours from Paris. Moreover, I am particularly concerned to assure rapid communication by railway from Madrid to Valencia, from Madrid to Saragossa, from Ax to Ripoll, from Madrid to Algeciras. All these lines should have a gauge of 1.40 meters, the international gauge. It will also be necessary to take up the question of canals, roads, and ports.

Details of the new statute for the autonomy of Catalonia were announced in Barcelona on Jan. 22. The statute provides for a State comprising the present provinces of Barcelona, Tarragona, Lerida, and Gerona. The new Catalanian Government will be composed of a Parliament of two chambers and an Executive and a Governor General. Catalonia will no longer recognize the supreme authority of Madrid in matters of administration affecting Catalonia alone. The new Government proposes to assume the direct control of mines, waterways, taxation, and education.

President Poincaré in Alsace-Lorraine

Welcomed by Chief Cities

FOLLOWING the entry of the French troops into Alsace-Lorraine in November, 1918, President Poincaré and Premier Clemenceau made a tour of the recovered provinces and celebrated their reunion with the mother country. They were accompanied by the allied military leaders, Marshals Foch, Pétain, and Joffre, Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, and General Pershing, with the Ambassadors of the various nations and many French Government officials. The party visited the chief cities of Lorraine

and Alsace, and everywhere received an enthusiastic welcome.

At Metz, the capital of Lorraine, on Dec. 8, the population indulged in a spontaneous expression of joy, and the Mayor, pointing to the popular demonstrations, declared that they were a sufficient reply to the German Government's pretense that Alsace-Lorraine was content to remain German. He recalled the triumphant entry of the German Emperor in 1871, and asked whether that had been signalized by any such

reception as that given to President Poincaré. Referring to a Deputy's sardonic remark that he would renounce all rights of admission to Paradise if there were any Prussians there, the Mayor declared that the people of Metz felt that they were indeed in Paradise, such was their happiness at becoming a part of the French Nation again.

President Poincaré, in thanking the Mayor for his warm welcome, expressed the gratification of the French people at the return of Metz to its rightful place in the republic. Throughout the centuries, he said, this old Gallic city had retained its Latin name and speech as a witness of its origin; it had been a bulwark in olden times against the constant influx of the Germans; its traditions had been preserved through the Middle Ages, and its French ideals and concepts embodied in its cathedral, built, indeed, by Frenchmen. The President recalled the city's old bond with France; its petitions to the various French Kings to be accepted in fealty, and successive proclamations of Henry II., Henry III., and Henry IV. as sovereigns of Metz. He pointed out that, despite every attempt on the part of Germany to crush the aspiration for freedom, Metz had always persisted in its loyalty to France.

At the Alsatian capital, Strasbourg, President Poincaré met with as eager and hearty a reception as at Metz. The Mayor of Strasbourg received the visiting President on Dec. 9 with a particularly significant address, expressing the deep emotion of his compatriots at the reinstatement of French administration in that city and in the provinces. The Mayor's address was as follows:

Alsace and Lorraine at last receive their compensation for fifty years of suffering, of which but few among you, gentlemen, know the real extent; repulsive connections, humiliations, constant reopening of old wounds, and impotent indignation at flagrant acts of injustice and numberless brutalities. But that horrible nightmare is now gone, forgotten, buried deep under our great joy, which can only be troubled by the recollection of the price paid for it.

We have been able to prove by our unequalled demonstrations the gratitude we feel for those heroes whom, once more, we can look upon as our soldiers. And our deepest feelings of thanks and admiration are tendered today to the women

of France, who held out under the greatest sorrows and hardest trials, enduring the most unparalleled privations and anguish.

We ponder over the French Nation, its unity, its calm heroism, its immovable resolution, which attained to victory through the inspiration of the heroes at the front, and the allied Governments and peoples with their unshakable faith in final triumph.

You have before you yet a great task, that of the reconstruction of the devastated regions, so many of which suffered that we might be free. We, who, thanks to you, were spared in a material way, place all our intellectual, industrial, and financial forces, our practical and moral support, at your absolute disposal.

If our France appears before the world glorified by an unequalled struggle, having accomplished its mission this time, let us not forget those whom her example drew about her for life or death. We must bow low before martyred Belgium and her heroic King, and must welcome those countries returned to the family of nations, Poland, Bohemia, Greater Serbia, and Rumania.

Above all must we turn our thoughts to our two great allies, England, represented here by Marshal Haig, and America, whose representative, General Pershing, led the last-born of our great armies, whose fresh and irresistible valor brought nearer the dawn of peace, saving hundreds of our brothers from death and preserving Alsace and Lorraine from destruction. And, finally, we turn in tribute to one of the greatest figures of the times, America's glory, making complete the group of leaders for her three great wars, Washington, Lincoln, and Wilson.

We did not realize the real significance of Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty until Mr. Wilson directed its rays upon Europe, cutting our shackles and casting them among the heap of fallen crowns. It is indeed not a mere matter of chance that this great allegory of liberty lighting the world, now become an actuality, is the handiwork of an Alsatian.

President Poincaré, receiving the keys of the municipality from the Mayor, responded to the latter's speech of welcome, saying in part:

Rest assured that France, which is receiving the keys of Strasbourg from you, will hold them safely in trust and will never let them pass again into other hands. On Sept. 27, 1870, the French colors were lowered from the tower of your cathedral. They were again run up on Nov. 25, 1918, the joy of the latter date effacing the horror of the former.

For forty-eight years Germany remained in Strasbourg, but like a passing traveler.

Never was she at home here. And the day that she departed, never to return, she admitted her astonishment at the realization that all her efforts of years to enforce her rights of conquest and her attempts at Germanizing the provinces had been futile.

Strasbourg has remained what she always had been—a city cherishing through the centuries justice and liberty. She has retained all the characteristics of those times when she vigorously stood upon her traditional rights, opposing to all attempts of the Holy Empire to reduce her to a subservient position her municipal franchises, which always protected her against German aggression and drew her to the

French. What she was forty-eight years after the Treaty of Westphalia, when she intrusted her destiny to France, accepting Louis XIV. as her King, Strasbourg has remained through the years. She has remained what she was in 1790, when she celebrated the first Federation, raising along the shore of the Rhine the first Tricolor, inscribed, "Here Begins the Land of Freedom." What Strasbourg was in the days when Rouget de Lisle composed here his immortal hymn of the "Marseillaise," she remains; she remains, indeed, what she was when in 1840 she raised a statute to Kléber as a witness of her admiration for the great soldier and for the glory of the French.

Germany's National Assembly

Story of the Historic Gathering at Weimar Which Shaped the Machinery of the Provisional Republic

GERMANY was engrossed during the early weeks of 1919 in voting for delegates to the forthcoming National Assembly. The Government decided that this momentous body should meet on Feb. 6 at Weimar, capital of the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach. For the purpose of the election Germany was divided into thirty-eight districts, which theoretically would elect 433 representatives. But as elections were not held in Alsace-Lorraine, the number was reduced by twelve from this cause, and it was still further reduced by the fact that, as Posen was occupied by Polish troops, elections there were impossible; and in Schleswig political leaders had passed a resolution against participating in the election, anticipating unity with Denmark. In voting, electors were permitted to strike out a name or names, but could not insert others to replace them. The German plan was based on proportional representation, so that each party elected representatives in proportion to the vote cast.

From the outset returns indicated heavy defeats for both wings of extremists. While the Pan-Germans were promptly ousted from their strongholds the Spartacans met with practically no

popular support. This was held to demonstrate that the bulk of the people desired a democratic republic freed of monarchial or Bolshevik influences. Mainly the current ran strongly in favor of the Majority Socialists.

In the new order of things women everywhere cast a heavy vote, thirty-four women being elected to the National Assembly. Among notable political figures early elected were Count Posadowsky, Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, former Chief of Police Eichhorn, Hugo Haase, Friedrich Ebert, Philipp Scheidemann, Herr Dielsch, Foreign Minister of Baden; Herr Rûchert, Traffic Minister, and Ludwig Haas, Minister of the Interior.

For the most part the elections were conducted in an orderly manner, though there were reports of Spartacan disturbances from Berlin, Hamburg, Dinslaken, and some other interior places. In Berlin the Government had taken strong measures to suppress Spartacan interference; voters exercised the franchise under the protection of a machine-gun squad at each polling place. At the close of the voting troops occupied the polling places to protect the count. Subsequently a futile attempt by Spartacans to destroy ballot boxes led to some street fighting in Wilhelmstrasse and elsewhere.

ELECTION RETURNS

Final election returns by parties are given in the following table:

the Interior merely as a preliminary suggestion to form the basis of discussion. The obligatory task of the Constituent

Present Name.	Old Name.	Description.	Delegates.	
			1917.	1919.
Majority Socialist.....	(Same).....	Moderate Socialists...	89	164
Christian People's.....	Centre.....	Clerical.....	91	91
Democratic.....	{	Progressive.....	Bourgeois Radical.....	46
		National Liberal.....	Moderates.....	44
German National.....	{	Conservative.....	Monarchists.....	45
		Pan German.....		26
Minority Socialist.....	(Same).....	Radical Socialists.....	19	24
Guelf.....	(Same).....	Hanover Separatists..	4	4
Bavarian Peasants' League..	{	Agrarian-Socialist,		
		Catholic.....	—	4
Württemberg Bourgeois.....		Anti-Socialist.....	15	2
Peasants' and Workers'				
Democratic League.....	{	Republican.....	—	1
.....	Polish.....		18	—
Total.....			397	401

The surprise of the election was the strength of the Democratic Party. A correspondent cabled on Jan. 22:

At the same time the pendulum has not swung as far to the right as had been anticipated, and the sweeping success of the German Democratic Party is the surprise of the elections. Having a prospect of holding a position of great importance in the new Parliament, this group comprises former Progressives of the left wing and National Liberals, with hitherto unorganized radical elements, supported by, among others, Prince Max of Baden and Dr. Solf.

The Democratic Party includes in its ranks the best of the moderate bourgeois, with a good leavening of "intellectuals." Its success is even greater than its leaders expected, and gives to German radicalism an importance the State it never before possessed. It is estimated that the Majority and Minority Socialists combined have got a mandate of 40 to 50 per cent. of the electors. If, therefore, they are unable to form a majority of the Government, then the Democratic Party, by virtue of its personnel, as well as its members, will really constitute the most influential group in the State and leave the strongest mark on the new Constitution.

It was announced that as the present Government considered its existence at an end with the convening of a Constituent Assembly, the first business before the Assembly would be the formation of a Provisional Government. The Assembly would then take up the adoption of a Constitution. A draft of a Constitution was submitted by the Minister of

Assembly would be finished with the adoption of the Constitution, but as it had the right to make itself a constituted, instead of a constituting body, this probably would be done. In that case the Assembly would be obliged to regulate tax and financial questions by legislation.

BERLIN'S DISSATISFACTION

The Government's selection of Weimar for the seat of the National Assembly, under pressure of the South German States, was received in Berlin with something like consternation as a likely removal of the capital. This, however, was presently lost sight of in the plan for the division of Prussia into several States. Overnight of Jan. 25 this aroused a storm of indignation among all the reactionary elements. They immediately made it a main issue in the approaching elections for the Prussian State Convention.

Elections to the Prussian State Convention took place Jan. 26 in sharp wintry weather. This was said to have been the cause of the noticeable smallness of the vote in comparison with that cast for the National Assembly a week previously. There was no disorder. The Independent Socialists made gains, apparently as a result of propaganda carried on after the shooting of Dr. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. After counting the votes on Jan. 28 it was conceded

that the Democratic Party, led by Philipp Scheidemann, would be the strongest body in the Prussian Parliament. At Potsdam the ex-Crown Princess and Prince Eitel Fritz claimed the right of citizens to the franchise and voted.

PREPARATIONS IN WEIMAR

The transformation of Weimar from a literary shrine and unimportant provincial town into the seat of the German National Assembly presented considerable physical difficulties. It was wholly unequipped for accommodating an important political gathering and attendant demands. More than 1,000 telegraph and telephone experts were put at work to establish needed communication, and to arrange quarters for the delegates with private families. The residence of the former Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar and the National Theatre were requisitioned for the conference.

A threat by the Spartacans to attack the National Assembly from Erfurt, Eisenach, Halle, and Gotha hastened the Government in sending troops to Weimar. An advance detachment of 100 Chasseurs, which arrived on Feb. 2, was met by the local Soldiers' Council of the 94th Regiment, and ordered to disarm. This demand was complied with. Thereupon the officers of the Chasseurs were arrested. Later, on the arrival of the main body of Chasseurs, the local Council explained their action as due to fear of being expelled from their own barracks. Arms were then returned, and the arrested officers released. The People's Commissioners subsequently gave orders to find other quarters for the Chasseurs.

Premier Ebert, accompanied by the People's Commissioners, left Berlin for Weimar on the morning of Feb. 3. On departing Ebert thanked the soldiers for defending Berlin so effectively, and expressed his conviction that they would continue to do so during the absence of the Commissioners. Additional troops were collected east of Weimar, and the situation there soon showed marked improvement. The Government had taken up residence in the palace, and later held a Cabinet meeting.

By Feb. 5 some 3,000 political leaders

had gathered in Weimar. Arrangements for their reception had been so perfected that living and eating quarters were promptly assigned to each accredited visitor. Faithful to German method, a card system was introduced, which began with a pink card admitting delegates and journalists to Weimar and places in the National Theatre. A gray card was issued for lodgings, stating price, and a yellow card indicated the place of eating. A booklet of pink, blue, and green slips represented breakfasts, luncheons, and suppers, together with gray, red, brown, yellow, maroon, and blue tickets for edible supplies. Strong patrols of cavalry and infantry were in evidence as a warning to the Spartacans.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The German National Assembly was convened at 3 P. M., Feb. 6, in the beautiful Weimar Court Theatre. The interior was brilliantly lighted and transformed into a creditable imitation of a legislative hall. The orchestra chairs had been shifted to writing desks, while the entire first and second balconies, holding the press representatives, had been so altered that each newspaper man had a small bit of table.

The stage had been changed by the addition of a platform, on which the presiding officer sat in an enormous high-backed chair upholstered in leather on which the German eagle was emblazoned. It was the old Reichstag Presidential chair.

The theatre, especially the tribune of the President and the Government benches, was fairly buried in red, pink, and white carnations. The rear portions of the first and second balconies and the gallery were thronged with privileged visitors, including neutral diplomats in Germany who had come from Berlin.

Delegates arrived early and presented the appearance of a democratic crowd, well though plainly dressed. Nearly 300 of the 397 who answered the roll call were new to political life. The 28 women delegates of all ages scattered through the house were regarded as a curiosity, and provided the only mirthful note in embarrassed responses to the calling of their names. Premier Ebert made the

opening speech, which occupied half an hour. Members of the Government stood grouped about the tribune, just in advance of and below the President's seat on the stage. Ebert spoke loudly, slowly, and distinctly, his voice carrying to all parts of the theatre. It shook with emotion as it touched upon what he deemed essential points, and rose high in rebuke above interruptions.

PREMIER EBERT'S SPEECH

Herr Ebert began with the declaration: "We have done forever with Princes and nobles by the Grace of God." The German people, he continued, were now ruling themselves. The revolution would decline responsibility for shortage of food and the defects in food management in Germany. Need had delivered Germany to her enemies, but he protested against being a slave to Germany's enemies for thirty, forty, or sixty years. "Our enemies declare that they are fighting against militarism," he went on, "but militarism has been dethroned."

The Premier next took up the armistice terms and declared them to be unheard of and ruthless. "Like General Winterfeldt," (who had resigned from the Armistice Commission,) he added, "the whole German Government might also eventually be forced to renounce collaborating in the peace pourparlers and throw upon its adversaries all the weight of responsibility for the new world organization." He protested against the expulsion of Germans from Alsace and the sequestration of property. The Assembly broke into a storm of wrath when reference was made to the 800,000 prisoners still held in captivity. All this, he said, displayed anything but a spirit of reconciliation. "We warn our opponents," he cried, "not to drive us to the uttermost. Hunger is preferable to disgrace, and deprivation is to be preferred to dishonor."

The Germans, he maintained, had laid down their arms with confidence in President Wilson, and the present free Government of Germany believed it was only its right to enter the League of Nations and work with real energy.

"We turn, therefore," said the Premier, "to all the peoples of the world for justice. We ask that our economic life be not destroyed. The German people have fought for inner self-determination. It cannot be perfected from the outside." Herr Ebert was cheered when he proposed a union of Germany with Austria, that the bonds sundered in 1866 might again be sealed. Following a strong appeal for German unity, the Premier declared that the Provisional Government had been the executor of a bankrupt régime. "We will call on the old spirit of Weimar," he concluded. "We will be an empire of justice and truth."

The Assembly adopted the old standing orders of the Reichstag as temporary rules of procedure, and adjourned until the following day.

SECOND SESSION

The second session of the Assembly on Feb. 7 was marked by as large an audience as on the previous day. By a vote of 374 out of 399 cast, Dr. Eduard David, a leader of the German Social Democratic Party, was elected President of the National Assembly. Fehrenbach, a Clerical and former President of the Reichstag; Haussmann, a Democrat, and Dietrich, a Conservative, were elected Vice Presidents by overwhelming majorities. Dr. David's address to the Assembly was practically a repetition of Ebert's speech. Dr. David was loudly applauded when he said that "self-discipline was a pre-condition to self-determination," and that "the Assembly should be the headquarters of the free world." He evoked great enthusiasm when he declared Alsace-Lorraine should have the right of self-determination.

On Feb. 8 the National Assembly passed the first reading of the Provisional Constitution by acclamation. Hugo Preuss, Secretary of the Interior, who had drafted the document, explained its provisions at length. It empowered the Assembly to adopt a permanent Constitution and to enact "such national laws as were urgently necessary." It provided for the choosing of a national President by a majority vote, and for the creation of a "Committee of State" to

occupy the position of a quasi-second chamber. The instrument made no attempt to anticipate the permanent Constitution except as to a single vital feature. It included a provision that the territory of the German States should not be altered without their consent. This was to allay the storm raised by the plan to divide Prussia into several States. An unexpected development of caucus proceedings was a majority sentiment in favor of transferring the National Assembly to Berlin after the Easter holiday.

EBERT ELECTED PRESIDENT

Friedrich Ebert was elected Provisional State President of Germany on Feb. 11 by a vote of 277 out of 397, and the Provisional Constitution was adopted. An agreement was also reached on the composition of the new Cabinet, to consist of fourteen members. Philipp Scheidemann was selected as Chancellor, Dr. August Müller as Minister of Economics, Herr Bauer as Minister of Labor, and Herr Landsberg as Minister of National Defense and Justice. Dr. Eduard David resigned the Presidency of the National Assembly to accept a portfolio in the Ministry. He was succeeded by Konstantin Fehrenbach, Vice President. Mathias Erzberger entered the Cabinet without portfolio, and Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau as Foreign Minister. According to political parties, the new Cabinet was composed of seven Socialists, three Democrats, three Centrists, and Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, anti-Socialist.

In electing the Provisional State President, Count von Posadowsky-Wehner received forty-nine votes, Philipp Scheidemann and Mathias Erzberger one each. Fifty-one delegates abstained from voting. After the announcement of Ebert's election Dr. David extolled the Provisional State President's "skill, activity, and firmness to protect their new freedom from every danger, either from the Left or Right." Herr Ebert in accepting the Presidency made a short speech in which he declared his purpose would be to dispense justice without favor or prejudice. He continued:

I will administer my office not as the

leader of a single party, but I belong to the Socialist Party and cannot forget my origin and training. The privileges of birth already have been eliminated from politics and are being eliminated from social life.

We shall combat domination by force to the utmost from whatever direction it may come. We wish to found our State only on the basis of right and on our freedom to shape our destinies at home and abroad. However harsh may be the lot threatening the German people, we do not despair of Germany's vital forces.

President Ebert was accorded a great ovation by the packed galleries and by the crowd outside when he left the Assembly building.

ADOPTING A CONSTITUTION

In the somewhat acrimonious debate on the Provisional Constitution, which followed, "secret agreements" formed the main point of contention. The Independents strove to amend a paragraph of the sixth clause, which read:

As soon as the German Empire is represented in the League of Nations, with the aim to exclude secret agreements, all agreements with the nations allied in the League must have the acquiescence of the National Assembly and the State Commission, [Second Chamber.]

The Independents proposed to alter this paragraph so that Germany would unequivocally go on record as legally bound to enter into no secret agreements regardless of what other States would do in the future. Dr. Hugo Haase and Dr. Cohn led for the Independents, and Herr Landsberg, Dr. Dernburg, and Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau for the Government and allied parties. After rejection of the amendment obstructionist tactics were resorted to by the Independents. It was remarked that the House showed excitement for the first time since the opening of the Assembly. The House rose after voting to limit the President of the Republic's salary to 1,000,000 marks.

With the exception of the Rote Fahne and Freiheit, organs of the Radical Left, and the Lokal-Anzeiger, representing Kaiserism, the Berlin newspapers were united in hailing Ebert's election as President with satisfaction. At least confidence was expressed in "his willingness and ability to administer his

high office to the best possible advantage of Germany in the tragic circumstances." Quotations from Vorwärts and from Theodor Wolff in the Tageblatt reflected general public sentiment as applied to the character of President Ebert. Vorwärts said:

Saddler Fritz Ebert is the natural President. This means victory for himself, victory for the proletariat, victory for socialism. The bourgeois parties, which during the election campaign proclaimed loudly that the Social Democracy had proved its inability to govern, have elected a Socialist President. They know in their hearts that only the Social Democracy can govern Germany now.

Herr Wolff wrote in the Tageblatt:

Ebert is no shining light, nor has he studied as much as some others, but he is the embodiment of good, common sense. When after a day's work he sits behind a good bottle of wine, his hands folded over the table, this natural wisdom shows to the best advantage.

There is nothing stiff and dry about him, but everything is cordial and round, like his person. He possesses that indefinable astuteness and tenacious perseverance without which even in revolutionary times no harnessmaker can become President. The German labor movement has created no powerful individualities, but a vigorous, bright, critical spirit. On such ground as Ebert's they have a ground that lies midway between the tropics and the arctic regions. * * *

Least of all have the Monarchists cause to say that Ebert's personality is anything but royal, because they were always ready and their principles commanded them to pay homage to the most insignificant, incompetent, foolish personage, only because by a mere stupid accident of birth he grew up in a princely palace.

At the meeting of the National Assembly on Feb. 14 Herr Huitze introduced a resolution containing the declaration that the German people would never accept a peace of violence, and protesting against the "exaggerated" conditions of the armistice as tending to ruin Germany.

SPARTACAN REMNANTS

During this whole period the Spartacans continued sporadic efforts, both in Berlin and in the provinces, to intimidate the Government. For the most part these efforts took the form of strikes and local brigandage. While Foreign Minister Rantzau, General Gröner, and

the most prominent People's Commissioners were in session at the Chancellor's palace debating "no nonsense" measures to overcome the strike epidemic, together with murder and burglary rampant in town and country, the lights went out and the meeting had to adjourn in darkness. This was the beginning of the electric strike, which caused much suffering and danger to life. A correspondent stated that it was typical of the whole situation: "Hardly does the Government master one calamity when it is overwhelmed by another from an unexpected quarter."

So exasperated, however, had law-abiding citizens become with these tactics, that the plan was adopted of meeting strike with strike. Thus in Bremen, still in the hands of the Spartacans, the physicians announced they would at once cease all activity, private or in hospitals, if the supply of food, coal, gas, or electricity should be endangered again by strikes, or if the Bremen Government should continue to make arrests for political reasons. The members of the Bremen Druggists' Association indorsed the physicians' attitude, declaring they would close all the chemists' shops if the Spartacan proceedings continued. The physicians and druggists of Berlin, Leipzig, and other large cities threatened to follow the example of Bremen, as well as other professional men and whole classes of administrative officials. This threat of a "bourgeois strike" against the Bolshevik strike had a sobering effect.

LIEBKNECHT'S LAST APPEAL

What was probably the last formal appeal to the outside world for the support of Bolshevik doctrines sent out by Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg was published in the Berlin Tagwacht, Dec. 26. The manifesto was also signed by Franz Mehring, the veteran Socialist, politician and historian, and Klara Zetkin, the leader of the German Socialist women for many decades. The document breathes the usual fiery invective leveled at both imperialism and capitalism. The following extract from it may be taken as conveying the burden of the whole:

The great criminals of this fearful anarchy, of this chaos let loose—the ruling classes—are not able to control their own creation. The beast of capital that conjured up the hell of the world war is not capable of banishing it again, of restoring real order, of insuring bread and work, peace and civilization, justice and liberty, to tortured humanity.

What is being prepared by the ruling classes as peace and justice is only a new work of brutal force from which the hydra of oppression, hatred and fresh, bloody wars raises its thousand heads.

The funeral of Dr. Liebknecht and thirty other Spartacans killed in the Berlin riots took place on Jan. 25, without a breach of public order. The Government had prepared for any overt contingency by concentrating formidable bodies of troops in strategic places, and the display of both field and machine guns. At threatened points the military posted signs: "Stop or you will be shot." Pedestrians were observed to conform with alacrity. Some 40,000 Spartacan sympathizers followed the funeral procession to the Friedrichsfelde Cemetery. Enormous masses of sightseers lined the route, anticipating another revolt; but the Spartacans were in no mood for fighting.

SPARTACANS SURRENDER

On Jan. 30 it was announced that the Spartacans at Cuxhaven and Bremerhaven had surrendered. The determination of the Government to restore law and order throughout the country took the form of a picked division of troops under Colonel Gerstenberg. It comprised all arms, especially artillery, and departed in eighteen trains for Bremen on Jan. 28, as the first objective. On Jan. 31 it was reported approaching Bremen on both sides of the Weser. The rebels occupied the City Hall and other important buildings, with the intention of offering a desperate resistance. The non-Spartacan elements, however, were encouraged by the approach of Government troops to strike against Spartacan rule. At Wilhelmshaven and Hamburg conditions were improving.

On Feb. 2 the People's Commissioners at Bremen consented to resign if the Berlin Government wished them to do so. The armed workers declared their readiness to deliver their arms to the Bremen

Ninth Army Corps upon guarantee that the disarmament should be complete and order restored. Thereupon the Majority Socialists requested the immediate withdrawal of Colonel Gerstenberg's division, as its mission was finished. Gerstenberg consented not to occupy Bremen unless the other side should receive reinforcements, as had been threatened. Meanwhile, von Pretzwitz, a young Prussian Junker officer on the staff of Colonel Gerstenberg, who had conducted the negotiations with the rebels, carried these proposals to Berlin. He was immediately sent back to Bremen with the following ultimatum:

The Bremen Council of People's Commissioners must resign at once. On Monday a new Government must be formed on the basis of the vote cast for delegates to the National Convention. Immediately after the new Government has assumed office all arms must be delivered to the division of General Gerstenberg. If these conditions are unreservedly adhered to, the division of Gerstenberg will not occupy Bremen.

The conditions named were not fulfilled and a number of clashes followed. On Feb. 4 Gerstenberg's division of Government troops bombarded Bremen and, after severe fighting, entered the city. They captured the Town Hall and the Stock Exchange and drove the Spartacans in retreat toward Gropshagen. Many persons were reported to have been killed and much material damage done during the bombardment, especially to the old cathedral.

The method of counterstriking on a big scale against Spartacan terrorism was first adopted at Düsseldorf on Feb. 5. Officials, clerks, and other employes in the service of railways, posts, telegraph, telephone, and surface lines, together with bankers, lawyers, physicians, teachers, and other members of professions, called a "walkout" and quit work. Theatres and restaurants were forced to close, industrial plants shut down, and all professional activity ceased. On the same date the Ebert Cabinet threatened to take military measures against the Soldiers' Council at Erfurt unless the arms illegally abstracted from the local arsenal and distributed among civilians were returned within four days. This

measure was taken upon suspicion of a plot to attack the National Assembly at Weimar.

It was noted that money flowed in profusion in support of Spartacan activity, and that the Spartacans were able to equip volunteers with arms and munitions without difficulty. Threats of Spartacan attack upon the National Assembly from Erfurt, Eisenach, Gotha, and Jena determined the Government to bring the pick of Berlin's secret police to Weimar. A dispatch of the 7th announced the success of the Düsseldorf official and professional strike against Spartacan terrorism. Most of the points in dispute were conceded and all imprisoned bourgeois delegates liberated.

Berlin dispatches of Feb. 9 and 10 reported an outbreak of Spartacan disorders. Soldiers and sailors occupied Alexander Platz, and in a conflict with Government troops six persons were killed and fourteen wounded. Another encounter took place on Brunnenstrasse, the Berlin Bowery. A Spartacan attempt to resort to their previous guerrilla tactics of house-top fighting was promptly suppressed.

THE GERMAN ARMY

By the new regulations issued Jan. 24, relative to the control of the German Army, the power of the Soldiers' Councils was greatly diminished. The Prussian Minister of War, through the army officers, was charged with responsibility for the employment and leadership of the new. He became Supreme Chief of the army, and he alone possessed power to promote officers and soldiers. Soldiers' Councils, formed by all garrisons or regiments, would watch over the activities of officers and see that military authority was not used against the Government. They were also to be consulted as to permanent regulations relative to feeding the troops, the granting of leave, and discipline, but beyond that they were under strict limitations. To this was added an order that in future officers would wear a dark blue stripe on the left sleeve, all other distinctive marks having been abolished. The obligation to salute was reciprocal, though abolished in the big cities.

This order of Colonel Reinhardt, the Prussian Minister of War, aroused open revolts on the part of Soldiers' Councils in the German Armies. The Council of the 9th (Bremen) Army declared that it would not obey the order. The Government replied that it would find means to enforce it. The Council at Lübeck, with whom Colonel Reinhardt was sent to discuss the matter, ordered him to leave the city within twenty-four hours. The councils of many army corps, as well as a great number of local councils, gave notice that the order would not be obeyed.

In accepting the freedom of the town of Cassel Feb. 2, Field Marshal von Hindenburg said that it was not a time for diplomas and honors, but for work, and that the defense of Germany was threatened in the East. The Field Marshal on leaving Cassel went to Kelsberg, which was the headquarters of the German Armies operating against the Poles and the Bolsheviks. A Copenhagen dispatch of Feb. 3 stated that Sven Hedin had returned to Stockholm from visiting General Ludendorff at Hesleholm. Sven Hedin was assisting the General in translating his book of personal defense into Swedish.

A remarkable statement in reference to the German Army was made by Hugo Haase, the German Independent Socialist leader, previous to his leaving the Berne Socialist Congress to take part in the National Assembly at Weimar. Herr Haase said:

Under the pretense of defending the Prussian border against the Bolsheviks and the Poles a volunteer army of 600,000 is being organized by Hindenburg in Pomerania and Eastern Prussia. In reality there is no menace of invasion by the Bolsheviks or the Poles which warrants the concentration of so large a force. Hindenburg's headquarters are at Tolberg, on the Baltic coast, one of the chief strongholds of junkerism, militarism, and Pan-Prussianism.

All over Germany calls for volunteers to swell this eastern army were posted in public places and published in the newspapers. These posters and advertisements attempted to revive the patriotic and military instincts of the Germans by reminding them of the great deeds of their ancestors, such as their re-

lease from Napoleonic rule over 100 years ago. Apart from this appeal to sentiment, the volunteers received a promise of five marks a day, good food, and new uniforms. Since similarly favorable conditions of existence were scarcely obtainable in civil life today, said Herr Haase, it was natural that

thousands of men should enlist. After a few skirmishes with the Poles or the Bolsheviks, he intimated, this new army might be a willing instrument in the hands of the German reactionaries, and at the word of command it might march on Berlin or even against the allied army of occupation.

The Former German Emperor

A French official report on the penal responsibility of the former German Emperor was drawn up by Ferdinand Lar-naude, Dean of the Paris Law Faculty, and Dr. A. G. de Lapradelle, Professor of the Rights of Nations in the same Faculty. The authors gave a long argument against the bringing of the ex-Emperor before a tribunal of common law, because his will commanded, but his hand did not execute. They contended he was not the principal offender, and therefore he could only be punished as an accomplice. To this end an international tribunal must be found, an entirely new jurisdiction must be created. With reference to the ex-Emperor having willed acts of terrorism by his soldiers, the report quoted a letter written by William II. to the Emperor of Austria:

My soul is torn asunder, but everything must be put to fire and blood. The throats of men and women, children and the aged must be cut, and not a tree nor a house left standing.

With such methods of terror, which alone can strike so degenerate a people as the French, the war will finish before two months, while, if I use humanitarian methods, it may prolong for years. Despite all my repugnance, I have had to choose the first system.

On the eve of the ex-Kaiser's sixtieth birthday, Jan. 26, a special New York Times cable gave an account of his daily life at Amerongen:

He rises about 8 o'clock and follows an ordinary routine. His bath, however, is followed by a thorough massage, to which he has been accustomed since his university days. After his bath he has an extremely simple breakfast, sometimes in his own rooms and sometimes with the Bentinck family.

After breakfast he receives reports from the chief of his servants, who lays before him clippings from various newspapers, severely censored, and what remains of

the censored mail. A walk in the garden comes next and, in fine weather, wood sawing for the castle fires. Another bath is taken before lunch, which is also a frugal meal.

After lunch the former ruler occasionally takes a short nap, after which he gives himself to writing or dictating to his private secretary, a former officer. Tea is served in the English style at 5 o'clock and then the exile reads until dinner, at 8 o'clock, after which there is frequently music in the parlor until bedtime.

The former Emperor never wears uniforms nowadays, although many uniforms, including those of all the German guard regiments and several General's outfits, were brought across the frontier when he left Germany. He wears civilian clothes made by the local tailor at Zeist.

Those who have not noted the gradual change in his appearance scarcely recognize the elderly civilian with the short, whitish Van Dyke beard and somewhat thinned gray hair, which, however, is still in good condition considering his age.

Enormous quantities of baggage were brought across the frontier when the former Emperor fled, but many of the trunks are still unopened. Little use is made of the silver dinner set for twenty-five covers which was also brought along.

His birthday was celebrated at the castle by a dinner party, at which his host, Count von Bentinck, wore the robes of a Knight of St. John of Jerusalem by way of compliment to his guests as head of the order. Great numbers of floral tributes, together with piles of letters and telegrams, arrived at Amerongen. A proposal to engage the village church choir for the event was dropped, owing to much adverse comment in Holland. In Germany only the reactionary journals mentioned the ex-Kaiser's birthday, taking it as a text to preach a return to the monarchical system.

A declaration of the official Dutch attitude regarding the ex-Kaiser was made

Facsimile of the Kaiser's Abdication

Ich verzichte hierdurch für alle Zukunft auf die Rechte an der Krone Preussen und die damit verbundenen Rechte an der deutschen Kaiserkrone.

Zugleich entbinde ich alle Beamten des Deutschen Reichs und Preussens sowie alle Offiziere, Unteroffiziere und Mannschaften der Marine, des Preussischen Meeres und der Truppen der Bundeskontingente des Treueides, des sie Mir als ihren Kaiser, König und Obersten Befehlshaber geleistet haben. Ich erwarte von ihnen, dass sie bis zur Neuordnung des Deutschen Reichs den Inhabern der tatsächlichen Gewalt in Deutschland helfen, das Deutsche Volk gegen die drohenden Gefahren der Anarchie, der Hungersnot und der Fremdherrschaft zu schützen

Urkundlich unter Unserer Höchsteigenhändigen Unterschrift und beigedruckten Kaiserlichen Insiegel.

Gegeben Amerongen, den 28. November 1918.



The above is a reproduction of the facsimile of Kaiser Wilhelm's formal abdication as it appeared in a Dutch newspaper a month after it was signed. The translation is as follows:

"I hereby for all the future renounce my rights to the crown of Prussia and the associated rights to the German Imperial Crown.

"At the same time I release all officials of the German Empire and Prussia, as well as all the officers, noncommissioned officers and men of the navy, of the Prussian Army, and of the federal contingents, from the oath of fealty which they have made to me as their Emperor, King and Supreme Commander. I expect of them that until the reorganization of the German Empire they will help those in possession of actual power in Germany to protect the German people against the threatening danger of anarchy, famine, and foreign domination.

"Given under our hand and our Imperial Seal,

"Amerongen, 28 November, 1918.

WILHELM."

by Premier Ruys de Beerenbrouck. The Dutch Premier revised his copy of the statement and authorized its publication as follows:

We are reproached for having given hospitality to the Kaiser and his son. But, to put it bluntly, these gentlemen fell like a brick on our heads. How could we act

otherwise than we have done? I would like to know what any one else would have done in our place.

You know the circumstances: On Sunday, Nov. 10, at 4 A. M., the Sergeant on guard duty at Eysden perceived the arrival of a train of automobiles. Officers of the rank of General stepped out and demanded that he accord passage to the

Kaiser. The Sergeant refused. Then one of the Generals declared: "Everything has been arranged with the Dutch Government and the Kaiser is expected." The Sergeant, as a mere noncommissioned officer, allowed himself to be overcome by this "war lord" of high rank, and the Kaiser entered Holland.

At 9 o'clock that morning, on my return from church, I was informed by my colleague, M. Van Karneback, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that he had received at 7 o'clock a telegram from our representative at Brussels, M. Van Hollenhoven, transmitting a request that the Kaiser be allowed to pass the frontier. Almost at the same hour the Commander in Chief of our army received a notification from the post commander of Maestricht of the event that had occurred at dawn—that is, the Kaiser's entry. We were face to face with a fait accompli.

What attitude were we to adopt? The Kaiser's act of abdication was only dated Nov. 11, but on Nov. 10 on two separate occasions he affirmed that he had come to Holland solely in the definite quality of "a simple private person," of a plain citizen asking for hospitality. It was difficult, even dangerous, to refuse.

To receive him was to render a service to the Allies. The world knows now where are the chiefs of the imperial family and that they are unable to do any harm.

This unexpected arrival forced us to seek a place to lodge the visitor. After much ado and with a great deal of telephoning we found it on the property of Count Bentinck, who has been subjected to a lot of vexation in consequence—the breaking off of long-standing friendships with Englishmen and annoyances of all kinds. His position, like our own, has been completely misunderstood.

In reply to the Frenchman's question as to the possibility and desirability of

the extradition of the members of the imperial family responsible for the war, which might, as it were, mark Holland's entry into the League of Nations, the Premier said:

I can only repeat to you what I said in Parliament: We shall act in accordance with the existing laws and treaties. Put believe me, when feeling on the subject runs less high, the world will appreciate the legality and usefulness of the attitude taken by the Netherlands.

In Germany the imperial family might have formed the centre of a moral and intellectual agitation. Nothing of the kind is possible here.

A dispatch of Feb. 4 stated that societies to "save the Kaiser" from being handed over to the Allies were being organized in Germany. Further, that Eitel Friedrich, second son of the former Emperor, had written a letter to Premier Ebert, demanding that the Government assist in the plan. Kurt Eisner, the Bavarian Premier, attending the Berne Socialist Conference, granted an interview to an American correspondent, Feb 7, in which he said regarding the former Emperor's guilt:

Emperor William was undoubtedly directly to blame for precipitating the war, but the military caste was responsible to a greater extent for bringing it about. They must all be tried, but by a German tribunal. I am in favor of all stolen property being restored and the robbers severely punished.

An Amerongen message of Feb. 8 indicated that the ex-Emperor was maintaining close communication with his former supporters.

The Revolt in the German Navy

Beginning of the Revolution

THE revolution which overthrew the Kaiser's Government and established a republic in Germany had its inception in increasing movements of mutiny among the men in the German fleet at Kiel, which culminated in their successful revolt on Oct. 31, 1918. As early as the Spring and Summer of 1915 there were a succession of minor mutinies on differ-

ent German warships. Various documents relating to them have been found in the archives of the Imperial Naval Department. On Sept. 7, 1915, the Kaiser addressed to the officers of the Imperial Navy a special order marked "Streng geheim," ("strictly secret,") exhorting them not to be too severe in maintaining discipline, but to adopt toward their men a benevolent attitude calculated to keep

the crews in a safe frame of mind. But discontent in the German Navy increased. In March, 1916, there was a mutiny on one battleship, and a few weeks later there was a more formidable affair, which ended in the condemnation to death of more than thirty of the men who were regarded as the ringleaders of the movement.

In the Spring of 1917 a serious mutiny occurred among the sailors of the High Sea Fleet. The Captain of a battleship was thrown overboard and drowned, and other officers were wounded by the rebels. The outbreak was soon quelled, and 190 men were executed after being found guilty of war treason.

THE REVOLT

These various uprisings were forerunners which prepared the way for the final attempt. Early in the morning of Thursday, Oct. 31, the Admiral commanding the German High Sea Fleet gave the signal to be ready to put to sea. This action was interpreted by the men of the various vessels as a last desperate attempt to fight the British Navy. The Captain of the battleship Thuringen committed the indiscretion of turning this suspicion into certainty. Assembling the whole crew of his vessel, he addressed to them a highly patriotic speech which ended thus: "We will fire our last shot and then we will perish like heroes with our flag flying." But the crew of the Thuringen had no desire to perish heroically; on the contrary, they were determined not to allow themselves to be dragged into this mad adventure. First they sent a deputation to their Captain to remonstrate; while this was taking place, all fires were extinguished and the engine holds were flooded with water, and communication was established with the crew of the battleship Helgoland next in line. Soon after sunrise on Oct. 31 the whole of the crews of the Thuringen and the Helgoland were in open mutiny.

The Rear Admiral commanding the First Squadron of battleships, flying his flag on the Ostfriesland, sent boats alongside the two rebel ships to take off the officers, who were allowed to depart

unmolested. The Admiral then signaled the Thuringen and Helgoland that both would be torpedoed unless they surrendered immediately. The other battleships were withdrawn to a distance, and two large torpedo-boats, B-97 and B-112, appeared on the scene ready to discharge their torpedoes on receiving the expected signal from the flagship Ostfriesland. The crews of the two torpedo-boats, whatever they may have felt, showed no signs of refusal to obey the order to blow up their comrades on the two battleships, numbering more than 1,500. At this critical moment the Thuringen signaled her surrender, and the Helgoland immediately followed suit. All the mutineers were transferred to transports and conveyed without delay to Wilhelmshaven to await their trial.

NAVAL BASES SEIZED

On the same day, Oct. 31, there were smaller troubles on other ships of the High Sea Fleet which revealed the impossibility of putting to sea. Twenty-four hours later most of the crews and the whole of the marine garrison of Wilhelmshaven were in open revolt. Their reinforcement on Nov. 2 by the crews of the Third Battleship Squadron, which had been sent from Kiel to Wilhelmshaven to quell the movement, and by large numbers of men just brought back from the coast of Belgium, made the rebels masters of the situation. Emissaries were sent to Kiel, and all the fleet men at that port joined the movement with enthusiasm. These events succeeded each other rapidly on Oct. 31, Nov. 1 and 2. Cuxhaven, Brunsbütel, Emden, and Lübeck fell successively into the hands of the mutineers; everywhere the officers were powerless to stem the tide, and for the most part they submitted without open resistance. In a few cases officers who resisted were shot and their bodies thrown into the sea.

By the evening of Nov. 2 nine-tenths of the German fleet and all the naval ports from Kiel to Emden were in the hands of the mutineers, and Germany's navy had for all practical purposes ceased to exist. Prince Max of Baden,

who was then Chancellor, seems to have used his influence to prevent the dispatch of troops to attack the rebels, acting thus under the influence of Scheidemann and Erzberger, who advised strongly against violent measures. The Radical member of the Cabinet, Herr Conrad Haussmann, was sent to Kiel to try to negotiate with the men, but he returned to Berlin within a few days without having achieved any result. The rebel seamen, with a view to strengthening their position and preventing reprisals, quickly sent emissaries to Berlin, Munich, and the other large towns to stir up the Socialists and to stimulate other revolutionary movements in the different centres, and it can now be stated as an established fact that the men of the fleet not only carried out their own revolt successfully, but were mainly instrumental in spreading the contagion of sedition to the civilian population inland and to the army at the front.

REVOLUTION IN BERLIN

When the mutiny in the German fleet brought things to a head, Berlin was already ripe for a revolutionary movement, which had been organized during the preceding months. The Scheidemann Socialists took no part whatever in these preparations. They were made by the Independent Socialists, and not by the recognized leaders of the party, but by some of the lesser members, who formed its left wing, and by the Spartacus Communists, who still, in name, belong to the Independent Socialist Party. The preparations for an armed rising, which had been begun in the Spring of 1918, were redoubled after the victories won by the allied armies in July and August. One of the local leaders of the Independent Socialists, Emil Barth, succeeded in securing a considerable quantity of arms and munitions, which were distributed secretly to trusted adherents and kept in concealment in expectation of the moment to strike.

The imperial authorities had knowledge of these preparations and, toward the end of October, elaborate preparations were made to suppress the expected rising. Secret orders, copies of which have been found in the archives

of the Great General Staff, were issued to a number of commanding officers, directing them to select with great care picked bodies of officers and men who could be absolutely trusted to fight uncompromisingly against any popular rising. Picked troops were chosen and supplied with an elaborate equipment, which included heavy artillery, field artillery, machine guns, gas bombs, hand grenades, gas masks, and so forth. At the end of October these special corps were ready for action, and from the day on which the first troubles in the fleet occurred they were held in readiness in some of the Berlin barracks and at Spandau and other places close to the capital.

This was the state of affairs when the emissaries of the fleet mutineers arrived in Berlin to bring their message of revolution to their friends among the Independent Socialists, who, after hurried consultations, fixed Nov. 11 as the date of a general strike. Under the disguise of a general strike they intended to make revolution. It was on the eve of this effort that the Scheidemann Socialists suddenly changed their attitude and decided to join forces with the Independent Socialists if the latter would accept their co-operation. Till that moment the Scheidemann Socialists had been docile supporters of the Government, headed by Prince Max of Baden. But Scheidemann, the arch-opportunist, perceived that the revolutionary movement had become really formidable, and that there was probably more to be gained by joining it and seeking to direct it than by opposing it. Discontent with Scheidemann's methods of subversiveness to imperialism had been growing among the rank and file of the Majority Socialists since the beginning of the series of the Allies' victories on the western front, and Scheidemann realized that a considerable section of his party would desert and go over to the Independent Socialists unless he and the other leaders came into line with the revolutionary movement.

SOLDIERS JOIN REVOLT

After coming to a temporary working arrangement with the leaders of the Independent Socialist Party, Scheidemann

and his colleagues acted with determination and rapidity. Prince Max of Baden was persuaded that none but a purely Socialist Government could avert a civil war, with the result that he abandoned the Chancellorship precipitately. Scheidemann, not yet sure of the results of the revolution, refused the Chancellorship for himself with a gesture of noble self-sacrifice, and thrust his colleague Ebert into the supreme post.

Almost before the new Government had been formed, the Majority Socialists and the Independent Socialists had taken joint measures to secure the support of the soldiers of the Berlin garrison, and especially of those special corps formed for the express purpose of suppressing any revolutionary movement. Trustworthy emissaries were sent first to the barracks near the Belle-Alliance-Platz,

where the troops rallied without hesitation, and, indeed, with great enthusiasm, to the revolutionary movement. One by one the regiments in the other barracks declared their adherence to the movement. Even the officers offered no more than a normal resistance. Within a few hours it was evident that the entire garrison of Berlin, including the special corps formed to combat the revolution, was on the side of the new Socialist Government, headed by Ebert. This was the decisive factor. If the troops in Berlin had remained faithful to the old régime the revolution would have been crushed in an hour. The seamen started the revolution. The soldiers of the Berlin garrison insured its success in the capital. The Socialist workingmen, notwithstanding all the noise they made, played only a subordinate part.

Last Cruise of the German Fleet

Diary of a Naval Commander

THE commander of one of the German destroyers surrendered under the armistice kept a diary of his impressions on that last cruise of the German High Seas Fleet and published it in the *Tägliche Rundschau* of Dec. 24, 1918. A characteristic portion, dealing most directly with the surrender, is here translated. The red flag referred to was the flag raised by the sailors when they mutinied at Kiel and refused to obey the order to go out and sacrifice themselves in a last battle:

Sunday, Nov. 17.—Clouds of smoke and soot lie over the war harbor. If one walks through the streets one arrives home quite black; the fleet is getting up steam. The Wilhelmshaven people are accustomed to this dirt. It was often so during the war when the fleet was suddenly going out for some undertaking or the enemy was reported out at sea by our aircraft and advance patrols. But today it is quite different; the High Sea Fleet is beginning its last cruise—surrendering to the enemy! For four years I have shared victory and want with my crew, and I won't leave them in the lurch at the end. Going on board is hard. The red flag is still flying there, a sign of all that has collapsed in these last weeks. The crew is serious and quiet; most of them feel how great is the disgrace.

Monday, Nov. 18.—In the Schillig Roads. Coming through the locks we have hoisted our war flag and pennant once more. Every one on board has the feeling that it looks better and more dignified than the red flag. * * * The undefeated German fleet is going out to meet the enemy who anxiously avoided it for four years, and says to him, "Here, take us; you have won the game only too brilliantly and as you cannot have imagined in your wildest dreams." I wept, and I am not ashamed of it.

Tuesday, Nov. 19.—Soon after noon we put to sea. Not racing ahead as before, but crawling slowly. We must save as much fuel as possible. The North Sea is seldom so calm at this time of year. No look-out for submarines now, and no manning of the guns. At night there is a bright stream of light from every ship, and I no longer have to gaze into the darkness trying to spy the enemy. * * * I cannot stop asking myself how we have earned such an end, and whether all our brave seamen are lying for nothing at the bottom of the sea. Who can give an honest answer? What is the truth?

Thursday, Nov. 21.—On Wednesday morning one of our destroyers struck a mine and sank. Many are already lying down there, and many more will follow when the mine-sweeping begins again. At 8 o'clock we are at the appointed place. The first English destroyer soon comes in sight. My heart beats furiously. If we had still had our torpedoes on board I think that that de-

stroyer would have known it. So it is a good thing that we left every weapon behind. The destroyers surround us on every side; we are a procession of prisoners. Our large ships are convoyed in the same way by the English battleship and cruiser squadrons. The English stood at their battle stations with gas masks on. They simply could not understand that we should surrender without a blow. The English ships are freshly painted. The men are in their best clothes. Everything is arranged to impress us. Slowly we proceed to our anchoring place in the Firth of Forth. Nothing to be seen of the land; typical English fog. Airmen circle round us, playing all sorts of games. One of them who intended to make a particularly bold movement falls straight into the sea. An airship also, wobbling clumsily, feels it necessary to show us—how well built our Zeppelins are.

Friday, Nov. 22.—The search commission is on board. I speak with the English officers only to say what is absolutely necessary. With me they will have no occasion to disobey their strict order not to fraternize with the Germans. Apparently they are less concerned to discover whether we really have no ammunition and weapons on board than to spy out our equipment. They have little luck in this. All the things which they would so much have liked to see and about which they constantly asked—instruments for measuring distance, electrical apparatus, and especially the "smoke" apparatus—stayed behind at Wilhelmshaven. So they can only observe that we have very pretty guns. For a long time they racked their brains about certain other parts of our armament, the use of which they do not

understand. "Unhappily" I do not know enough English to explain. Today my English is for the most part limited to "yes" and "no."

Sunday, Nov. 24.—The German fleet is being taken to Scapa Flow. There is no further question of our going to a neutral port. If it must be an English port I like Scapa Flow best, for up there there is at least no mob to laugh at us.

Monday, Nov. 25.—Scapa Flow is a splendid harbor, well protected on all sides. The entrance is secured by nets and mine barriers. On shore the huts of the natives are about as high as a good German dog's kennel. The English have been lying here for four years. That must have been pretty uncomfortable. It is all the stranger to see how little this naval base has been developed. There is only one miserable little dock and a few small workshops; there is no pier for destroyers. * * * I am relieved by the order that only one officer and nineteen men are to remain on board every destroyer. So I must leave with most of the crew. Almost all those who stay behind have volunteered—partly out of affection for the destroyer and partly because they hope not to return to Germany until conditions there are normal again.

Monday, Dec. 2.—An English battleship lies not far from us. We see the English sailors on board parading from 9 to 12. We did not do that even in times of deepest peace. Our men are astonished. Those, then, are the sailors who, as we were told, had turned back from an undertaking against Germany and had hoisted the red flag! * * * Tomorrow the German steamer will arrive which is to take us back to Wilhelmshaven.

Russia's Struggle With Bolshevism

Narrative of Military Operations in the Archangel and Other Regions---The Invasion of Esthonia

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1919]

ALL through the earlier part of January the Soviet troops continued to shell the allied positions in Northern Russia. Later in the month they began a systematic offensive aimed at driving the Allies out of the interior of the country. On Jan. 25 they forced the detachments of Americans, British, and Russians to evacuate the town of Shenkursk. Large stores of provisions fell into the hands of the Bolsheviki. The latter had previously achieved slight successes east and west of Shenkursk.

Two days later the allied forces, including an American detachment, retired from Shegovarski, situated on the Vaga River, as is Shenkursk. In comparison with the allied position on the Vaga on Jan. 20, this constituted a retreat of about seventy-five miles northward. Subsequent attacks forced the allied troops to withdraw from Tarasovo and retreat a distance of forty miles due north, (Jan. 30.) The withdrawal was preceded by a week's fighting in this sector.

The Bolsheviki continued to attack the

new American positions on the Vaga and the allied positions on the Dvina, at Tulgas, but were everywhere repulsed with heavy losses. The allied forces also retired under Bolshevik pressure along the Pinega River, to the southeast of Archangel. On Feb. 7 a detachment composed of Americans, Britishers, and Russians started an offensive south of Kadish, to prevent the flanking of the American positions. The allied forces advanced five miles. Allied airplanes greatly harassed the Soviet forces in the Vaga sector. On Feb. 10 the Bolsheviks succeeded in occupying temporarily several allied blockhouses in this sector. According to advices to the State Department at Washington, made public on Feb. 12, the Bolsheviks obtained large stores of various supplies and munitions along the Dvina River. On Feb. 12 they were forced to retreat southward in the region of Sredmakrenga, and they were also repulsed at Kadish.

In the middle of January the War Department received a message from Colonel George E. Stewart, commander of the American troops in the Archangel sector. The Colonel reported that the Americans scattered over a wide front had "performed most valiant service," that their clothing and equipment were "ample and excellent," and that the living conditions and rations were good. He estimated the total number of deaths, up to Jan. 12, at 6 officers and 121 enlisted men.

On Feb. 1 the War Department made public the following figures regarding the composition of the Allied Expeditionary Force operating in Northern Russia:

	Men.
Britishers, approximately	6,000
Americans, approximately.....	4,500
French, approximately.....	1,500
Russians, (under British officers,) approximately	1,200
Other soldiers, approximately.....	1,000
Total	14,200

The Soviet forces in Northern Russia were estimated at 25,000 men, with 151 machine guns, 66 field guns, and 9 six-inch guns.

The military operations were by no means confined to the region of the north. The advance of the Soviet troops

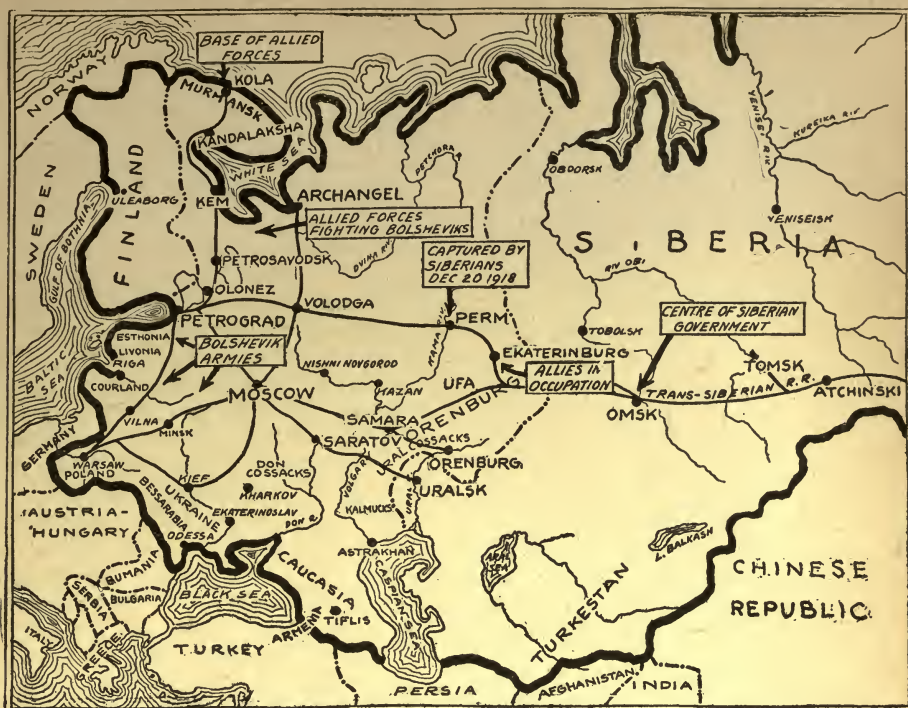
in the western and southern directions continued with varying success during the month under record.

INVASION OF ESTHONIA

Early in January the Estonian Government at Reval addressed an urgent request to the British Government asking for the immediate dispatch of weapons and ammunition, without which, the message said, the Estonian troops, assisted by Finnish volunteers, would not be able to resist the Bolshevik advance. The Bolsheviks were overrunning the richer parts of the country. A Bolshevik Government was set up at Dorpat. It issued a manifesto proclaiming the fall of the "bourgeois" Government at Reval, ordering a general mobilization and decreeing the immediate confiscation of land, industrial plants, and banks.

British troops were again landed at Riga in the second week of January and successfully fought the Bolsheviks in the vicinity of that city. A few days later the Bolsheviks took Mitau and several small towns in the region west and southwest of Riga, but had to evacuate Narva under the pressure of Estonians assisted by Finns. According to a statement made by an Estonian delegate to the Peace Conference, the Bolsheviks had committed many atrocities during their brief occupancy of the latter city.

On Jan. 24, Lithuanian troops defeated the Soviet troops near Koszedary, midway between Kovno and Vilna, taking 6,500 prisoners. Routed at Narva, the Bolsheviks marched on Libau, but were halted by German volunteer forces. The latter were reinforced by Swedish and Finnish troops, which arrived in Libau on Feb. 1 to fight the Soviet forces in the Baltic provinces. The next few days witnessed the capture of the City of Valk, Livonia, by Finnish-Estonian troops, and the occupation of the town and harbor of Windau, and also of Vilkomir, Lithuania, by the Soviet armies. A dispatch of Feb. 10 stated that the Lithuanian forces had succeeded in arresting the Bolshevik invasion. Most of the members of the Lithuanian Cabinet, including the Premier, had previously gone in quest of safety from Libau to



SCENES OF CONFLICT IN RUSSIA BETWEEN THE BOLSHEVIKI AND ALLIED FORCES

the Danish Island of Bornholm in the Baltic.

ESTHONIA'S STORY

The Esthonian Government, which has its seat at Reval, sent M. Poska, its Minister of Foreign Affairs, to England and France to enlist the aid of the Allies, and to secure their recognition of the independence of the Esthonian Government. Upon his arrival at Paris, M. Poska made the following statement on Jan. 14, 1919:

My fellow-citizens have at this moment but one aim, which dominates everything else: peasants, workmen, and middle-class people all seek to protect themselves against the Bolshevik invasion. The Government of which I am a member is a national coalition ministry including patriots belonging to all parties.

The Bolshevik invasion started during the first two weeks of November, immediately after Germany had signed the armistice. The German troops, not content with retreating before the "Red Army" without any resistance, split into two parts, forming a sort of passageway for the invader. At the same time the German authorities systematically forebore to arm the Esthonians. The Germans have not, as yet, taken away their war material. Part of it they abandoned

or sold to the Bolsheviks, but, in general, they destroyed what remained rather than give it to us. We found ourselves possessed, in all, of 5,000 rifles and twenty cannon of an old type of Russian make. We did not even have any money, for the Germans had taken away our only reserve of rubles. And we had to face a large Bolshevik army which had been organized for months, which was well equipped and supported by strong financial resources.

On Dec. 12, 1918, a British squadron finally arrived before Tallinn, (the Esthonian name for Reval) which guaranteed us protection on the coast. It brought us, in addition, several thousand rifles, and, best of all, machine guns, which we lacked so badly. Three bodies of volunteers from Finland also came to aid us. These volunteers fought for the first time on Jan. 8, and in that engagement their 4th Company distinguished itself brilliantly, taking two villages. After having seen two-thirds of our country invaded by the Bolsheviks, we were enabled to resume the offensive. During the days of Jan. 4, 6, and 7 the Esthonian troops continued to force back the Bolsheviks all along the coast, while turning their flank at another point and cutting their communications with Walk. The communiqué of Jan. 9 announced the capture of two small Bolshevik headquarters companies, as well

as some machine guns and cannon. New successes followed on the 10th and 11th. But, despite all our efforts, the struggle remains extremely unequal.

We have almost no cannon. We have absolutely no airships, machine guns, automobiles, or tanks. We have always been in need of money, save for the small loan which we were able to obtain in Finland. We have appealed now to France and Great Britain. We expect them to hear our plea. If the Allies desert us our first successes will have been things of yesterday, and we will succumb, without even having been able to arm the people in our villages.

Early in February, almost the whole of Eastern Ukraine, including the cities of Kharkov, Poltava, Yekaterinoslav, and the Donetz mining region, as well as Zhitomir, in Volhynia, was under Bolshevik control. The presence of allied warships in the Black Sea ports was apparently the only circumstance which prevented the Bolsheviks from spreading their authority to the Black Sea littoral. The Ukrainian Government was reported to have moved to Vinnitza and a Soviet Government was set up in Kharkov. Early in January, General Denikin's forces were said to have inflicted a defeat on the Bolsheviks in the Caucasus.

SITUATION IN SIBERIA

About the middle of January the French General, Jules Janin, was appointed supreme chief of the allied forces in Russia, for the purpose of inaugurating unity of command on the Siberian front. On Jan. 20, the city of Ufa fell to the Bolsheviks, and the associated Czech and Russian forces retreated to Zlatoust, 140 miles to the northeast. The defeat was ascribed to the failure of supplies to arrive from Vladivostok, owing to the interruption of traffic over the Trans-Siberian. The next important city to be captured by the Soviet army was Orenburg. General Duter, commander of the anti-Bolshevik forces there, fell back in a northerly direction. Small contingents of French and British troops were sent to his assistance. On the other hand, Siberian troops took Saranpol, Province of Tobolsk, killing 200 Red Guards and annihilating two divisions of Bolsheviks at Kungur, fifty miles south-east of Perm.

A cable from the headquarters of the American Expeditionary Forces in France, received in Washington on Feb. 12, estimated the total American casualties in Siberia at ten officers and 314 men, of whom three officers and 133 men died from various causes.

Few changes occurred in the position of the Siberian Government at Omsk, headed by Admiral Kolchak. The Omsk Government was recognized by General Denikin, anti-Bolshevik leader in Southern Russia; General Krasnov, the Hetman of the Don Cossacks, and General Filimonov, the Hetman of the Kuban Cossacks. Much dissatisfaction, however, was aroused among the democratic elements of the Siberian population by some of the measures of the Omsk Government; for instance, by the orders forbidding political discussion at the convention of delegates of Zemstvos and town Dumas, which met at Vladivostok in the latter part of January.

An agreement was reached between the United States and the Allies for joint control of the Siberian railways. According to an announcement made on Feb. 12 by Acting Secretary of State Frank L. Polk, the Siberian Railway system, including the Chinese Eastern Railway, is to be supervised by an inter-allied committee headed by a Russian and comprising representatives from the United States, Japan, Great Britain, France, Italy, and China, while the economic and technical management will be centred in a board presided over by John F. Stevens, head of the American Railway Commission to Siberian. "The purpose of the agreement," the announcement says, "is to assist the Russians in Siberia in regaining their normal conditions of life and has been reached upon a definite understanding that the railways are to be operated for the interests of the people of Siberia."

ADMIRAL KOLCHAK'S COUP

The authentic story of the coup d'état of Nov. 18, 1918, which led to the establishment of Kolchak's dictatorship, was told by Nikolai Avksentyev, head of the overthrown Omsk Government, and Vladimir Zenzinov, a member of the Directorate of Five, elected at Ufa. The

coup d'état, it appears, was effected by a number of reactionary army officers, assisted by some of the members of the Government itself. The two narrators, together with Rogoski, the Minister of the Interior, were arrested at the home of the latter, at Omsk, by a group of drunken and arrogant officers, and taken in a motor truck to Colonel Krasilnikov's barracks, where they were kept under lock for two days. This was done with the knowledge of several members of the Government and of Admiral Kolchak. The prisoners were released for one evening, arrested again the next morning, and hurried in a special train to the Chinese frontier.

On the day when the members of the overthrown government were deported from Omsk, the officers who had arrested them were subjected to what Mr. Avksentyev calls a mock trial. The officers were acquitted and commended for their act. Mr. Zenzinov closes his narrative with the following words:

A group of adventurers, blinded madmen and traitors, raised their hands against the lawful government because they were dissatisfied with its impartiality and nonpartisanship. They thought that the great country, with the democratic forces which have awakened to a new life after the overthrow of Czarism, could go back to the old forms of life—to reaction and monarchy. The facts already indicate that they were wrong. The Government of Kolchak is experiencing more hardships than the all-Russian Government, because the Kolchak Government has brought new chaos into the order we established and thus has complicated the problem of the regeneration of a great and free Russia.

THE RED ARMY

The Moscow Government has succeeded in shaping a considerable armed force and subjecting it to a rigid discipline. This army, the so-called Red Army, which gave place to the Red Guard and to regiments of freebooters, is recruited by conscription and officered partly by

officers of the old army, partly by graduates of Bolshevik military schools. According to the Allied Intelligence Department at Archangel, the old régime army officers serving in the Soviet army are controlled by Military Commissaries, and in case of desertion their families are held responsible. Conscription is enforced rigidly, and there is systematic military training and instruction.

A Helsingfors dispatch of Feb. 4 quoted a Bolshevik decree ordering the mobilization of all men between the ages of 29 and 45 years. It was reported from London on Feb. 13 that new schools for officers and aviators were being opened. According to information furnished by a Russian delegate at Berne, the entire strength of the Red Army which is operating in Siberia, the Caucasus, the Don district, the Ukraine, Poland, and Lithuania is estimated in Moscow at 750,000 men, including 60,000 Chinese soldiers. The command is nominally in the hands of Trotzky, but the military operations are controlled by General Vacetis, Commander in Chief of the Soviet forces, who is a Lett by birth and a notable strategist, and by several subordinate Generals of considerable efficiency, including Antonov, a veteran of the Russo-Japanese war; Horokin, a former school teacher, and Stupin, an old régime General. The General Staff headquarters are at Arzamas, near Kazan.

During the second half of 1918 the Soviet Commissariat of War spent 7,773,000,000 rubles, while during the first half of the year the military budget of the Soviet amounted only to 644,000,000 rubles. The financial report covering the entire year showed a probable deficit of 43,000,000,000 rubles, the total expenditures being 47,000,000,000 and the income, owing to the Government's inability to collect property taxes, not exceeding the sum of 4,000,000,000 rubles.

Red Russia Described by Eyewitnesses

Senate Inquiry Into Bolshevism

THE investigation by the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, begun Feb. 11, 1919, shed some new light on the Red régime in Russia. Two of the principal witnesses at the hearing were Dr. W. C. Huntington, who from 1916 until the early Fall of 1918 was in Russia as the Commercial Attaché of the American Embassy at Petrograd, and Dr. George S. Simons, Superintendent since 1907 of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Russia and Finland, one of the last Americans to leave Russia.

Dr. Huntington said that not more than 8 per cent. of the Russian people were in favor of the Bolsheviks. They were held in submission, he added, by terroristic means and by a mercenary force of soldiers made up principally of Letts and Chinese. He said that he left Moscow on Aug. 16 last, accompanied by officials of other allied nations, in each instance the nation concerned leaving one official behind to care for its affairs and nationals. In the case of the United States the official left behind was Consul General Poole.

In answer to a question as to the extent of murder by official order in Russia, Dr. Huntington produced a copy of an order addressed to all Soviets in Russia, which called for the slaughter "en masse" of all persons who failed to support the Bolshevik régime. The order was issued by M. Petrovski, the Bolshevik Commissary for Home Affairs. It was dated Sept. 5, 1918, and read:

To all Soviets—The murder of Volodarski and Uritski, the attempt on Lenin and the shooting of masses of our comrades in Finland, Ukraine, the Don, and Czechoslovakia, the continual discovery of conspiracies in our rear, open acknowledgment by the Right Social Revolutionary Party and other counter-revolutionary radicals of their part in these conspiracies, together with the insignificant extent of serious repressions and shooting of masses of White Guards and Bourgeoisie on the part of the Soviets, all these things show that notwithstanding frequent pronouncements urging mass

terror against the Social Revolutionists, White Guards and Bourgeoisie no real terror exists.

Such a situation should decidedly be stopped. An end should be put to weakness and softness. All Right Social Revolutionists known to local Soviets should be immediately arrested. Numerous hostages should be taken from the Bourgeoisie and officer classes.

At the slightest attempt to resist or the slightest movement among the White Guards, shooting of masses of hostages should be begun without fail. Initiative in this matter rests especially with the local Executive Committees.

All branches of the Government must take measures to seek out and arrest persons hiding under false names and shoot without fail anybody connected with the work of the White Guards. All the above measures should be put immediately into execution, and indecisive action on the part of local Soviets must be reported to the People's Commissary for Home Affairs. Not the slightest hesitation or the slightest indecisiveness in using mass terror.

PETROVSKI.

FOOD CONDITIONS

Three letters were read into the record by Dr. Huntington, all from a person of the highest standing, still in Russia and whose name for that reason was not disclosed for publication. These letters painted a terrible picture of conditions in the Russian capital. The first, in part, reads:

I am glad you are not here just now. Living conditions are awfully hard. Have you ever seen people dying in the streets? I did three times, two men and one old woman. * * * They were not sick, just horribly thin and pale.

It's awfully hard, and I would not have believed it if I had not seen it myself. These three cases illustrate conditions in Petrograd better than description. People are dying quietly, horribly quietly, without groan or curse, poor, helpless creatures, slaves of the terrible régime of today.

The next letter was dated Sept. 20 last. In part it reads:

Today Mr. Poole (American Consul General at Moscow) left Russia. He was the last link between your human world over there and the madhouse here. You cannot imagine what is going on in this

country. Everything that is cultured, wealthy, accomplished, or educated is being persecuted and systematically destroyed.

We all live under a perpetual strain under fear of arrest and execution. Yesterday bulletins appeared on the corners of all the streets announcing that the Allies and the bourgeoisie have been spreading cholera and hunger all over Russia and calling for the open slaughter of the latter. * * *

People here are starving in accordance with four categories. The first category, the workmen, get one-fourth of a pound of bread and two herrings every two days. The second category, the workmen who do easy work, get one-eighth of a pound and two herrings every two days. The third category, the people who "drink other people's blood," that is, people who live by mental work, get two herrings every two days and no bread, while the fourth category, the others who "drink other people's blood," sometimes get two herrings, generally nothing at all. I inclose the slip from the official paper which mentions these four categories.

People who have a little money run away from Russia. They sell all they possess and just run. They go mainly to the Baltic provinces and to the Ukraine. And you know it is the German Consulate there which helps them to get permits and tickets.

The third and last letter, dated about Oct. 1, tells of four new decrees, the first, concerning the seizure of bourgeois lodgings; the second, forced hard labor for the bourgeoisie; the third, requisition of warm clothes for the Red Army, and the fourth, concerning the distribution of food.

INDUSTRIAL CHAOS

Dr. Huntington said that all papers other than Bolshevik organs were suppressed. When asked what were the results of the nationalization of industries he replied that in nearly every case the factories had come to grief. Among the committees of workmen that had been placed in charge of the various factories when the decree of nationalization was issued, factions had sprung up, and friction and quarrels developed over details, with the result that few of the factories, if any, continued to run. Dr. Huntington added:

The principal industry left in Russia now is printing paper money. I have seen the complete overthrow in Russia of all that we know in human life as it

exists here at home. I have seen a condition of absolute chaos in all human relations develop in Russia. I have seen conditions attained that amount to nothing less than a reign of absolute terrorism.

Those in authority take any measures they see fit, no matter how unscrupulous. Men and women are held as hostages. Their army is made up principally of Lettish mercenaries and Chinese. They are also using some Austro-Hungarians. To the so-called army have been added other citizens who are forced to serve through threats against their wives and little children.

The armies they are reported to have are not fired by loyalty to a great cause but are to a large extent made up of men whose condition is such that they have joined in order to be clothed and fed.

Dr. Huntington said that 85 per cent. of the Russian population was of the peasant class, and that 7 per cent. of the population were workmen. This 92 per cent., he said, no longer sympathized with the revolution, and was held in check by the terrorist machine.

MILLIONS FOR PROPAGANDA

That the Bolshevik group in Russia is spending millions of dollars in propaganda in other countries was asserted. In this connection Major Lowry Humes, the Judge Advocate in charge of the examination of witnesses, produced an official translation of a Bolshevik Government order appropriating 2,000,000 rubles for propaganda purposes in enemy, friendly, and neutral countries. The order, which is said to be one of many, and was placed in the record as official proof, was dated December, 1917. It reads:

Order—

For the appropriation of 2,000,000 rubles for the requirements of the revolutionary internationalist movement.

Whereas, The Soviet authority stands on the ground of the principles of the international solidarity of the proletariat and the brotherhood of the workers of all countries; and

Whereas, The struggle against the war and imperialism can lead to complete victory only if conducted on an international scale.

The Council of People's Commissaries considers it absolutely necessary to take every possible means, including expenditure of money, for the assistance of the Left Internationalist wing of the workingman movement in all countries,

whether these countries are at war or in alliance with Russia or are maintaining a neutral position.

To this end the Council of People's Commissaries orders the appropriation for the requirements of the revolutionary international movement, to be put at the disposal of the foreign representatives of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, of 2,000,000 rubles.

LENINE.
TROTZKY.
GOUCH-BRUEVICH.
GARBUNOV.

Dr. Simons, who was before the sub-committee on Feb. 12, declared that the Bolshevik ascendancy in Russia was due, in the main, to the influx of agitators from the east side of New York City. He said:

I should like to make it plain that among my best friends and among the finest Americans I have known are men of Jewish blood. The unpleasant facts that I shall have to disclose in nowise refer to them. The persons that have gone into Russia and joined in this diabolical thing over there are apostate Jews, men who deny their God and who have forsaken the religion and the teachings of their fathers.

Dr. Simons testified that a catechism of atheism had been added to the curriculum of the Russian public schools. He declared:

The Bolshevik is not only an atheist but he also seeks to make all religions impossible. They assert that all misery is due to the superstition that there is a God. One of their officials told me: "We now propose to enlighten our children, and with this purpose in view, we are issuing a catechism on atheism for use in all the schools." The man who told me this was the Commissary for Enlightenment and Education.

In reply to an inquiry as to what part the Germans had in the forwarding of the plans of the Bolsheviks, Dr. Simons stated that all the German newspapers in Russia which had been suppressed by the old régime reappeared simultaneously with the accession of the Bolsheviks to power, and that everything German or pro-German was fostered. Upon being asked the real attitude of the Bolsheviks as regarded the two groups of belligerents in the war, the witness said:

Lenine and Trotzky were always saying bitter things against the Allies. They scattered posters in which they described the Allies as the "blood-drinking and

flesh-eating Allies." They named France and England, but, as I recollect it, did not specify the United States, the reason, in the opinion of the allied diplomatic representatives, being what may be described as a sort of strategical trick. They figured it out that in the event Bolshevism failed, as they knew it might, they would need a land of refuge, and they wanted the United States to be their asylum.

Dr. Simons told of the wholesale murder of innocent civilians, the outraging of young girls by the Red Guard, the seizure without legal process of all property, the urging of young girls to go into the streets to follow a life of prostitution, the tying together of helpless people and throwing them into a river to drown, the absolute suppression of free speech and a free press, and the official starving of those who do not indorse Bolshevik teachings and programs.

On Feb. 13 two American Vice Consuls, Ralph M. Dennis of Chicago and Robert F. Leonard of Minneapolis, who had recently returned from Russia, were heard by the investigating committee. Mr. Dennis declared that in the ten months that he spent in Russia under Bolshevik rule he had visited many of the large cities, and during that time had never seen a single carpenter or mason at work, and that everything was allowed to go to destruction. Farming still continues, but, according to estimates, only about 10 per cent. of the normal acreage is under cultivation.

Mr. Leonard stated that the Bolsheviks aimed at free love and hoped to do away with marriage, planning for the establishment of contract marriage. He told of the organization of what is known as Committees of the Poor, in order to control those who possessed anything. He said:

These committees were put up by the Central Government. Their members are drawn from the riff-raff, the men who drank up all they had, the utterly worthless. The old Soviets, owing to the fact that the peasants in them owned land, could not be controlled, so they put these committees in power to handle the situation. I know of villages in which there were no eligibles for these committees, and in such instances Lenine sent in "poor eligibles" to take the positions.

The witness told of the condition to which the City of Petrograd had been

reduced by Bolshevism. Before the ascendancy of the Bolsheviks, Petrograd had been a city of 2,000,000 inhabitants; at the time of his departure, Nov. 13, 1918, its population numbered about half a million.

MME. BRESHKOVSKAYA'S STORY

Mme. Breshkovskaya, who is known all over Russia as the "Grandmother of the Revolution," and who has been exiled by the Bolsheviks, appeared before the Senate Committee on Feb. 14. Among other things she said:

In the little more than one year of Bolshevik rule there have been twice as many Russians, men, women, and children, killed as there were soldiers killed at the front during the almost three years that Russia was actively in the war. For instance, there were 2,000 officers in one prison who were killed at one time. Every man, woman, or child who opposes Bolshevism in any way risks his or her life.

Everything that made life worth while has gone. Every day trainloads of supplies and valuable things leave for Germany from Moscow. In Russia there is no industry, the schools are closed, and if they were open there would be no books, not even any ink, for the pupils. All over Russia there are no schools now. There is no food to amount to anything, no clothes, nothing at all. Transportation is paralyzed. We have no tools or implements of any kind, not even scissors or knives.

Two years ago, when the Czar was overthrown, we were happy. We expected, and had reason to expect, excellent laws, we expected peace and political and social freedom. None of these things has been realized. We thought we were going to get a National Assembly and a Constitution, and we got neither. For six months we were free, and then came those German-dominated Bolsheviks.

The Germans had been preparing for years—we know it now—for this very thing. Their spies have been everywhere in Russia for a long, long time. It was out of German spying and intrigue that Lenin and Trotsky came. Trotsky and Lenin and the group supporting them received millions from Germany for propaganda, and they carried it to a gruesome success. In the Autumn of 1917 we saw the clouds gathering, and we hoped and prayed that our allies would come.

* * * Today Russia is in ruins. If you had given us 50,000 good soldiers there would have been no Bolshevism. The peasants are against the Bolsheviks, but they have no arms. The Bolshevik rule with an army of Letts, Chinese, Magyars, and Germans.

[Further important testimony given before the Senate Judiciary Committee in the later days of this investigation will be published in the next issue of CURRENT HISTORY.]

LETTER FROM AN ARCHBISHOP

The Archbishop of Canterbury made public in London on Feb. 14 a letter from the Archbishop of Omsk, President of the Supreme Administration of the Orthodox Church in Russia, which gave these further facts:

Having seized supreme power in Russia in 1917 the Maximalists proceeded to destroy not only the cultivated classes of society but have also swept away religion itself, the representatives of the Church, and religious monuments venerated by all.

The Kremlin cathedrals of Moscow and those in the towns of Yaroslav and Simferopol have been sacked and many churches have been defiled. Historical sacristies as well as the famous libraries of the Patriarchs of Moscow and Petrograd have been pillaged. Vladimir, Metropolitan of Kiev, twenty Bishops, and hundreds of priests have been assassinated. Before killing them the Bolsheviks cut off the limbs of their victims, some of whom were buried alive. Religious processions followed by great masses of people at Petrograd, Toula, Kharkov, and Eoligalitch were fired upon.

Wherever the Bolsheviks are in power the Christian Church is persecuted with even greater ferocity than in the first three centuries of the Christian era. Nuns are being violated, women made common property, and license and the lowest passions are rampant. One sees everywhere death, misery, and famine. The population is utterly cast down and subjected to most terrifying experiences. Some are purified by their sufferings, but others succumb.

Only in Siberia and the region of the Ural Mountains, where the Bolsheviks have been expelled, is the existence of the civil and religious population protected under the aegis of law and order.

Events in the Republic of Poland

Under Paderewski's Government

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1919]

THE course of events in the new-born Republic of Poland during the early weeks of 1919 was marked by desultory fighting on four different fronts. In Eastern Galicia the clash with the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) continued. The fighting was centred about the Cities of Lemberg and Przemyśl, which the Poles took possession of late last year. The new year found these two cities besieged by the Ukrainians. It was reported on Jan. 14 that two thousand persons were killed at Przemyśl as a result of the bombardment of the city by Ukrainians. A week later the two cities were still holding out, although completely surrounded and fiercely shelled by land and by air. According to a Warsaw report of Feb. 3, the Poles were holding the enemy in check in the region of Lemberg.

Soon after the conclusion of the armistice the Poles of Posen (Poznań) began to take things into their own hands. The Prussians at some points offered resistance, and fighting ensued. Severe conflicts, with varying results, on the banks of the Netze and at Wissenhoche were reported on Jan. 10. About the same time the Germans reoccupied Lakel, west of Thorn. According to a Paris dispatch of Jan. 28, the German General Staff dispatched two army corps to the Polish front. On Jan. 30 the German troops took by storm the town of Kuhlsee, a railway junction of considerable importance. Ten days later the Polish forces were said to have captured the towns of Schubin, Netzwalde, and Gruenthal. They were also reported to be threatening the railroad from Thorn to Berlin.

In view of these developments, the British Government requested Germany to refrain from further provoking the Polish population of Prussia, Posen, and Silesia. In reply, the German Government pointed out that it was forced to take military measures to restore order

in response to appeals coming from the German population, and that it could not suffer "ambitious imperialism" on the part of the Poles "to reign supreme." A Copenhagen dispatch of Feb. 8 reported the conclusion of a German-Polish armistice, to include the territory of German Poland and to become effective the next day.

Poland was also at war with the Czechoslovak State. On Jan. 24 the great powers associated at the peace table issued to all Europe and Asia a warning that hostilities must cease everywhere and that all territorial claims would be prejudiced by attempts to back them up by military force. On that very day the Czechoslovak forces wrested two Moravian towns from the Poles.

The fighting has gone on ever since, the results, upon the whole, favoring the Czechs. The latter took possession of the mining region of Karvin, on which Poland depends, to a large extent, for its mineral resources. According to an Amsterdam dispatch of Jan. 31, the Czechoslovak troops occupied the whole of Austrian East Silesia after a series of fierce clashes with the Poles. Premier Paderewski entered a protest against the Czechoslovak invasion of Silesia.

At its session of Jan. 29 the Peace Conference took up the situation in Poland, especially with reference to the conflict between the Polish and Czechoslovak troops in Silesia. An opportunity was given to the representatives of the two nations to state their views. The Polish spokesmen said that Poland laid claim to the territory she possessed before the partitions, including Posen and Thorn, and that she wished to have free access to the sea by way of Danzig, as well as a strip of territory to protect the road to that port. They further asked for the return of the Polish Army, then in France, and they assured the conference

that their country could raise a large army to deal adequately with either the Germans or the Bolsheviks. They also argued that the population of the Duchy of Teschen, Austrian Silesia, was 55 per cent. Polish, and that the district therefore ought to belong to Poland. The Czechoslovak delegates maintained that the district contained coalfields which were indispensable to the industrial development of their country.

The Peace Conference notified the delegates that acts of hostility between them must be ended, and that, pending the final establishment of a Czech-Polish frontier, the disputed zone would be occupied by allied forces. To this the representatives of both nationalities agreed.

It was also decided to send an allied commission to Silesia for the purpose of adjusting the conflict between the Poles and the Czechs over the Teschen coalfields. This commission succeeded in arranging a truce between the two nations. A Warsaw dispatch of Feb. 7, however, reported that, in spite of the truce, the Czechoslovak forces were advancing through Silesia. According to information received by the Polish National Headquarters at Paris, the Czechoslovak troops invaded Poland from the south, crossing the Galician and Hungarian frontiers.

The northeastern frontier of Poland continued to be threatened by the advance of the Russian Soviet troops. It was reported in the middle of January that the Bolshevik forces, estimated at 30,000, were converging on Warsaw over three railway routes. Later the march of the Soviet Army slowed up. Polish contingents were fighting the Bolsheviks in Lithuania and elsewhere in Western Russia.

The outstanding events in the inner political life of the country during the month were the formation of a Coalition Ministry and the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. It became known on Jan. 19 that Ignace Jan Paderewski had formed a complete Ministry as follows:

Premier and Foreign Minister—M. PADEREWSKI.

Minister of the Interior—M. WOJCIECHOWSKI.

Minister of Commerce—M. HONCIA.

Minister of Finance—M. ENGLICH.

Minister of Public Health—M. JANISSEEWSKI.

Minister of Communications—M. EBERHARDT.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs—M. LINDQ.

Minister of Agriculture—M. JANICKI.

Minister of Arts—M. PRZESMYCKI.

Minister of Labor—M. IVONOVSKI.

Minister of Food—M. MINKIEWICZ.

Minister of Justice—M. SUINSKI.

Minister of Public Works—M. PRUCHNIK.

This Provisional Government of Poland was accorded recognition by the United States. The following message, made public on Jan. 29, was sent to Premier Paderewski by Secretary Lansing from Paris:

The President of the United States directs me to extend to you, as Foreign Minister and Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Polish Government, its sincere wishes for your success in the high office which you have assumed and his earnest hope that the Government of which you are a part will bring prosperity to the Republic of Poland.

It is my privilege to extend to you at this time my personal greetings and officially to assure you that it will be a source of gratification to enter into official relations with you at the earliest opportunity. To render to your country such aid as is possible at this time, as it enters upon a new cycle of independent life, will be in due accord with that spirit of friendliness which has in the past animated the American people in their relations with your countrymen.

Reports from Poland indicated that the various factions were united. The new Government announced its decision to summon the Constituent Diet on Feb. 9. At the elections to this assembly, the party led by Paderewski and Dmowski obtained 50 per cent., the Socialist Party only 15 per cent., of the total votes. The number of eligible voters amounted to 435,000.

The actual voters numbered 320,000, many women among them. The franchise was also accorded to the Jews and a warning was issued against attacks upon them. The program of Paderewski's party includes defense of the frontiers and re-establishment of order, immediate provisioning of the country, regulation of State finances, protection of the working classes, and

development of industry. The party favors distribution of land purchased by the State, but opposes confiscation.

The Constituent Assembly met on Feb. 9. It included about 200 members, one woman among them. The seats were distributed as follows: National Democrats, 91; Polish Peasants, 51; Peasants' Union, 19; Socialists, 14; Workmen's Unions, 7; Jewish Party, 8; United

Polish Peasants, 6; German Colonists, 2. The Paderewski Government has introduced conscription and abolished the Soldiers' Councils. Military instruction is conducted by former German officers of Polish descent, while the higher ranks of the army consist mostly of Russian Poles. There exists a Polish Vistula fleet of motor boats and small steamers, with a base at Modelin.

CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 18, 1919]

GERMAN AUSTRIA'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

ON Sunday, Feb. 16, German Austria held a general election, about 4,000,000 men and women voting for delegates to a National Assembly, which is convening in Vienna on March 4 with 255 members. The Assembly will frame and adopt a national constitution and decide whether there shall be incorporated therein a measure providing for union, federation, or alliance with Germany. For these reasons the life of the National Assembly will be two years. The German National Assembly at Weimar took provisional action to admit German Austria with the status of three States into the "Imperial Republic" of the Fatherland.

There is one party in Austria which is opposed to a Great Germany. This is the Party of Christian Socialists which, although having 73 seats in the old Reichsrat out of a total of 516, has now greatly augmented its forces under the slogan of "Austria for Austrians," and includes the anti-Semites, merchants, and several conservative labor factions.

The leading party is the Social Democratic, which in the Reichsrat had only forty-nine seats but later absorbed most of the radical members of the German Nationalists, who held 100 seats. And there is still the German Nationalist Party, now, as always, for union with Germany, and the new Bourgeois Democratic Party.

For electoral purposes all German-speaking Austria was divided into thirty-

seven districts, each entitled to from one to twelve delegates. But eight of these districts, with seventy-one seats, are located in Bohemia (Czechoslovakia) and seven, with fifty-two seats, are in Carinthia, Styria, (organized as part of Yugoslavia,) and in Tyrol, (the Trentino organized by Italy,) so no elections were held there. Vienna, with seven districts, elected forty-eight delegates.

The election was on the principle of proportional representation, or one delegate to every 100,000 of the population. Every Austrian citizen who was 20 years old on Jan. 1 and was on Dec. 13, 1918, a resident of the German Austrian State, was entitled to vote by equal, direct, and secret ballot. The election regulations provided that no intoxicating liquor should be sold on election day or on the day preceding.

* * *

DEPORTING SEDITIOUS ALIENS

OLE HANSON, Mayor of Seattle, in the heart of a remarkable statement describing how he had put down a treasonable revolt in his city, said on Feb. 8:

I take the position that our duty as citizens stands ahead of the demand of any organization on the face of the earth. The union men, the business men, the churchmen, must first of all be citizens. Any man who owes a higher allegiance to any organization than he does to the Government should be sent to a Federal prison or deported. Let the National Government stop pandering to and conciliating the men who talk against it.

Even as he wrote the National Government was already making answer. For from the Far West there was proceeding toward the Eastern seaboard two carloads of undesirables—all potential anarchists, Bolsheviks, members of the I. W. W. Their status as aliens permitted them to be deported to the countries whence they came. Most of them were destined for Italy.

Before the Senate committee competent witnesses testified that the principal features of the Bolshevik conspiracy were hatched in New York's east side.

The trainload of undesirables arrived in New York on Feb. 11, and the human cargo was transferred to Ellis Island, there to await outgoing steamers. Writs of habeas corpus were issued only to be declined by the judicial authorities, for the fifty-four delinquents had been regularly tried, convicted, and sentenced to deportation by Federal courts, sitting all the way from Seattle to Chicago.

Immigration authorities state that although there will be no wholesale deportations there are in custody about 6,000 undesirable aliens who will, as circumstances permit, be returned to the lands whence they came.

* * *

SIX BILLIONS A YEAR IN TAXES

THE War Revenue bill which passed the House on Feb. 8 with a vote of 310 to 11, the latter being seven Democrats and four Republicans, affected every phase of life, every sort of individual, socially as well as industrially. It broke all records and was the greatest revenue raiser in history. It levied alike on incomes and profits, on necessities and luxuries, and in its multitude of minor assessments it reached down into every pocket. It was estimated that it would produce \$6,070,000,000. The income tax, concerning the individual, the corporation, excess profits, and estates, would produce, it was estimated, over \$4,000,000,000; then came the excise taxes on luxuries—from jewelry to sporting goods, from automobiles to yachts—which are expected to produce over \$1,000,000,000; and somewhere near the latter sum is looked for from a series of special

taxes covering practically everything concerning human enjoyment and comfort that has not been already scheduled.

* * *

A NEW BRITISH EMBARGO

EARLY IN January, 1919, the British Government established an embargo against certain articles imported from other countries. The articles were, in the main, those which during the war had required a license in order to be imported, but which, with the signing of the armistice, had been placed on the free list. The articles affected by the embargo fell into two classes. The restrictions on one class were scheduled to begin after March 1, 1919. The articles contained in this group were chiefly in the nature of machine tools and machinery driven by power. The category of goods on which freedom to import was scheduled to begin July 1, 1919, consisted of food and raw materials. The British Government declared that it was forced to subject these again to license on account of the international situation, as it was well known that there was a worldwide shortage in them and the general subject was under discussion at Paris. Members of the United States Senate belonging to both political parties attacked the British embargo on the ground that it would injure American industries. It was later modified in some particulars.

* * *

RIFLE STRENGTH OF THE ALLIES AND OF GERMANY

THE United States War Department, on Feb. 5, 1919, made public official estimates of the rifle strength of the Allies and of Germany during the war. Rifle strength was defined as the "number of men standing in the trenches ready to go over with the bayonet."

When Germany struck its great blow in the Spring of 1918 it had about 1,500,000 men so classified, against an allied total of about 1,250,000. By June 1 the Germans reached their peak with 1,639,000 rifles. The allied strength on June 1 was 1,496,000. Shortly afterward the Allies reached a total of 1,547,000, composed of 778,000 French, 515,000 British, and

254,000 American. America's contribution had risen from 65,000 in April. On July 1 Germany's power had begun to wane, and for the first time it was definitely inferior in rifle strength, with 1,412,000, compared with 1,556,000 for the Allies.

In mid-October the American strength had risen to an estimated force of 350,000. On Sept. 1 the allied line was at its greatest strength, with 1,682,000, against Germany's 1,339,000. While the Allies had shrunk in rifles to 1,485,000 on Nov. 1, Germany's last hope was gone, as she faced that army with only 866,000 bayonets.

The following table, prepared by General Pershing's staff, shows the comparative rifle strength of the armies for the eight months covered:

	Allies.	Germany.
April 1.....	1,245,000	1,569,000
May 1.....	1,343,000	1,600,000
June 1.....	1,496,000	1,639,000
July 1.....	1,556,000	1,412,000
Aug. 1.....	1,672,000	1,395,000
Sept. 1.....	1,682,000	1,339,000
Oct. 1.....	1,594,000	1,223,000
Nov. 1.....	1,485,000	866,000

The sudden decline of the German forces, beginning in June and again apparent in the swift drop during October, was accounted for by the fact that Germany had drawn into the lines during the Spring every available reserve, expecting to smash her way to victory before Winter came. These reserves were used up in the German attack and the allied assaults which followed, while the American force continued to increase.

In a rough way, the American rifle strength represented about 20 per cent. of the total American force in France continuously. This accounts for the fact that with a total of more than 2,000,000 men in France on Nov. 11 the rifle strength in October was estimated at around 350,000 men.

The total strength of the United States Army on Nov. 11, when the armistice was signed, was 3,703,273 officers and men, including the Marine Corps on duty with the army in Europe. On Nov. 11 the American Army in Europe numbered 80,842 officers and 1,868,474 men, while 1,162 officers and 21,072 men were at sea en route to Europe. The marine

contingent in the expeditionary force on that date was 1,002 officers and 31,383 men, making the total European army strength either in France or en route there 2,003,935 officers and men.

In the United States on that date were 1,634,499 army personnel, and in the insular possessions, the Canal Zone, Alaska, &c., 55,735. The total strength of the Siberian expedition on that date was 298 officers and 8,806 men.

A table prepared by the War Department giving these figures follows:

	Officers.	Men.	Total.
Army personnel in Europe	80,842	1,868,474	1,949,316
At sea en route to Europe	1,162	21,072	22,234
Total	82,004	1,889,506	1,971,550
Marines (on duty with army in Europe)	1,002	31,383	32,385
Total, including marines	83,006	1,920,929	2,003,915
Siberian Expedition	298	8,806	9,104
Total A. E. F. in Europe and Siberia	83,304	1,929,735	2,013,039
In United States...104,155	1,530,344	1,634,499	
In insular possessions, Alaska, &c. 1,977	53,758	55,735	
Grand total in army, excluding marines	188,434	3,482,454	3,670,888
Grand total in army, including marines	189,436	3,513,837	3,703,273

* * *

SOCIALIST CONFERENCE AT BERNE

THE International Labor Congress, failing to find asylum in either Paris or Lausanne, finally convened in Berne, Switzerland, on Feb. 3. Neither the American Federation of Labor nor the Belgian Society of Workers is represented. Mr. Gompers, the head of the first, declined to give his sanction to Federation delegates meeting Germans while this country was still technically at war with them. The Belgian Government acted from similar motives. Frank Bohn, an American, was in attendance. The Executive Committee of the American Socialist Party selected Algernon Lee, a New York Alderman, and James O'Neal, editor of The New York Call, as delegates; they were given passports by

the State Department. It was announced that 125 delegates were in attendance, representing twenty-five nations.

Despite the denials of Arthur Henderson, the British delegate, and notwithstanding the backslidings of the German Socialist Democrats, the idea prevailing at Berne was that the Internationale should supersede individual national allegiance. This fact indicated the difference between the mental attitude of the Berne conference and that of the Labor Commission of the Peace Conference at Paris.

Mr. Henderson opened the Berne Congress and Hjalmar Branting, the Swedish Socialist leader, was elected President. The latter said that while the conference at Paris "represented the ruling classes, he hoped Berne would represent the working classes." The German delegates made several speeches sympathizing with the war sufferings wrought in Belgium and Northern France and partially blaming their own military masters for the war, but they indicated opposition to any punitive demands and refused to acknowledge that their country was responsible for the war.

The French and German delegates to the International Socialist Conference concurred in approving a plebiscite for Alsace-Lorraine to decide whether the in-

habitants desired to be under French or German rule.

The International Trade Union Conference adopted a motion insisting on the prompt and definite re-establishment of the international trade union body and calling for the summoning of a new international trade union conference not later than next May. The resolution was adopted by a majority of twenty-three votes, nearly all the delegates to the conference voting.

On motion of Camille Huysmans, a Belgian delegate, a resolution was adopted declaring that as allied prisoners were returned home from the Central Empires, German prisoners also should be returned, independently of legitimate complaints against Germany.

Demands for presentation to the Paris Peace Conference were agreed upon by the International Labor Conference. The demands include the establishment of an eight-hour day, with an uninterrupted rest period of thirty-six hours weekly, insurance against accidents and unemployment, the forbidding of night work in all countries for women workers, and of the employment of children under 15 years of age, and a six-hour day for youths between 15 and 18 years. The conference appointed delegates to present its demands to the Peace Conference.

Chronology of the Armistice Period

Jan. 21 to Feb. 16, 1919

UNITED STATES

The War Revenue bill, estimated to raise \$6,000,000,000 during the fiscal year, passed its final stages.

Army discharges in demobilization reached a total of 1,174,545 officers and men on Feb. 14, and the total number assigned for demobilization was 1,501,000. Up to Feb. 11, 305,000 soldiers abroad had embarked for home.

ARMISTICE

General von Winterfeldt resigned as Chairman of the German Armistice Commission.

The Peace Conference on Feb. 13 decided on new armistice terms to be presented to Germany.

PEACE CONFERENCE

The Supreme Council adopted President Wilson's proposal to ask all Russian factions, including the Bolsheviks, to meet the allied and associated Governments at Princes' Islands on Feb. 15. The Soviet Government, and the Governments of Ukraine, Crimea, Esthonia, the Lettish Republic, and Lithuania agreed to participate. William Allen White and George Davis Herron were appointed to represent the United States.

A resolution to create a League of Nations was adopted Jan. 25, and President Wilson was named Chairman of the commission to draft a plan. The completed draft of the constitution was read to the

conference by President Wilson on Feb. 14. The next day the President sailed for America.

RUSSIA AND SIBERIA

Ufa, in the Urals, was captured by the Bolsheviks on Jan. 20, and the Russian and Czechoslovak forces fell back 140 miles to Ziatoust. A severe defeat for the Reds in Northern Russia was reported Jan. 22, and Trotzky gave orders not to defend Zinovieff. American and Russian troops on the Vaga River repulsed fierce attacks.

On Jan. 26 the Reds began an offensive to drive the Allies into the White Sea and capture Shenkursk.

Orenburg was taken by the Bolsheviks on Jan. 25.

Tarasevo was evacuated by the Americans Feb. 1, after a week's fighting, and the entire allied column was forced back forty miles.

The Soviet Government sent a note to the United States Government asking for a conference to discuss the withdrawal of American troops from Russia, Jan. 18.

Ensign Krylenko was arrested when he attempted to enter the anti-Bolshevist army of General Krasnoff for espionage purposes.

General Denikine, General Krasnoff, and General Filimonoff announced their adherence to the Omsk Government.

Sweden expelled the Soviet representatives at Stockholm, Jan. 25.

The Allies agreed on a plan for the control of Siberian railroads.

UKRAINE

Soviet forces occupied Ekaterinoslav Jan. 27, and on Feb. 3 they took Kiev.

The Germans transferred the control of Brest-Litovsk to the Ukrainians.

POLAND

Oderberg was captured by the Czechs from the Poles, Jan. 26.

Premier Paderewski protested to the Czechoslovak Government against the invasion of Silesia by Czechoslovak troops.

President Wilson recognized the Paderewski Government, Jan. 29.

The Peace Conference laid down rules for the temporary administration of the Teschen mining district, for which Poles and Czechs were fighting, and ordered the Poles and Germans to stop military operations against each other in Posen.

JUGOSLAVIA

The United Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was recognized by Secretary Lansing, Feb. 7.

GERMANY

Spartacan revolutionists were ousted from Bremen on Feb. 4, after heavy fighting.

Eighty-five persons were killed and several hundred wounded. Majority Socialists established a new Government in the city.

Serious disorders broke out in Magdeburg, the capital of Prussian Saxony, Feb. 6, and the Reds fomented riots at Kiel, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, and other localities. Six persons were killed and fourteen wounded in Spartacan riots in Berlin, Feb. 8.

The National Assembly opened at Weimar, Feb. 6. Friedrich Ebert was elected President of the German State and the new Government established.

IRELAND

Twenty-five members of the Sinn Fein Society elected to the British House of Commons assembled in Dublin, Jan. 21, and formally constituted themselves the Irish Parliament. They adopted a declaration of independence and an address to the free nations of the world and appointed a committee to present the claims of Ireland to self-determination to the Peace Conference.

TURKEY

The Cabinet resigned, Jan. 20, as a result of allied demands that Turkey restore property carried away during the war from occupied territories and cease drastic measures against Greeks and Armenians.

PORTUGAL

A royalist revolt ostensibly in behalf of former King Manuel failed.

LABOR

An International Labor and Socialist Conference convened at Berne, Feb. 3. The American Federation of Labor refused to take part in it.

Serious strikes occurred in Great Britain. The Clyde shipyards, the South Wales coal mines, and the railroads were affected. Practically the entire city of London was tied up.

In the United States the demand for shorter hours led to strikes in the textile mills of New England and New Jersey. A reduction in the wages of copper miners caused serious disturbances in Butte, Mon., and a demand for higher wages by shipbuilders in Seattle resulted in strikes which affected every industry in the city and necessitated the calling out of troops. Philadelphia shipyards were also affected by strikes. The silk workers and textile strikes were adjusted by shorter hours; the Pacific ship workers' strike failed.

TRADE

Great Britain established an embargo against certain imports, to become effective March 1. The fear that it would seriously

affect American industries was voiced in the United States; later it was relaxed in some particulars.

The Allies lifted the embargo on the importation of many commodities to Holland and Scandinavia, and arranged for the return of a large part of the shipping under charter to the United States Ship-

ping Board. The new arrangement provided that all guarantees against re-exportation of commodities to enemy countries should continue in effect.

Drastic reduction in shipping rates by Great Britain was followed by similar reductions on the part of the United States Shipping Board.

Solving New Shipping Problems

Germany's Whole Merchant Fleet Used to Carry Returning Soldiers and Food for Europe

A THREE DAYS' conference was held at Treves from Jan. 15 to Jan. 17, 1919, between civilian delegates from America, Great Britain, France, and Italy and Germany to arrange for the transference of the German merchant marine to the Allies. Edward N. Hurley, the head of the United States Shipping Board, was elected Chairman by his allied associates. As a result of the conference and subsequent meetings, it was agreed that America and the Allies were to receive 3,000,000 tons of German shipping then in German ports, the tonnage to be devoted to carrying food to Europe—including Germany—and returning American and Australian soldiers to their home countries. Of the 3,000,000 tons, 2,300,000 were set aside for cargo-carrying purposes and 700,000 for passenger accommodation. All passenger tonnage was ready for use at the time of the agreement. Of the cargo-carrying tonnage to be handed over to the Allies, 1,000,000 tons were ready for immediate use. The German ships allotted to the United States for the return of American troops included the giant Hamburg-American liner *Imperator*, which is 5,000 tons less than the United States transport *Leviathan*, formerly the *Vaterland*. The steamships known to be in German ports at the time included seven large Hamburg-American liners and three belonging to the North German Lloyd Line. In addition there were several large German ships under construction and nearing completion.

Mr. Hurley, returning from Europe on Feb. 11, made the following statement in

regard to the tonnage which the conference at Treves decided Germany was to hand over to the Allies:

From information now at hand it appears that the total available German passenger tonnage suitable for carrying troops is more than 600,000 gross. This estimate does not include the *Bismarck* of 50,000 tons gross, which is not yet completed, nor the *Imperator*, sister ship of the U. S. *S. Leviathan*, which cannot be delivered for several months. Furthermore, this total does not include other large vessels such as the *Tirpitz*, *Hindenburg*, and *Columbus*, concerning which no reports have yet been received.

The estimate is based upon listed tonnage and upon information obtained from German delegates and from a commission of American engineers on board the scout cruiser *Chester* and the U. S. destroyer *Aylwin*, both now at Bremen, and who since Feb. 1 have been making a survey of German steamers in German ports. The United States share of this tonnage should run approximately to 300,000 gross of shipping suitable for the return of American troops. This should give the United States an additional troop-carrying capacity of more than 60,000 men per month.

A number of German ships are ready to put to sea at once. It is planned that these shall be manned temporarily by German officers and crews, and shall proceed immediately to British or French ports under the direction of the Naval Armistice Commission. Upon arrival at such British or French ports, German officers and crews will be returned and the ships turned over to the navy to man and operate for account of the War Department. The Navy Department, in anticipation of these new demands, has made preparations and has already assembled a large number of men and officers and is ready to man and officer all German ships as they may be delivered.

A large portion of the German tonnage

which is to be obtained will be ready to put to sea within the first five weeks. The rest will be delivered subsequently at varying dates. As soon as any of the German ships can be made ready they will put to sea immediately, and after being bunkered and provisioned in allied ports will proceed on their first trip across the Atlantic with United States troops.

Today we have 2,072 seagoing vessels of 6,470,396 gross tons under the American flag, as against 1,329 vessels of 6,364,926 gross tons of foreign shipping trading with the United States.

By Feb. 13, about 750,000 tons, dead-weight, of German shipping had been named for the use of the Allied Maritime and Transport Council to be used in repatriating troops and carrying food, according to the following official announcement:

The Maritime Transport Council met Feb. 1, Feb. 4, and Feb. 11. Those present were MM. Clementel and Boisson for France, Signor Crespi for Italy, George R. Blee for the United States, and J. A. Salter for Great Britain.

Important decisions were made as to the allocation for management and use of Austrian and German tonnage. Passenger vessels will be mainly employed in the repatriation of troops and cargo vessels for the carriage of food to different ports in Europe, including liberated areas and enemy countries. The vessels are to be divided for the purposes of management among the associated Governments.

These arrangements were made on the understanding that the ultimate disposition of the vessels by the terms of peace would in no way be prejudiced and in order to make this a fact they are being administered in the meantime in trust for the associated Governments as a whole. They will fly the flag of the Allied Maritime Transport Service as well as the national flag of the country undertaking their management.

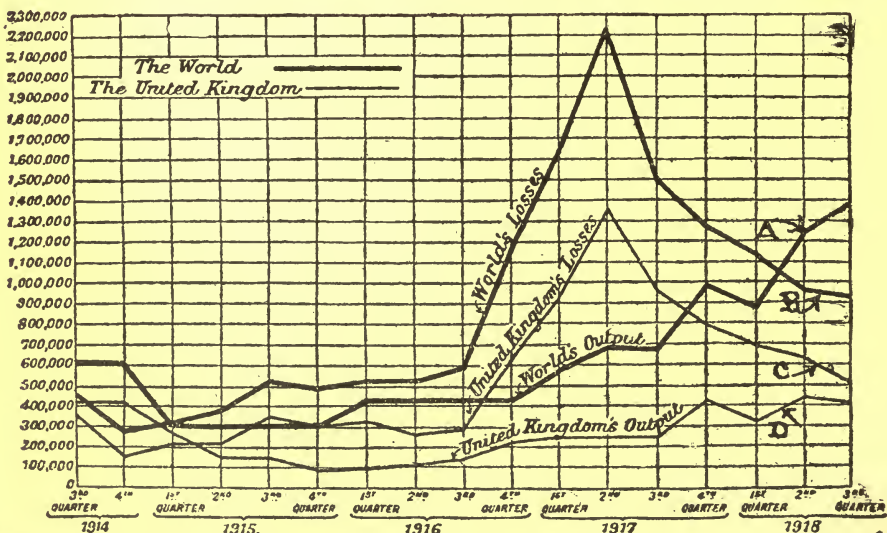
The council appointed delegates to proceed to Spa, together with representatives of the food departments and the naval authorities of the several Governments, to meet the representatives of the German Government Feb. 16 and arrange with regard to the delivery of vessels which the German Government was bound to hand over under the armistice of Jan. 16 and the Treves agreement of Jan. 17.

The preparation of a considerable number of vessels has been proceeding and about 750,000 tons, deadweight tonnage, has been named by the German Government and are now ready to sail. Meantime the associated Governments are making an examination on the spot of other German vessels in German ports.

FOUR YEARS' SHIP LOSSES

Although the United Kingdom was not invaded, Great Britain paid for victory in the loss of more than 9,000,000 tons of shipping, ten times as much as that lost by either France or Italy. The British losses were seventeen times as much as those of the United States.

The British Admiralty at the beginning



MERCHANT TONNAGE LOST DURING THE WAR THROUGH ENEMY ACTION AND MARINE RISKS. THE FIGURES AT THE LEFT REPRESENT GROSS TONNAGE

of 1919 published a statement showing the output and losses of merchant tonnage for the United Kingdom and for the world between August, 1914, and October, 1918. These official figures are shown on the diagram which accompanies this article. For ease of reference the graphs are marked A, B, C, and D, of which A and B show the world's output and losses respectively, while C and D represent the same values for the United Kingdom.

A striking feature of the diagram is the general resemblance of the graphs for the world and the United Kingdom. This is due to the preponderating share of the total world's tonnage and output owned by Britain, which amount before the war was nearly one-half of the total. During the second quarter of 1917, when the U-boat menace was at its height, the world's loss by submarine activity was 2,250,000 gross tons, which is only 500,000 tons less than was built in the world altogether during that year.

Comparing graphs D and A, we see that at the beginning of the war the United Kingdom output was about 420,000 tons per quarter, against the world's output of about 600,000 tons. In other words, the United Kingdom was responsible for about two-thirds of the total shipbuilding of the world. At the close of the war the United Kingdom output was 421,000 gross tons per quarter, (practically the same as at the outbreak of the war,) against the world's output of 1,400,000; thus the United Kingdom is producing now considerably less than one-third of the total, i. e., less than half of its former proportion.

AMERICAN SHIP LOSSES

Fifteen cargo ships, with a dead-weight tonnage of 103,692, were lost during 1918 by the Naval Overseas Transportation Service, according to a report made public by the District Supervisor of the Third Naval District. The removal of the ban of secrecy, vital during the war as a shield to these vessels and their crews, disclosed that six ships, aggregating 42,627 tons, were destroyed by enemy activity; five vessels, with a combined tonnage of 44,071,

were sunk in collision, and four vessels, totaling 16,994 tons, were destroyed by fire and explosion. Crews of navy cargo ships are said to have endured the greatest hardships of the war. "Not only were these crews confronted with the normal perils of the sea," says the report, "but they faced destruction from torpedo, collision, and other unforeseen accidents that might cause fire in inflammable cargoes." The personnel of the Naval Overseas Transportation Service at the present time includes 5,000 officers and 45,000 enlisted men.

DUTCH VESSELS RETURNED

Because tonnage had steadily increased since the signing of the armistice, the War Trade Board announced on Feb. 2, 1919, that eighty-seven Dutch ships under the control and in the service of the United States would be returned to Holland immediately and unconditionally. The ships were transferred at the conclusion of their current voyages. The War Trade Board issued a statement regarding the circumstances leading to the requisition of Dutch shipping, in which it said:

In October, 1917, the Holland Government Commission was sent over to this country to negotiate for an economic agreement. Holland agreed to charter the ships to us for a period of ninety days, provided the ships were used only outside the submarine zone. Provision was made in this agreement for a portion of this tonnage to be used in Swiss service and for Belgian relief, and it was agreed that for each ship sent to Holland in the service of Belgian relief a corresponding ship was to leave Holland for our ports. Meanwhile a general agreement in regard to resumption of trade with Holland was under discussion, but was not ratified.

And the provisional agreement of Jan. 25, 1918, was not carried into effect promptly by the Dutch Government. Holland, under pressure from Germany, was prevented from sending back ships to replace those sailing in the service of Belgian relief, as had been specified in the agreement.

On March 20, 1918, the President issued a proclamation authorizing the requisition of all Dutch shipping in our ports. Accordingly, on that day the Dutch ships in our ports were taken possession of by the United States Government, to be operated by the Shipping Board and the Navy Department. There were eighty-seven of

these ships, with an aggregate tonnage of 539,000 tons weight.

The Shipping Board on Feb. 5 also announced its readiness immediately to begin releasing to the Scandinavian Governments the shipping then under charter, or to cancel the contracts and return the vessels direct to their owners. There were under the Shipping Board control eighty-one Danish ships of 373,246 dead-weight tons, sixty-one Norwegian ships of 278,495 deadweight tons, forty-six Norwegian sailing ships of 118,427 tons, and thirty-one Swedish steamers of 144,911 tons.

OCEAN RATES REDUCED

The first steps toward a restoration of normal transoceanic freight rates were taken by Great Britain and the United States in the early weeks of 1919.

The British Ministry of Shipping announced on Jan. 27 that freight rates on vessels free from Government requisition had been reduced 66 2-3 per cent. on shipments from the United States to Great Britain. This applied to all export commodities with the exception of cotton, which usually was classified under a special rating. This ruling also applied to British ships which had from 20 to 30 per cent. of their cargo space available, the rest being under the control of the Ministry of Shipping. This meant that the rate of \$3.50 per 100 pounds weight to Europe had been re-

duced to \$1, and by measurement the rate of \$1.75 per foot would be 50 cents.

The United States Shipping Board on the same day announced a reduction of about 66 2-3 per cent. in charges between Atlantic and Gulf ports and the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands.

To Marseilles, Cete, Genoa, and Naples the new rate was \$1.60 per 100 pounds, or 85 cents per cubic foot, against the old rate of \$75 per ton, rates based on weight or measurement at ship's option.

The new rate to the United Kingdom was \$1 per 100 pounds, or 50 cents a cubic foot, against the old rate of \$66 a ton, while the rate to Havre, Bordeaux, Antwerp, and Rotterdam was \$1.25 per 100 pounds, or 65 cents per cubic foot, against the old charge of \$65 a ton. At the same time the board announced similar rates from Atlantic and Gulf ports to ports in India. On Jan. 31 the United States Shipping Board ordered reductions amounting to about 50 per cent. in the cargo rates from North Atlantic ports to Australia, South Africa, and the Far Eastern ports.

Shipping men expressed the belief that the change would cause a development in the commerce from American ports and tend to hasten the return of the business to normal conditions.

America's Financial Aid to the Allies

By THOMAS W. LAMONT

of J. P. Morgan & Co., New York

[ANNUAL FINANCIAL SUPPLEMENT OF THE LONDON TIMES]

THE financial problems of the different nations of the world have, through the rude workings of the war, become almost inextricably interwoven. The financial situation of no one country can be studied without serious reference to the world credit situation. This statement applies emphatically to the United States, as it never did before the war. Thus it becomes of interest to

review briefly America's position in its relation to the rest of the world.

At the close of 1918 there were held by American investors and bankers foreign Government obligations, issued since the war began and as yet unpaid, of approximately \$2,100,000,000. The total of such war issues here was, according to our records, made up as follows:

Great Britain\$1,308,400,000

France	\$45,000,000
Russia	160,000,000
Italy	29,000,000
Germany	45,000,000
Switzerland	15,000,000
Greece	7,000,000
Sweden	5,000,000
Norway	8,000,000
China	5,000,000
Canada	370,500,000
Argentina	146,500,000
Chile	6,000,000
Bolivia	3,000,000
Panama	3,000,000
Uruguay	3,000,000
Yucatan	10,000,000
Brazil	5,500,000
Miscellaneous estimates.....	130,000,000
Total	\$3,104,900,000

Of the foregoing issues there have matured and been paid the following:

Great Britain	\$456,400,000
France	235,000,000
Russia	35,000,000
Italy	25,000,000
Germany	20,000,000
Switzerland	10,000,000
Norway	3,000,000
Canada	59,400,000
Argentina	73,000,000
Total	\$916,800,000

It is probable that in addition to the foregoing Government issues there are in the hands of our bankers and investors, foreign private obligations to the extent of \$500,000,000.

Before the war America's investments in foreign Government issues were almost negligible. Her total purchases of Russian and Japanese issues in the Russo-Japanese War were only about \$125,000,000, and these issues were almost all resold to England or France. The total American holdings of these issues just mentioned and of Argentines, Mexicans, and Canadians (I am still speaking only of Government, provincial or municipal issues) probably did not exceed, at the beginning of the war, \$500,000,000. Hence the purchase of various allied and neutral foreign Government obligations to the extent that I have mentioned—namely, \$3,100,000,000—constituted for Americans a radical and profound departure from their previous ways. I do not have to detail the ways in which this change was brought about. America had been a borrowing, not a

lending, nation. It was not an easy task to bring about the change and to effect it as speedily as the pressing financial requirements of the Allies in America made necessary. Every sort of obstacle was placed in the path of those who made themselves responsible in the United States for raising the heavy loans which were necessary to the successful prosecution of the war by Great Britain, France, and their allies. The German propagandist, clever, resourceful, unscrupulous, neither slumbered nor slept. No part of the country was too insignificant for his efforts, no method too unimportant for his hands. But the greatest obstacle of all lay, of course, in the fact that America as a whole, during the early years of the war, did not realize that the fight was one in which America was as vitally interested as any other country and that sooner or later we were bound to get into the fight.

When once America understood the situation and had taken up arms against the Central Powers she left nothing undone in the way of economic and material achievement or of military aid in her anxiety to play her full part in the winning of the war. It may, therefore, be not inappropriate to point out that (up to Dec. 7) in eighteen months, during which there was active American participation in the war, the United States Government had loaned to the Allies a total of \$8,220,340,702, made up as follows:

Great Britain.....	\$3,945,000,000
France	2,445,000,000
Italy	1,210,000,000
Russia	325,000,000
Belgium	210,120,000
Greece	39,554,036
Cuba	15,000,000
Serbia	12,000,000
Rumania	6,666,666
Liberia	5,000,000
Czechoslovaks	7,000,000
Total.....	\$8,220,340,702

Secretary McAdoo of the Federal Treasury pointed out toward the end of 1918 that the total of these loans would soon reach \$8,500,000,000; and he asked Congress for authority to extend these loans up to a grand total of \$10,000,000,000. This figure will give some idea of the prompt and adequate financial aid which America rendered within a year and a half.

Emerging From War Conditions

Progress of the United States Toward the Resumption of Normal Peace Activities

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1919]

PROBLEMS that sprang out of the sudden cessation of hostilities continued to press for solution in the United States during the first month of 1919. Most of these were concerned with finance and commerce and the demobilization of American forces at home and abroad.

Figures made public by Secretary of War Baker on Feb. 12 revealed that from the signing of the armistice on Nov. 11, 1918, to Feb. 8, 1919, 287,332 American troops in France and Great Britain had embarked for the United States, while up to Feb. 10, 67,454 officers and 1,069,116 men had been demobilized in this country. Total arrivals of overseas troops up to Feb. 7 were 215,749.

Men in France being treated for disease on Feb. 1 totaled 62,561 and those suffering from wounds were 24,484. The aggregate of 87,045 was 4,688 less than in the preceding week and 106,403 less than the number in hospitals overseas on Nov. 14.

Since the ending of hostilities 53,042 sick and wounded had arrived in this country, bringing the total since the beginning of the war to 63,160. On Feb. 1 the occupied beds in hospitals in the United States numbered 60,777, while there were 47,048 beds available for returning cases.

SUMMARY OF FIGHTING FORCES

The Statistics Branch of the General Staff presented on Feb. 5 the following summary of all forces in the United States Army at the time of its greatest strength, Nov. 11, 1918, the figures being corrected up to Jan. 22, 1919.

	Officers.	Men.	Total.
Army personnel in			
Europe	80,842	1,868,474	1,949,316
At sea, en route to			
Europe	1,162	21,072	22,234
Total	82,004	1,889,546	1,971,550

	Officers.	Men.	Total.
Marines (on duty with Army in Europe)	1,002	31,383	32,385
Total, including			
Marines	83,006	1,920,929	2,003,935
Siberian expedition.	298	8,806	9,104
Total A. E. F. in Europe and Siberia	83,304	1,929,735	2,013,039
In United States...	104,155	1,530,344	1,634,499
In insular possessions, Alaska, &c.	1,977	53,758	55,735
Grand total in army, excluding Marines...	188,434	3,482,454	3,670,888
Grand total in army, including Marines...	189,436	3,513,837	3,703,273

BATTLE DEATH RATE

Statistics prepared by the General Staff and made public by General March on Feb. 15 showed that the battle death rate in the United States Army in France exceeded the disease death rate, something that had never happened in previous wars. The battle death rate for the entire American Army in this war was 20 per thousand per year. In the expeditionary forces it was 57 per thousand per year. The disease death rate was 17 per thousand per year in the expeditionary forces and 16 in the army at home.

Among the American forces, the table showed, the battle death rate was only half that of the British expeditionary forces, which was given as 110 per thousand per year.

General March said that the lower death rate from disease undoubtedly was due largely to the inoculation requirement of the army, and, secondly, to the efficient work of the Medical Corps. But for the influenza epidemic, he said, the disease rate would have been cut in half.

The table of comparative battle and

disease death rates per thousand per year for wars in which the United States has engaged since the war of 1812 follows:

	Battle Death Rate.	Disease Death Rate.
Mexican War.....	15	110
Civil War (North).....	33	65
Spanish War.....	5	26
Present war (A. E. F.).....	57	17

SOLDIERS FROM EACH STATE

A table showing the number of men furnished to the army by each State during the war was also made public at the War Department on Feb. 15. The figures were compiled up to Nov. 11, and the grand total includes the overseas garrisons in Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines and in Alaska, as well as the American Expeditionary Forces and the army at home.

The States furnished the following numbers of soldiers:

New York.....367,864	Mississippi	54,295
Pennsylvania...297,891	S. Carolina....	53,482
Illinois .....251,074	Connecticut ...	50,069
Ohio .....200,293	Nebraska	47,805
Texas .....161,065	Maryland	47,054
Michigan .....135,485	Washington ...	45,154
Massachusetts.132,610	Montana	36,293
Missouri .....128,544	Colorado	34,393
California .....112,514	Florida 33,331	
Indiana .....106,581	Oregon 30,110	
New Jersey...105,207	South Dakota..	29,680
Minnesota 99,116	North Dakota..	25,803
Iowa 98,781	Maine 24,252	
Wisconsin 98,211	Idaho 19,010	
Georgia 85,506	Utah 17,361	
Oklahoma 80,169	Rhode Island..	16,861
Tennessee 75,825	Dist. of Colum.	15,930
Kentucky 75,043	N. Hampshire..	14,374
Alabama 74,678	New Mexico... 12,439	
Virginia 73,062	Wyoming 11,393	
N. Carolina.... 73,003	Arizona 10,492	
Louisiana 65,988	Vermont 9,338	
Kansas 63,428	Delaware 7,484	
Arkansas 61,027	Nevada 5,105	
W. Virginia.... 55,777		

The total of 3,575,624 included also 16,538 from Porto Rico, 5,644 from Hawaii, 2,102 from Alaska, 255 from the Philippines, 1,318 not allocated, and 1,499 accredited to the American Expeditionary Forces, comprising men who joined the army in Europe.

HEALTH OF THE ARMY

The effect of the influenza epidemic on the health of troops in the United States was shown in the report of the Division

of Sanitation of the Surgeon General's Office for the six-month period ending Dec. 27, 1918.

From disease only 32.15 men out of each 1,000 in the service in the United States would have died during 1918 had the death rate of the last six months extended over the entire year. Actually the death rate for the calendar year was 20.09 per 1,000.

Of the 32.15 per 1,000 annual death rate from disease for the six months 30.071 were due to influenza and pneumonia, leaving 2.081 per 1,000 as the rate for all other diseases. Death due to other diseases than pneumonia during the year ending Aug. 30, 1918, when the total rate was but 6.37 per 1,000, was 2.35 per 1,000. No deaths were reported from influenza in that period. This shows that except for the epidemic influenza-pneumonia, sick and death rates would have remained low.

The United States Department of Labor authorized a statement showing that the intensive campaign of the Naturalization Bureau of the Department of Labor in the army during the war had resulted in making 162,864 new American citizens. This figure covered naturalizations to Jan. 11. This record had been made possible by the relaxation of the rules governing naturalization in the case of men in uniform. It was felt that when a man joined the American forces he thereby had taken out his first papers, so to speak, and all that remained was to complete the formality of inducting him into American citizenship. Examiners and judges had been assigned to the several camps periodically, and the alien soldiers had been naturalized in batches.

FOR A LARGER NAVY

The House of Representatives on Feb. 11 passed the Naval Appropriation bill, which contained the three-year navy construction program proposed by Secretary Daniels and warmly urged by the President in a cable message from France. The program was adopted by a vote of 194 to 142. The bill calls for an appropriation of \$600,000,000. A proviso was added deferring the actual construction of the ships until June, 1920,

The United States Shipping Board an-

nounced on Dec. 18, 1918, that henceforth all outgoing vessels, except troop transports, would be manned with merchant sailors. The statement added:

During the war it was, for military reasons, considered proper that many of the vessels should be under naval regulations, as they were so peculiarly but instruments of our military operations in Europe, and the splendid service rendered by the officers and men of the Naval Reserve Force in this service is fully recognized. There have also been operated through the submarine and mine-infested waters many merchant vessels manned by the usual merchant crews. The board is fully conscious of the great service rendered by these men in a most difficult and dangerous trade, and desires to publicly express its appreciation of the part played by the merchant sailor in winning the war.

The cessation of hostilities saved the nation billions of dollars through the cancellation of contracts and authorizations. In the Deficiency bill reported by the House Committee on Appropriations Jan. 5, contracts for \$7,179,156,944 were ordered canceled and authorizations amounting to \$8,221,029,294 were withdrawn.

RAILROADS UNDER GOVERNMENT CONTROL

Railroads in 1918 under Government control and unusual war conditions earned about \$713,000,000, or \$250,000,000 less than in 1917, \$370,000,000 less than in the record year of 1916, and about the same as in 1915.

This became apparent Jan. 29 on the basis of definite reports to the Interstate Commerce Commission of earnings of 195 principal railroads—those having annual operating revenues of more than \$1,000,000—for eleven months and unofficial calculation of December earnings, which Railroad Administration reports indicated would be considerably smaller though subject to slight revision, the figures afforded the first public view of the results of railway operations last year, so far as earnings are concerned.

Receipts from freight, passenger, express, and other transportation during the year amounted to approximately \$4,873,000,000, or \$832,000,000 more than in the previous year. Operating expenses

jumped to about \$3,971,000,000, or about \$1,119,000,000 more than in the preceding year.

EMPLOYMENT OF SOLDIERS

Too sudden a glut in the labor market owing to demobilization of soldiers who had no employment in sight was provided against by an order issued by Secretary Baker on Jan. 24. The order follows:

All commanding officers will take steps to insure that every enlisted man in their command understands thoroughly that the War Department does not desire to discharge any soldier who cannot secure civil employment. It will be made clear to every soldier that where he would normally be discharged under orders for demobilization, he may remain temporarily in the military service at his own written request until such time as he can secure employment. The fact that he requests to remain in the army temporarily does not in any way operate to compel him to remain in the army for a long period of time against his will. Any man who would normally have been discharged if he had not expressed his desire in writing to remain in the service, may thereafter be discharged from the service at his own request whenever he thinks he may secure employment. All such men as are retained temporarily under the above authority will be attached to the most convenient unit and where their services will be most useful.

THE PROHIBITION AMENDMENT

The ratification by three-fourths of the States of the "Bone-Dry" amendment to the Constitution was followed by the formal proclamation by Acting Secretary of State Polk that the amendment had become part of the Constitution. The text of the proclamation is herewith given:

To All to Whom These Presents Shall Come, Greeting:

Know ye that the Congress of the United States, at the second session, Sixty-fifth Congress, begun at Washington on the third day of December, in the year one thousand nine hundred and seventeen, passed a resolution in the words and figures following, to wit:

JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two-thirds of each house concurring therein,

That the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the Legislatures of the several States as provided by the Constitution;

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

And, further, that it appears from official documents on file in this department that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed as aforesaid has been ratified by the Legislatures of the States of Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

And, further, that the States whose Legislatures have so ratified the said proposed amendment constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States.

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue of and in pursuance of Section 205 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, do hereby certify that the amendment aforesaid has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this 29th day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

(Signed) FRANK L. POLK,
Acting Secretary of State.

The Food Administration announced Jan. 28 that President Wilson signed a proclamation in Paris on Jan. 23 remov-

ing restrictions on the manufacture of so-called near beers. No reference was made to the restrictions on the manufacture of beer or other intoxicating brewed beverages. Under Presidential proclamation the brewing of beer, near beer, and other malt beverages had been stopped on Dec. 1, as a wartime conservation measure.

THE FOOD SITUATION

Congress appropriated \$100,000,000 for the relief of food suffering in Europe in the latter part of January. On Feb. 2 Herbert Hoover, Director General of Food Relief, issued a statement regarding the foreign food situation which derived importance from his profound study of the subject:

It is little realized in the United States how fully and completely the daily wireless carried the progress of this measure to those peoples now liberated from the German yoke. Immediately after the bill was passed the news appeared in the headlines of newspapers in Bucharest, Sofia, and Helsingfors, and it was known in Warsaw, Lodz, Prague, and Fiume, where thousands of persons have been looking anxiously toward the United States for leadership in the solution of their most imminent danger. * * *

The usual tangible relief to the newly liberated peoples will not be delayed even by the period required to ship foodstuffs from the United States under this appropriation because the War, Navy, and Treasury Department and the United States Food Administration already have 100 ships in European ports or headed toward Europe in addition to our re-established relief in Belgium and Northern France, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia under the old war legislation. The new appropriation by Congress enables us to extend this work by giving credits to those countries for which there was no such legislation.

We have at sea or discharging in the port of Trieste 70,000 tons of food for the Jugoslavs, Serbians, and Czechoslovaks. We have 30,000 tons of food either arrived at or in progress to the Black Sea for Rumania. The Armenian Relief Committee has 7,000 tons on the way to Armenia and Syria as a gift, and we are placing 10,000 tons in Constantinople as a reserve for them. We have 40,000 tons in Poland, on the way or being transhipped from Rotterdam for the Poles, and 20,000 tons in Rotterdam awaiting reshipment to the Finns and other liberated populations in Russia. The Polish Relief Committee is sending a gift of 7,000 tons to the Poles.

Since the armistice the British authorities have distributed about 10,000 tons of food to the Serbians, the Italian authorities some 10,000 tons to the Austrians, and the British authorities have in progress some 12,000 or 15,000 tons of food to the Rumanians. We have since the armistice delivered into Rotterdam 300,000 tons of food for the Belgians and the liberated French, with the support of our Treasury and Belgium and France.

Had this new appropriation been refused we should have sold out these parcels of food to those who could pay real money and would have been compelled to allow the others to starve. In this same confidence that we would be supported by Congress, we have secured a detail of more than 250 men from the American Army and the American Navy for the work of the Food Administration. These men are now actively establishing the administration necessary to secure proper distribution in all of these territories. Our offices have been opened in virtually every capital among the distressed peoples, and with the passage of this act of Congress we are able to do business.

The Allied Supreme Council of Supply and Relief has been organized and equipped with a staff of officials representing the allied and associated Powers in order that we may secure co-ordination and unity of effort from all the Governments who have stood together to secure the freedom of these peoples and who now stand together to see that their distress is ameliorated.

THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION

The task of supplying the eight divisions of the Third American Army at Coblenz with Browning machine guns and automatic rifles was begun in January. The Brownings are to replace the machine guns and automatic rifles with which all the members of the American Expeditionary Forces have been armed. For the army of occupation, approximately 158 cars will be required to transport the weapons from France to the occupied territory. Each division is to have 768 automatic rifles and 224 machine guns.

It was announced that Rotterdam and Antwerp would be used as base ports for the American Army of Occupation. Deep-draft barges seized by the French and Belgians in the German retreats would plow the Rhine, superseding the Bordeaux route to the front by rail. Warehouses were to be erected at Rotterdam and Antwerp, and the ships would be un-

loaded and reloaded upon barges by Dutch and Belgian civilians. The establishment of the new route released between 1,500 and 2,000 freight cars for the French railroads. It made New York the railhead for the American Army of Occupation. Rations and supplies for the troops leave New York direct for Coblenz. Colonel John S. Sewell was placed in command of the new bases. He is assisted by Colonels Charles C. Zolters, Paul J. Ramsey, and Edward B. Cushing.

TIGHTENING THE REGULATIONS

While no serious disturbances were reported from the Coblenz district, an increase in minor infractions of rules laid down for the civil population made it necessary for the military authorities to adopt stricter methods than they had previously found necessary. Violation of the regulations against fraternizing was visited with prompt punishment, and the number of the sentences against other offenders showed a marked increase.

The Coblenz Gazette featured a compulsory advertisement, by order of the Burgomaster, citing sixty-six Teuton offenders in Coblenz and its suburbs against American military law. These cases were brought in January before an inferior Provost Court. Details of the nature of the offenses and of the penalties inflicted furnished interesting statistics of criminology under American occupation.

The most common offense involved buying, receiving, trafficking in or stealing food or other property of the American Army. There were thirty-two convictions under these charges. Numerically second were charges of selling hard liquor to American soldiers. Thirteen Germans got fines or jail sentences for this conduct. Seven were convicted of selling alcoholic drinks, other than light wines or beer, to German civilians, and five for selling wines or beer out of legal hours.

Penalties for the sixty-six cases amounted in fines to \$2,300 and in imprisonment to seven years and five months. Fines ranged from \$25 to \$250, and jail sentences from 15 days to 190.

Heroism on Torpedoed Transports

Official Stories of the Sinking of the Antilles, President Lincoln, and Covington by Submarines

THE German determination to hinder the successful transportation of American troops to the European battlefields took concrete form in submarine attacks on the first convoy, sailing under the escort commanded by Vice Admiral Gleaves in June, 1917. In his report on the work of the force under Vice Admiral Gleaves, Secretary of the Navy Daniels said, "Convoy duty has not been spectacular, but it has demanded endurance, constant vigilance, and devotion to duty of the highest order under circumstances of the most trying and arduous nature."

The American Navy, realizing all potential dangers, took every imaginable precaution. It was due in a considerable measure to the constant vigil of Britain's Navy in the North Sea that America was able to maintain always a high record of achievement in ferrying troops to France. But Germany's underwater navy was not blockaded, and it is a noteworthy fact that in no Europe-bound American naval troop convoy did a German torpedo ever find its target. Only on homeward trips, when our transports carried comparatively few men, and when escort protection was sometimes not as complete as on the more vital voyage to Europe, were the Germans successful in sinking any of our vessels.

SINKING OF THE ANTILLES

On Oct. 17, 1917, the Antilles was torpedoed and sunk on her homeward journey. This was the first American transport to fall a victim to a German submarine. The report of Commander Daniel T. Ghent on the event is given in part:

"We lost the Antilles two days out from Quiberon Bay, France. She sank in four and one-half minutes. Four of the guns' crew went down with her; sixteen soldiers; forty-five of the merchant crew; a civilian ambulance driver,

and a colored stevedore—sixty-seven in all.

"We left Oct. 15 for America with the transports Henderson and Willehad in the convoy, and the Corsair, Kana-wha, and Alcedo as escort. All zigzagged, as we knew the waters to be infested with submarines. The second day we were forced to reduce our speed to permit the Willehad, which had been feeling the heavy seas, to regain formation.

"Passing through submarine zones every one is on edge, and when fire was discovered early the following morning on the promenade deck, every one was stimulated to swift action. The fire was soon under control.

"A half hour later, just before daylight, a torpedo was sighted heading for us two points abaft the port beam. It was at least 400 feet distant when sighted. The helm was put hard over to dodge, but the torpedo hit near the after engine room bulkhead on the port side. The explosion was terrific; the ship shivered from stem to stern, listing immediately to port. A lookout on the main top was thrown clear of his five-foot canvas screen and killed. Guns were manned instantly, but no submarine was seen.

"The engine room filled with ammonia fumes from the ice machine and dynamo and it was believed every one on duty in the engine room was instantly killed or disabled except one oiler. Within a few seconds after the explosion the water was over the crossheads of the main engines, which were still turning over slowly. Of the twenty-one on duty in the engine and fire rooms only three escaped. Two firemen got through a ventilator safely.

"That only four boats out of ten succeeded in getting clear was due to several causes—the short time the ship remained afloat, the headway left on the ship due to the fact the engine room per-

sonnel was put out of action, rough seas, listing of the ship, and destruction of one boat by the explosion.

"Behavior of the men was equal to

AMERICAN NAVAL VESSELS SUNK BY THE ENEMY

These tables, from the report of Secretary Daniels to President Wilson, show the number of American vessels sunk by the enemy, their tonnage and the number of lives lost:

NAVAL VESSELS.

From April 6, 1917, to Nov. 11, 1918:

	No. of Ves- sels.	Ton- nage.	Lives Lost.
By submarines.....	14	103,583	677
By mines	5	45,356	54
By collision.....	15	30,794	65
Miscellaneous	14	31,128	346
Total.....	48	210,861	1,142

MERCHANT VESSELS.

From August, 1914, to April 6, 1917:

By submarines.....	15	53,671	63
By mines.....	5	10,770	4
By German cruiser Eitel Friedrich	1	3,374	0

Total.....	21	67,815	67
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From April 6, 1917, to Nov. 11, 1918:

By submarines.....	124	244,385	342
By raiders.....	6	4,388	0

Total.....	130	248,773	342
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Total number of mer- chant vessels.....	151	315,588	409
Total number naval vessels	48	210,861	1,144

Grand total.....	199	526,449	1,553
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TROOPSHIPS.

The Antilles, President Lincoln and Covington were the only actual troopships lost in the war by the cruiser and transport force. The Westbridge, a cargo carrier, reached a French port. The Mount Vernon also got to port. The armored cruiser San Diego was destroyed by a mine laid by a submarine off the American coast.

Ships.	Date.	Gross Tons.	Lives Lost.
*Antilles, Oct. 17, 1917.....		6,878	67
*Pres. Lincoln, May 31, 1918....		18,167	26
*Covington, July 1, 1918.....		16,339	6
*Westbridge, Aug. 15, 1918....		5,660	4
*Mount Vernon, Sept. 5, 1918....		18,372	36
†Saetia, Nov. 9, 1918.....		2,873	0
‡Herman Frasch, Oct. 4, 1918..		3,803	16
§Ophir, Nov. 11, 1918.....		7,089	0
*Torpedoed. †Mined. ‡Army trans- port; collision. §Internal explosion.			

the best traditions of the service. The two forward gun crews remained at their stations while the ship went down and made no move to save themselves until ordered to leave their stations. Radio Electrician Ausburne went down with the ship while at his station in the radio room.

"Ausburne and McMahon were asleep in adjacent bunks opposite the radio room. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, Ausburne told McMahon to get his life-preserver on, saying, as he left to take his station at the radio key, 'Good-bye, Mac.' McMahon, later, finding the radio room locked and seeing the ship was sinking, tried to get Ausburne out, but failed.

"The Henderson made a thick screen of smoke which completely hid her from view as soon as she saw what had happened. The Willehad made off at her best speed. The Corsair and Alcedo circled for two hours, when the Alcedo began the rescue of survivors and the Corsair continued to look for the submarine. The Antilles had 234 on board. Too much credit cannot be given to the officers and men of the Corsair and Alcedo for their work, whole-heartedness and generosity. The work of their medical officer was of the highest.

"An instance comes back to me of the coolness of the guns' crews. One member was rescued from the top of an ammunition box which by some means had floated clear and in an upright position. He semaphored the Corsair not to come too close, when he saw her approaching to pick him up, as the box contained live ammunition."

THE PRESIDENT LINCOLN

For several months the Germans found themselves balked by the successful maneuvering of the American naval ship commanders. The next ship that fell a prey to their underseas campaign was the President Lincoln. The story was told in the following words by Commander P. W. Foote, U. S. N.:

"On May 31, 1918, the President Lincoln was returning to America from a voyage to France and was in line formation with the U. S. S. Susquehanna, the

U. S. S. *Antigone*, and the U. S. S. *Ryndam*. The weather was pleasant, the sun shining brightly, the sea choppy.

"The ships were about 500 miles from the coast of France and had passed through what was considered to be the most dangerous part of the war zone. At about 9 A. M. a terrific explosion occurred on the port side, 120 feet from the bow, and immediately afterward an explosion occurred on the port side, 120 feet from the stern, these explosions coming from torpedoes fired from a German submarine.

"It was found that the ship was struck by three torpedoes, which had been fired as one salvo from the submarine, two striking practically together near the bow of the ship and the third near the stern.

COURAGE OF GUNNERS

"There were 715 persons on board, including about thirty officers and men of the army. Some of these were sick and two soldiers were totally paralyzed. The alarm was immediately sounded and every one went to his proper station, which had been designated at previous drills; there was not the slightest confusion, and the crew and passengers waited for and acted on orders from the commanding officer with a coolness which was truly inspiring.

"The ship was rapidly filling with water. There was little likelihood that she would remain afloat. Boats were lowered and the life rafts were placed in the water, and about fifteen minutes after the ship was struck all hands except the guns' crews were ordered to abandon ship.

"The guns' crews were held at their stations for an opportunity to fire on the submarine should it appear before the ship sank. Orders were given to the guns' crews to begin firing, hoping that this might prevent further attack. When the guns' crews began firing, the people in the boats set up a cheer to show they were not downhearted. The guns' crews left their guns when ordered by the commanding officer just before the ship sank. The guns in the bow kept up firing until after the water was entirely

over the main deck of the after-half of the ship.

"The state of discipline and the coolness of the men is well illustrated by what occurred when the boats were being lowered and were about half way from their davits to the water. At this time there appeared some possibility of the ship not sinking immediately, and the commanding officer gave the order to stop lowering boats. The crews held them in midair for a few minutes until, at a further order, the boats were dropped into the water.

"Immediately after the ship sank the boats pulled among the rafts and were loaded with men to their full capacity and the work of collecting the rafts and tying them together to prevent drifting apart and being lost was begun.

"While the work was under way and about half an hour after the ship sank a large German submarine emerged and came among the boats and rafts, searching for the commanding officer and some of the senior officers whom they desired to take prisoners. The submarine commander was able to identify only one officer, Lieutenant E. V. M. Isaacs, whom he took on board.

"By dark the boats and rafts had been collected, there being about 500 men in the boats and about 200 on the rafts. Lighted lanterns were hoisted in the boats and flare-up lights and Coston signal lights were burned every few minutes during the night.

"At 11 P. M. a white light was sighted, and very shortly it was found that the destroyer *Warrington* had arrived, and about an hour afterward the destroyer *Smith* also arrived. The transfer of the men to the destroyers was effected and the destroyers remained in the vicinity until after daylight the following morning, when a further search was made for survivors, but none was found. At 6 A. M. the return trip to France had begun.

TWENTY-SIX LOST

"Of the 715 men on board it was found after the muster that three officers and twenty-three men were lost with the ship, and that one officer,

Lieutenant Isaacs, had been taken prisoner. The loss of the officers was peculiarly regrettable, as they could have escaped. Both Dr. Whiteside and Paymaster Mowat had seen the men under their charge leave the ship, the doctor having attended to placing the sick in the boat provided for the purpose, and they then remained in the ship for some unexplainable reason, as testified by witnesses who last saw them, and apparently these two excellent officers were taken down with the ship. Paymaster Johnston got on a raft alongside the ship, but in some way was caught by the ship as she went under.

"Although the German submarine commander made no offers of assistance, otherwise his conduct was all that could be expected. We naturally had some apprehension as to whether or not he would open fire on the boats and rafts in an attempt to make me and other officers disclose our identity. I noticed some one on the submarine walk to the muzzle of a gun, apparently with the intention of preparing it for action. One of the men in my boat remarked, 'Good night, here come the fireworks.' The spirit which actuated this remark could be none other than that of cool courage and bravery.

"The conduct of the men was inspiring in this period of grave personal peril. Many had been in the navy only a brief period. They displayed the innate courage of the traditional American seaman."

THE COVINGTON SUNK

The Covington, formerly the Hamburg-American liner Cincinnati, was commissioned as a naval transport in July, 1917, and began her first trip with troops in the middle of October. When torpedoed, on July 1, 1918, she was making her sixth trip to France, after having carried 27,000 men across. In reporting the sinking of the Covington, Captain R. D. Hasbrouck said:

"At night on July 1 the lookout on the Covington, which had sailed from Brest with several other transports escorted by destroyers, saw a streak of white 300 yards from the port quarter. The torpedo struck with a terrific de-

tonation, throwing a column of water above the stacks. In an incredibly short time the crew were at their stations awaiting orders from the bridge.

"Engine and fire rooms filled quickly. In fifteen minutes the ship lay dead in the water and listed to port. 'Abandon ship' was bugled. The behavior of officers and men was wonderful.

"Twenty-one of the twenty-seven lifeboats were lowered without lights to guide, with the ship listing badly and without the aid of a single winch, for steam had failed. It was a stirring sight to see the men go down the ladders as though in drill. The destroyer Smith took the men aboard.

"A working party of thirty officers and men remained on the Covington, collecting records, charts, sextants, &c. At 4 A. M. a salvage party from the Smith boarded the Covington. The Smith headed for Brest full speed at 5:20 A. M. Two British tugs and an American tug came up. By 6 o'clock the tugs had the Covington in tow, making five knots. Two more destroyers, in addition to the Reade, which had been standing by, joined shortly after. At 2:10 the salvage party was taken off; at 2:30 the Covington began to sink rapidly by the stern."

Our final transport calamity occurred Sept. 5, 1918, when the Mount Vernon was torpedoed 250 miles off the French coast while returning to America. Thirty-six lives were lost. The vessel, however, was not lost, for through the ingenuity of her officers and men it was enabled to return to a French port despite a big gap in the hull. In the following extract from the letter sent to the commander, Captain D. E. Dismukes, when the Mount Vernon reached Brest in safety, Brig. Gen. George H. Harries expressed his recognition of the achievement:

"Sorrow, mingled with pride, for those who died so nobly. Congratulations on the seamanship, discipline, and courage. It was a great feat you accomplished. The best traditions of the navy have been lifted to a higher plane. What a fine thing it is to be an American these days! The olive drab salutes the blue."

Story of the First American Regulars

Typical Deeds of the Division That Landed First in France and Lost 23,974 Men in Battle

By MAJOR GEN. A. W. GREELY

[UNITED STATES ARMY, RETIRED]

THERE is no division of the American Expeditionary Forces that failed to display in the face of the enemy the qualities of courage, discipline, and efficiency which are acknowledged attributes of the American Army. It is natural and commendable that war correspondents and local newspapers should proudly acclaim the achievements of the military organizations identified with their own communities. It should be borne in mind, however, that certain organizations are entitled to general recognition for their soldierly merits, as they present to the world by the men of their ranks a thoroughly homogeneous army, gathered from all sections and all races of our composite nation. These troops are of the so-called Regular Army, whose ranks are now filled almost to a man by volunteers for service only in the great war. It is not generally known that the war casualties of these organizations—battle and disease—have depleted their ranks from 25 to 100 per cent. of their original personnel. These vast gaps have been filled by drafts from the replacement divisions of selected men, thus making the regulars truly national organizations.

That the public may appreciate the fibre and mettle of these representative troops, formed by such a national consolidation, it appears desirable that the achievements of a typical regular division should be briefly if somewhat inadequately described.

For this purpose the 1st Division is selected, not that its bravery is superior, its discipline better, or its morale higher than mark the others, but because it was the first division to reach France, first to serve in trench warfare, first to fire a hostile shell, first to lose a man, first to capture a prisoner, first to repel a German raid, first to man an

independent sector, and first to recapture a town (Cantigny) and hold it against all counterattacks.

THE OFFICERS IN COMMAND

Sailing from Hoboken on June 14, 1917, the 1st Division reached St. Nazaire, at the mouth of the Loire, on the 24th of that month. The division, 27,000 strong, was trained by General W. L. Sibert of Alabama, but went into actual war service under General Robert Lee Bullard, also of Alabama, with Colonel Campbell King of Georgia as Chief of Staff. The 1st Brigade, 16th and 18th Regular Infantry, was commanded by General John L. Hines of West Virginia, and the 2d Brigade by General Beaumont B. Buck of Texas. The artillery brigade, the 5th, 6th, and 7th Regiments of Field Artillery, was finally put under Colonel W. A. Holbrook of Wisconsin. In addition there were the 1st Regiment of Engineers, the 1st, 2d, and 3d Machine Gun Battalions, a headquarters troop of cavalry, Signal Corps, field battalions, and medical units.

Unskilled in methods of modern war and unprovided with field artillery, the division was scattered to suitable camps where they were intensively instructed by experienced officers from the French Army. That such training involved physical hardships, uncomplainingly endured, is evident from Major Palmer's statement that some of the men, in want of new shoes, drilled with their feet wrapped in sacking. The field artillery had to unlearn their own drill and acquire expert skill with the remarkable but novel French gun, the famous *soixante quinze*, 75mm. A French officer commented on the high intelligence and extraordinary aptitude of his artillery pupils.

Three months later, with coming Win-

ter and almost continuous rains, the division was inducted into trench warfare, serving under French command, a short distance southeast of Nancy. The usual horrors of trench life were experienced, though their vitality and methods prevented any material increase in the sick. Here the first hostile shell was fired by Battery C, 6th Field Artillery, on Oct. 23, 1917. The Germans on Nov. 3 by a barrage cut off the advanced outpost and captured eleven prisoners. The command, rallying, repelled the enemy. Trench service, rendered by battalion detail for ten days each, was marked by 56 casualties—3 killed, *43 wounded, and 11 captured. One German prisoner was taken. The casualties herein given include killed, wounded, gassed, missing, and prisoners, but not by disease, accidents, &c.

The trench apprenticeship was followed by independent service Jan. 15-April 3, 1918, about twelve miles northwest of Toul, in a sector near St. Mihiel. Here the 1st Division relieved the famous Moroccan Division, co-operating with the 69th French. The Toul service entailed constant losses with small chance of reprisal. The front was dominated by the St. Mihiel hills, of which Mont Sec was the key, strongly held by German batteries within easy range. Major Palmer tersely describes the situation: "It was like sitting at the foot of the stairs and having the fellow at the top throw rocks at you from behind a curtain." Occasional incursions into No Man's Land were made, whereby eleven prisoners were captured with machine guns and flame throwers. In this quiet sector the 1st Division had 352 casualties—56 killed, 150 wounded, 127 gassed, and 19 missing.

HASTILY SHIFTED TO PICARDY

The vast and dangerous offensive launched by the German command on March 21, 1918, called the division into extremely active service. On March 28 General Pershing offered the American force in its entirety to General Foch, and a week later the 1st made its great journey half across France to Picardy. It was a test of administrative

ability, met successfully by Pershing's quartermasters, to move with the essential accompanying paraphernalia 27,000 men, 1,700 animals, and 1,000 wagons. Turning over its sector to the 26th New England Division, the 1st made this transfer of more than 300 miles, and was in Picardy, near Beauvais, on April 18.

How it was done no one knows, for the railroads were swamped with ammunition, reinforcements, supplies, &c., for 3,000,000 men, while the roads—in awful condition—were jammed with ambulances, motors, fugitives, and troops. It was nearly confusion confounded between withdrawals before the enemy, the evacuation of the occupied provinces, and transfers of troops to meet exigencies. But the 1st got there, both fit and equipped to fight.

Kept for a time in reserve, the 1st occupied the Cantigny front—April 25-July 7—three miles west of Montdidier, then strongly held by the enemy. The operations of the division in this sector are popularly supposed to have been confined, as far as fighting went, to the capture of Cantigny, which was a mere episode involving only one-fifth of the casualties here suffered. The 1st was put in line opposite the very apex of the most advanced German salient, with orders to hold it at all costs. If the front gave way Amiens, a few miles to the northwest, would fall and its railway system be destroyed. The fatal effect would be the diversion to Southern France of all the supplies needful for the British Army, which was then receiving from the Channel ports everything needful for all forces north of the Somme.

Constant fighting, though on a small scale, continued almost daily until early June. The front had to be kept against preponderating and victorious enemies, who, holding both banks of the Avre, were within easy cannon shot of Amiens. The 1st not only gave no ground in the repeated attacks of the enemy, but it made them pay toll, capturing from its columns sixty prisoners and three machine guns. It paid dear, however, as its casualties—omitting those in the capture of Cantigny—numbered 140 officers and 4,183 men; killed, 199;

*For further details about the first three men killed see page 477.

wounded, 1,621; gassed, 1,999; missing, 49. The few missing show that the men fought to the last.

HOW CANTIGNY WAS TAKEN

The division commander viewed with dissatisfaction the occupation by the enemy of the village of Cantigny. Admirably organized and strongly fortified by the Germans, its high ground dominated both the American front and also sections in the rear. Whenever another advance was made, and it was daily expected, Cantigny was an excellent jumping-off place for a great assault. If it could be captured and held its value for a counteroffensive was strikingly evident. Preparations for its capture were systematically made.

At daybreak on May 28 the division artillery opened a terrific bombardment which drove the enemy to their shelters. At 6:30 A. M. the troops went over the top as the artillery fire pulled back to an initial barrage a hundred yards in advance of the moving line. Colonel Ely, with the 28th Infantry, and Lieut. Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., with a battalion of the 26th Infantry, moved forward with clockwork regularity, fifty-five yards a minute. Each man had food for two days, ample water, much ammunition, and intrenching tools. The town was taken within an hour, when began immediately the consolidation so essential, as counterattacks were certain. The engineer detachments wired under fierce fire the trenches occupied, while the men of the Signal Corps spread their cobweb lines to insure telephonic communication with the rear.

To take Cantigny was easy compared with holding it. Six counterattacks were made by the exasperated Germans, without success. Fierce artillery fire soon reduced Cantigny to a mass of formless ruins, but the Americans held fast, repelling the enemy, who ceased their efforts after losing over 1,300 men killed and wounded, besides 225 prisoners. The casualties of the 1st numbered 1,067; killed, 199; wounded, 652; gassed, 200; missing, 16. Heroically fighting after being wounded, Lieut. Col. Maxey, Lieutenant Drum, and Corporal Finnegan were killed.

IMPORTANCE OF CANTIGNY CAPTURE

A small affair, seemingly, Cantigny's capture was a matter of great and international importance. There could not have been a more timely victory, for on that very morning the last German success was attained. Going over the top of the Chemin des Dames, their shock troops drove the allied forces down the Marne to Château-Thierry, and thus placed Paris in imminent danger of capture. At this critical and disheartening period it fell to the lot of the 1st Division of the American Expeditionary Forces to prove to the anxious allied nations that a counteroffensive was possible, and that victory was yet to be gained for the free men of the world.

For a few days a part of the 1st Division turned from scenes of war to parade in Paris on July 4.

Three days later urgent orders put the 1st Division on the march. For four days and nights it went on without any regular rest, now on trucks, now hiking. Of the men's physical condition near the end one of its officers writes: "The dismounted men would fall asleep in the gutter at every halt. The mounted men dozed in their saddles, and the animals could scarcely drag one foot after another. When a chance for food came most men hit the hay, though too tired to sleep." The afternoon found them ten miles in rear of the battle line, which they were ordered to occupy, so as to go over the top at daybreak.

Foch had perfected his plans for a counteroffensive. The march to their assigned positions had to be secretly made over unknown roads, through fields and forest, without a gleam of light, lest the enemy note the movement. To add to the troubles, a thunderstorm soaked their clothing and made the shell-ruined roads veritable quagmires. In utter darkness thousands of men, hundreds of horses and motor trucks jammed the road in almost inextricable masses. It was feared that some units could not reach the line in time to go over the top, fixed at 4:35 A. M. One unit barely reached the front at 4:30 and went over almost exhausted.

It was known that the fighting would be desperate, as it involved attacks on fortified heights held by an enemy flushed with victory and confident of continued success. Hundreds of camouflaged nests of machine guns, heavy batteries in positions of natural strength, caused the enemy to believe their terrain impregnable. It rested on the courage and persistence of the American soldier to prove this a fallacy.

IN FOCH'S GREAT OFFENSIVE

The division entered the counteroffensive under its new commander, General Charles P. Summerall of Florida, distinguished as one of the captors of Peking in 1900. It was sandwiched between the 153d French on the left and the veteran Moroccan division on its right with the Foreign Legion.

At 4:35 A. M. the 1st went over the top in extended order of five paces' interval. The artillery, hitherto silent, started a rolling barrage, which, systematically lifted a hundred yards a minute, drove the enemy to their shelters. Advancing as planned, and leaving small parties from time to time to clean up the snipers and machine guns, the main body attained its first objective and halted twenty minutes as allotted. Night found them at the third objective, about three miles advance, having smashed through the wire barricades and fortifications constructed the previous six weeks. Scarcely a thousand casualties, and more than that number of prisoners, with many guns, were the record of the day. The 6th German, 11th and 42d Bavarian Divisions were that night reinforced by the 34th and 28th Divisions, presaging warm work for the morrow.

On July 20 still another German division, the 46th, confronted the 1st. As it had outrun the 153d French in advance, the 1st Division was asked to take the village of Berzy-le-Sec, which had been assigned as a French objective. This village was a fortified place, which dominated the Soissons-Ouchy-le-Château railway, and its capture meant the loss to the Germans of the entire salient. It involved desperate work, and that day failed. The fighting was intense, often at close quarters, when grenades, bayonets,

knives, and even clubbed rifles were used. To and fro swayed the struggling masses, with slight and dearly gained advances by our men. The American casualties had now run up to 3,000, about the number of prisoners captured by them. With nightfall Berzy was still uncaptured, and the Moroccan division was relieved, which was also the orders of the 1st. Summerall, however, told the corps commander that he had promised his men that they should go on, and was unwilling to leave victory half gained.

VICTORY ON SOISSONS HIGHWAY

The losses of the 2d Brigade had been enormous among its officers, as nearly all had been killed or wounded. However, on the morning of the 21st General Buck paraded his exhausted and decimated command, and, walking down its front under heavy fire, led them in assault. They swept into Berzy-le-Sec, capturing its men, batteries, and machine guns, and winning the most important objective. Meantime the 1st Brigade had overrun the Soissons-Château-Thierry highway, leaving no hope to the demoralized enemy. Victory then and for the future was assured.

The perfidy and the contemptible methods of the Germans appear from a report by an officer of the division. The moans of a wounded German attracted the attention of an officer in the advance, and in response to his pitiful appeals first-aid treatment was given. The officer went on to join his command, and a few hundred yards further a companion officer called out that he had been shot from the rear. It developed that the German, refreshed by first-aid treatment, had crawled up to the shell-hole, and, resting his machine gun on the edge, opened fire on our troops. Just punishment of the treacherous soldier was rendered needless. A German shell exploded and killed him.

One prisoner was brought in with his high leather boots full of grenades and his right arm adorned with a Red Cross badge.

The captures included 125 officers, 3,375 men, 75 guns, (77mm. and 150mm.,) 50 mortars, 300 machine guns, 2,500 rifles, with much ammunition and sup-

plies. The price paid was the heaviest to date of any division, 7,840 in all—killed, 1,252; wounded, 4,771; gassed, 274, and missing, 1,543. One officer to every sixteen men was killed—an extraordinary proportion.

Many officers and men were cited by division orders, and to other Distinguished Service Crosses were issued by order of President Wilson.

This victory of the 1st against six German divisions was naturally followed by recognition. Buck and Hines became Major Generals and Holbrook a Brigadier. The Chief of Staff, Campbell King, was made Brigadier and succeeded by Colonel John N. Greely, General Staff, who, cited "for distinguished ability while performing duties of grave responsibility," served in that position until the armistice was signed.

ST. MIHIEL BATTLE

Quiet service for assimilation of about 8,000 replacements was had in the Saizera sector during August, the casualties numbering only twenty-one. The St. Mihiel operation, Sept. 12-15, was not entirely the picnic that has been sometimes assumed. Familiar with this terrain from their earliest service, the 1st Division had an important share in the capture of the salient. Against resistance they advanced eight miles in nineteen hours, and their reconnoitring party twelve miles. Their casualties were 11 officers and 761 men. They captured 5 officers, 1,190 men, 30 77mm. and 150mm. guns, and much war material.

Moved up by easy stages, the 1st Division took station at Cheppy, awaiting its fiercest fighting between the Argonne Forest and the Meuse River. A serious

emergency arose, and its orders came. Entering this sector, it fought continually from Oct. 1 to Oct. 12, under conditions of indescribable difficulties, over a terrain capable of easy defense and against the best German divisions, who knew that defeat there meant the absolute loss of the war. The situation is best set forth by General Pershing in General Order 201, the only order devoted during the war to a single command. It begins:

The Commander in Chief desires to make of record * * * his extreme satisfaction with the conduct of the officers and soldiers of the 1st Division in its advance west of the Meuse between Oct. 4 and 11, 1918.

The 1st Division paid a fearful price for its Argonne victory, the casualties numbering 8,554, of whom 117 were officers. Killed, 851; wounded severely, 2,664; wounded slightly, 1,710; gassed, 1,614; missing, (mostly dead, it is thought,) 1,715. One of every three!

Ordinarily this would have been the end of a division for months, but the 1st answered promptly for an emergency in the operations against Nouzon and Sedan, (Nov. 3-8,) where it sustained losses of 1,087 and captured fifty-four men, guns, &c.

Summarized, its war casualties, killed, wounded, gassed, and missing, aggregated 23,974, of whom 715 were officers. Its losses by disease are unknown, but the total replacements slightly exceed 30,000.

The armistice signed, the 1st Division left Abincourt, near Verdun, six days later, and by a march of more than 200 miles occupied the Coblenz bridgehead on Dec. 24. It was the first American force to cross the Rhine.

French Monument to Americans

In Honor of the First Soldiers Who Died Under Our Flag in France

AN imposing ceremony took place at Nancy, in Eastern France, Nov. 3, 1918, when the French people, with the aid of the American Ambassador, William G. Sharp, dedicated a monument erected to the memory of the first

three American soldiers who had died in battle under the Stars and Stripes in France. [See CURRENT HISTORY, December, 1917, for funeral.] The monument, designed by a Nancy artist, Louis Majorelle, stands at Barthélemy, in the

Department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, but as it was then in the battle zone the dedication exercises were held at Nancy. It consists of a tall column, on one side of which is sculptured the cross of Lorraine, with the inscription, "France-Etats-Unis, 1917—La Lorraine aux Etats-Unis." On the other side are the names of the three Americans: "Corporal J. B. Gresham, Evansville; Private Thomas P. Enright, Pittsburgh; Private Merle Hay, Glidden." Then follows this sentence in French:

As sons of their great and beautiful nation they fought for right, for liberty, for civilization against German imperialism, the scourge of the human race. They died on the field of honor.

All the chief personalities of the region were present, including M. Mirman, the Prefect of the department, who had originated the idea of this monument. M. Simon, Mayor of Nancy, made a stirring speech, and then M. Mirman recalled the fact that the first American soldiers in France got their training in Lorraine. The chief address of the day was pronounced by Ambassador Sharp, who said:

The meaning of the final act in this ceremony pertains not alone to the place where it is taking place, rich as this place is in the emotions it arouses, but belongs among the events of worldwide importance. Does it not express a union that is sacred in its nature because of the immortal principles it emphasizes? For the

triumph and perpetuity of these principles, millions of the bravest sons of the allied nations have laid down their lives.

As a touching memorial of this greatest of sacrifices, the citizens of your department have today dedicated an artistic monument built of stones from the quarries of the Meuse. On this monument is engraved in imperishable letters the fact that in the soil of Lorraine rest the three first American soldiers killed by the enemy while fighting under the flag of the United States, Nov. 3, 1917, one year ago today. After that comes a declaration of the principles for which they so nobly gave their lives: "Justice, liberty, and civilization against German imperialism, the scourge of the human race."

The inherent virtue and power of these principles have been felt by the civilized nations in a manner that has given the maximum of vigor to their armies. Their moral invincibility has never admitted of doubt regarding the outcome by arms. In truth, from the day when the invader's foot first violated the neutrality of Belgian soil to this propitious moment, when the allied armies are triumphing on every side, the final account to be adjusted in the affirmation of these principles has never varied. It is a matter of effacing autocracy forever and of establishing firmly in its place free and representative governments among men. * * *

In taking leave of the mortal remains of those whose sacrifice has been commemorated here today, what greater homage can we pay to their memory, and what greater honor can we pay to their fathers and mothers in my distant country, than to recognize thus publicly the debt which humanity, freed from the menace of military domination, will always owe to them!

War Work of the Y. M. C. A.

Story of the Association's Services at the Front in Europe and Asia Through Four Years

By FRANK HUNTER POTTER

[OFFICIAL RECORDER OF THE ORGANIZATION'S OVERSEAS WORK.]

WITH the outbreak of the war the Overseas Department of the Young Men's Christian Association began its operations in connection with the combatant nations, both with the Central Powers and with the Allies. The first work undertaken was with the prisoners. The con-

dition of these men, especially with the Central Powers, was deplorable.

Take, for instance, the case of the British civilians interned at the race course of Ruhleben, in the outskirts of Berlin. The men were housed in the stables, six of them to a box stall, where they were bitterly cold in Winter. They

had no means of exercising either their minds or their bodies. The association built a hut for them where they could be warm, and where they could read and write, have cinema shows, plays, and concerts. It provided instruments for a band, and costumes for the plays. To keep the men's minds busy it encouraged classes of all sorts, and enabled them to go on with their education, even in the higher branches, by providing the necessary textbooks. It created a library, got paints, brushes, canvas, and drawing materials for artists, and promoted industrial work by obtaining tools and materials. Last Summer there was held an exhibition of articles made in the camp, and these included leather, silver, and textile goods, wood carving and inlaid work, boats, bookbindings, and all sorts of miscellaneous articles. Also, it helped to keep these men's bodies in condition by providing sporting equipment and encouraging athletic meets.

WORK WITH PRISONERS

Bad as was the situation of the civilians at Ruhleben, we now know that it was heaven as compared to that of the British, French, Serbian, Russian, and other combatant prisoners in the prison camps, in mines, and in working parties. These men were ceaselessly visited, whenever it was permitted, by the Y agents, who did what they could to help them, and by bringing them books and giving them cinema shows with their little portable machines and music with their victrolas, and by arranging religious services for them, by communicating with their relatives, by sending their photographs, and in any way which presented itself, brought a little light into their lives. And it was the only light there was. At the time this country went to war with Germany there were twenty-nine men working in the prison camps there and in Austria and in Bulgaria, and work was just beginning in those in Turkey.

After the United States entered the war the work did not stop. All the Americans but one—who was left in charge in Berlin, by permission of the German authorities—had to be withdrawn, but their places were taken by

neutrals—Dutch, Swiss, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian. There was more need for it than ever, for conditions in the camps grew steadily worse, and now it had a more personal interest, for our own boys were beginning to be brought in. It was the Y. M. C. A. Secretary in Berlin who first visited them. It was he who induced the German authorities to concentrate them so far as could be done in a single camp, and it was he who, when he found them living in unhealthy dugouts at that camp—Tuchel—got them removed to a healthier one at Rastatt. He built a hut for them, provided them with all those articles which prisoners so greatly needed—victrolas and cinemas, books, papers, sporting goods—which helped to make their lives endurable, and he got through for them their first parcels of food.

The fate of the Italian, Russian, and Serbian prisoners was hardest of all. The prisoners' rations were barely sufficient to support life, certainly not sufficient to maintain strength with which to ward off disease. The English, French, and American prisoners were, in some measure, supported from home, but Serbia had been devastated, and after the revolution help from Russia was much diminished, while it was found very difficult to get food to the Italians. The prisoners of these nationalities died like flies. What aid the Y could give it did, and it acted as intermediary for the Red Cross. It also purchased, with funds furnished it by the relatives of Italian prisoners, food parcels in Denmark and other neutral countries, and got them through to the starving prisoners, though this was no part of its original plan.

This is only an outline of what the Y has done for prisoners in the Central Empires. What it has done there it has done in France and England, Italy and Russia for the German and Austrian prisoners there. While this policy was suggested on grounds of humanity, it was necessitated by the fact that unless work were done for enemy prisoners all privileges for work among allied prisoners would be withdrawn by the Central Powers.

In a way the association's work for

prisoners in the allied countries was far easier than it was in the Central Powers, for the treatment of the prisoners was incredibly good. One Y representative in France wrote that though many of the officers in charge of prisoners had been wounded or gassed, or their families and friends had suffered the horrors of invasion, these officers, when he expressed surprise at their kindness, said quite simply that "they treat the prisoners as they would like to be treated themselves."

But in another way its work among the prisoners of the Central Powers was more difficult than that for the Allies, for the latter were at least friends among themselves, and that was not the case with the former. The Germans, whether of Germany or Austria, despised the subject races—Bohemians, Poles, and the rest—neglected them in the distribution of delicacies, such as oranges and the like, when these were sent, and treated them with a contempt which was increased by the arrogance of the officer class. The loneliness of these men was pitiable. When a Czech-speaking Secretary, for instance, visited a camp of them for the first time they fairly wept. "We thought everybody had forgotten us," they said.

The association also maintained a service in Switzerland. It had a number of huts for the benefit of allied interned officers and soldiers there. Some of these were at famous health resorts, for the men who were suffering incipient tuberculosis or were otherwise physically broken down. The Y also maintained a bureau at Berne, which was in active communication with our boys who were prisoners in Germany or Austria. This bureau kept them in touch with their friends, and got through to them sporting goods, footballs, baseball gear and the like, and did whatever could be done to ameliorate their condition.

Of course there was religious work in every prison camp, but the attitude of the association was wholly nonsectarian. The Y huts were used for Catholic or Greek services precisely as the huts in army camps in this country were used for Catholic or Jewish services, and the

directors procured sacramental wafers and wine for the Catholic priests and candles and wine for the Greek priests as willingly as they found Protestant pastors for the German Protestants imprisoned in France. Indeed, the association has shown so little sectarian narrowness that it has even, by arrangement with Cardinal Bourne, been helping to defray the expenses of the Catholic services in the prison camps in England.

WORK IN FRANCE

Before the war there were in existence in the large garrison towns in France, like Vincennes, small soldiers' clubs with the title "Foyers du Soldat," (the home of the soldier,) where they could read and write and have quiet, and which were free from any religious influence. After the declaration of war M. Emmanuel Sautter, a Parisian interested in soldiers, borrowed the title, to which nobody laid claim, and established two of these huts back of the front lines in the French Army with money placed at his disposal for the purpose by Dr. Mott. The work was shortly brought to the attention of the Y. M. C. A., which proceeded to finance it.

The work grew, though not very rapidly at first, because of the suspicious attitude of the French Army authorities. They could not be sure as to just what was the nature of the work which the Foyer du Soldat was performing—whether it was religious or political propaganda or what. In the course of time they came to realize that the Foyers du Soldat were simply huts where their soldiers were welcome when they came back from the front, where they were warmed after weeks of shivering in the trenches, where they were supplied with hot drinks, with cinema shows, with concerts, with other amusements; where those who liked to be quiet could sit in peace and toast their feet about the stove and where, above everything else, the warmth and kindness of the reception which they met restored their shaken morale and where the "cafard" (as the condition of depression which came in the trenches was called) was almost invariably driven away.

During the Winter of 1916-17 the work,

which was increasingly financed by the American Association, and in part manned by them, grew to more than sixty foyers. By this time the French Army recognized fully the value of the work, and during the Summer of 1917 it applied to the Y. M. C. A. of this country to increase it indefinitely. It urged the association to create at the earliest possible moment new foyers to bring the number to more than 1,450.

HELPING MANY NATIONALITIES

To procure the number of workers, French or American, necessary to open all these foyers was impossible, but 1,100 or more were in operation at the time of the armistice. The one-thousandth foyer opened was in the Verdun fortress.

The work of the association in these foyers brought it in contact with men from all over the world. It actually carried on work for Chinese, Annamites, Senegalese, Malgaches, (from Madagascar,) Moroccans, Algerians, Portuguese, Poles, Italians, Russians, and a host of Africans from the interior of that continent. An article in *l'illustration* of Paris gave a list of the languages in which were written books found in the foyer libraries—English, French, Italian, Russian, Portuguese, Polish, Turkish, Annamite, Chinese, Japanese, Tonkinese, Classic Arabic and its dialects, Egyptian, Kybele, Magrahin, Moroccan, Sudanese, Tripolitan, Tunisian, Lake Chad, (Peulh,) Guinea, and Bambara, dialects of the Congo, Gbea, Sfumi, (Bateke.) And the list was probably incomplete.

The work of the foyers was carried up to the very front trenches, of course, and it was a matter of pride that it was the only organization which held on to the last with the troops after the advance of the Germans over the *Chemin des Dames*, the directors leaving their huts only after they were under machine-gun fire, and following up their poilus on the offensive of July 18, remaining with them through the battle till it ended at the *Aisne*.

Another work in which the association directors were found valuable was that of training the French in American out-

door sports. The French recognized the value of the physical training in our games and are still developing an American sports program for the poilus.

ACTIVITIES IN ITALY

The Y. M. C. A. activities for the Italian Army did not differ materially from those for the French. When the Y work began in Italy in 1917 there were some 150 "*Casa del Soldato*," which correspond in a general way to the *Foyers du Soldat*. These were under the direction of Don Giovanni Menozzi, Head Catholic Chaplain of the Italian Army. They carried on a general welfare work for the soldiers, and the association's offer of co-operation in the work was cordially welcomed. Several Italians undertook to work out the details, among them Prince Borghese and Father Genocchi, one of the most distinguished Catholic divines in Italy, who has visited this country several times and is well known here.

At the time of the armistice there were some 275 men working in the camps and in huts in cities where there were large concentrations of recruits, like Naples, and where there was great need of decent places for the boys to congregate.

Athletic sports were introduced by the directors as well as hygienic gymnastic exercises for the men recovering from wounds or convalescing from illness. There was also a new field of usefulness for such of the association workers as spoke Italian fluently enough—that of going about the country and delivering speeches to the civilians in order to keep up their morale. No country in Europe, outside of those which have been overrun by the enemy, has been so sorely tried as Italy, and there have been moments of great discouragement, as after the *Caporetto* disaster, which has been increased by skillful German propaganda.

During the great *Piave* offensive, which ended with the complete rout of the Austrians, the Y directors were under fire the whole time and accompanied the units to which they were attached throughout the advance. The verdict on their courage and devotion was given by the Italian military authorities when, out of thirty-three association men work-

ing on that front, thirty were decorated with the Italian War Cross.

LABORS IN EGYPT

The problem in Egypt was different from that presented in Europe. Owing to the attack by the Turkish Army on the Suez Canal, that vital line of communication with India and the East, a large body of troops was concentrated along the canal itself and the Red Sea, while danger of attack from the Senussi, the most fanatical body of Moslems now in existence, and having their headquarters south of Tripoli, compelled the maintenance of a number of scattered garrisons on the western frontier of Egypt, in oases, and at points of strategic importance along the Mediterranean. There were at one time more than 200 garrisons in Egypt, and it was the task of the Y. M. C. A. to make life bearable in them.

A description of one will do for all: About 150 miles west of Alexandria, on the shores of the Mediterranean and among the sands of the Libyan Desert, lies Mersa Metruh. The nearest city is more than 100 miles away, wood costs over \$25 a cord, and it costs 15 cents a pint to condense fresh water from sea water, the only water they have to drink or wash in. For the soldier there is nothing visible but the sea before him, the desert around him, and above him the pitiless sun. The mail comes only once a week, and not always then. No wonder that each successive garrison sinks into a state of dull apathy, and that men go mad from the heat, monotony, and loneliness. That is the state of affairs, with local variations, in a great number of stations in Egypt.

The association has a hut, in the first place, in each station which is large enough to warrant it, and it has a force of men who go about from place to place, taking new stocks of cinema films, mostly comic, and victrola records, mostly ragtime, to replace those which have become familiar. It is held to the credit of these men, with their films and records, that so few soldiers have gone mad at these outlying stations. At Mersa Metruh, for instance, only one man lost his reason in some two years.

IN THE SUDAN

Conditions in the Sudan and on the borders of the Red Sea are even worse for Europeans because of the climate. In the Sudan the day begins at 5 and ends at 8:30 A. M. For the other twenty hours and a half the men have nothing to do—nothing to occupy their minds. The standard of morality is so low in these towns and cities of Egypt where East meets West, and the worst of both is combined, that there is a crying need for a decent place for white men to go. The Y huts supply that need.

There are large numbers of European and Indian troops cantoned about Cairo, and many wounded and convalescent have been brought there and to the neighborhood to recover. The association has opened huts, has athletic training for the convalescents, promotes sporting competitions at the camps, and tries to give the European soldier a chance to lead something like his normal life.

It works not only for European soldiers, but for the Indian Sepoy as well—Sikhs, Gurkas, Bengali, or what not; trained association workers from India live with these men, and serve them not only in the ordinary ways, but by writing their letters for them, by giving them advice in their difficulties, or even by helping them out of serious trouble.

The African work does not stop with the Sudan. The British forces during the campaign in German East Africa were accompanied by association men, and when they and the British discovered the needs of the great multitude of negro porters who carried the baggage and supplies of the army a call was sent to this country. There are now eight trained negroes from the Southern States working with these porters.

IN MESOPOTAMIA

The advance of the British forces in Mesopotamia was accompanied by the Y. M. C. A., first the English organization, and then, when this country went into the war, by a certain number of American workers, who served under the British Red Triangle. The care of the expeditionary force began back in India, at Bombay, in Calcutta, wherever the Eng-

lish soldier landed, and followed him to the very front. Indeed, the association was proud of the fact that during the advance through the desert their motors would often push ahead and establish posts, so that when the men of the column came up they would find a cooling drink awaiting them and a little shelter from the sun. To give an idea of what cooling drinks mean in this climate, it can be said that last July more than 1,000 gallons of cold drinks were served in one day at the base town of Basra alone, and 300 gallons of tea were served in a day by one worker in the trenches.

There were eighty association men working for British and Indian troops from Basra to the front line, and three days after the capture of Bagdad the association was at work in that city. At last accounts there were 101 workers in Mesopotamia and 100 separate stations. The American Y. M. C. A. has given generously of its money as well as of its workers for this distant war zone.

RED TRIANGLE IN RUSSIA

There was active work in the prison camps in Russia at the time of the first revolution, and this work continued through the Kerensky régime. During the latter period, as the United States had gone into the war, a beginning was made also in doing for the Russian soldier what was done for the Frenchman in the Foyers and for the Italian in the Case del Soldato. Permission was obtained from the Kerensky Government to establish huts at the front, and a number of men were sent by the Y. M. C. A. from America for this work, which meanwhile was carried on by such men as were already in Russia and who could be spared for it from the work in the prison camps. At Tashkent, where it was first carried on, it was exceedingly successful, and showed the amenability of the Russian peasant—who, of course, makes up the army—to such influences as the association can exert. The troops in Tashkent with which the association was working were pronounced, after six months of this work, to be the best disciplined soldiers in the Russian Army.

The bulk of the new men sent from this country arrived about the time the Kerensky Government was overthrown and the Bolsheviki came into power. The Russian Army, deprived of all discipline and without officers, simply melted away, each private filling a gunnysack with provisions, slinging his rifle over his back, and calmly going off to the nearest railroad station without asking leave of anybody, for there was nobody in authority of whom to ask leave. As there was no possibility of the Russian Army's continuing in the war, a few of the Secretaries returned in order to work on other fronts; but the great majority preferred to stay and help the Russian people, for whom they had contracted a very real affection. These men were scattered all over European Russia and Siberia, from Petrograd to Vladivostok, from Archangel to Tiflis. They composed a body more numerous than our Diplomatic and Consular Corps, Military Mission, Red Cross, and Committee of Public Information combined.

MILLIONS IN MERCHANDISE

The total value of all merchandise shipped overseas by the business department of the Y. M. C. A. from July, 1917, to Dec. 31, 1918, has been summarized as follows by the association's publicity bureau:

France	\$22,146,692.96
England	410,848.35
Italy	742,825.09
Les Foyers Du Soldat.....	194,959.59
Gibraltar—Navy Base No. 9....	105,245.04
Russia (Vladivostok).....	152,037.44
Russia (White Sea).....	68,528.47
Prisoners of war (Copenhagen)..	73,370.98
Switzerland (books and magazines)	210.29
Freight and insurance.....	1,002,282.24
Total	\$24,987,000.45

The athletic goods sent to the soldiers in that period alone filled 11,223 cases and were valued at \$1,248,854. Flour and sugar shipments totaled \$1,169,057 and \$1,711,314, respectively, but the cigars amounted to \$2,004,549, and the cigarettes—the largest single item—to \$6,959,077.

Passing of the Hapsburg Sovereignty

Epoch-Making Events of the Night of Oct. 28, 1918, Which Ended the Rule of Emperor Charles I.

Read in connection with articles in the preceding issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, (Pages 300 and 302,) the following narrative forms a fairly complete sketch of the inside events which marked the end of the Hapsburg dynasty in Austria-Hungary and the beginning of the attempt to organize Austria and Hungary into separate republics. It was written at Geneva on Jan. 5, 1919, by a correspondent of The London Telegraph who had obtained confidential reports from Budapest:

DOWN to the very end the Emperor and his entourage refused to believe that the situation was serious, or that there was any real probability of the overthrow of the dynasty. The Emperor and Empress, with their family, were living at the Castle of Gödöllő, near Budapest. They were in close and constant communication with Count Berchtold and Prince Windischgrätz, both of whom assured the Emperor that there was no danger. The latter, when it was suggested that the returning Hungarian troops might not fire on the revolutionaries if an outbreak occurred, replied: "That does not matter; the Czech troops will shoot." This was an answer characteristic of the Hungarian magnates, who were blind to the changes that had taken place in the political situation, and deliberately refused to believe that the existing order of things of which they themselves were, and had been for so long, the centre and the controlling influence, could possibly be ended by a mere popular upheaval. Their obstinacy and mistakes remind one of the events of the French Revolution.

The Emperor himself was not so much to blame. From the time he ascended the throne he was genuinely anxious for peace with the Entente Powers and for the introduction of social and political reforms in his empire. But, unfortunately for himself and his dynasty, he lacked the necessary force of character to impose his will upon the men by whom he was surrounded. If the German attack in the early part of 1918 had been less successful things might have been different, but in the Spring the advisers

of the Austrian Emperor had visions of a German victory which would enable them to stave off the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire for another generation. When the German armies were defeated, and the great retreat began, the situation in the Dual Monarchy was beyond hope of recovery. Even then the men about the Emperor Charles refused to face the facts, and misled their sovereign with false hopes and unwise advice.

Toward the end of October the Emperor summoned Count Karolyi to Gödöllő and kept him there for two days, discussing the situation. If his advice had been followed it is possible that the revolution might still have been averted. On Oct. 26 the Emperor and Empress left Gödöllő for Vienna by special train, taking Count Karolyi with them. It was universally believed that the Count was to be appointed Prime Minister, and he himself said so to some of his intimate friends. Arrived at Vienna, the royal couple proceeded to Schönbrunn, and Count Karolyi went to a hotel to await, as he thought, the summons to attend at the castle to receive his appointment. The day passed and no message came. Meanwhile the Emperor was surrounded by the old Viennese gang, who urged that the storm would pass. The Emperor, ever swayed by the persons talking to him at the moment, forgot Karolyi and the promise that had been given to make him Chief Minister of the Crown. On the second day of his stay in Vienna the Count heard of the new orientation of affairs, and, losing patience and perhaps hope, returned straightway to

Budapest to await the catastrophe which he now knew to be inevitable.

A TWENTY-FOUR-HOUR MINISTRY

Count Hadik was appointed Prime Minister by the Emperor, on the advice of the group of statesmen who surrounded him at Schönbrunn. The Hadik Ministry lasted twenty-four hours, when it collapsed, and revolution broke out in Budapest. The royal children had been left at Gödöllő in charge of their uncle, Prince René of Parma, the Emperor's brother. On the night of Oct. 28, after midnight, a frantic telephone message was sent to Prince René by the Empress herself, directing that her children should be sent at once by motor car to Vienna. The little ones, of whom the eldest is only 11 years old, were roused from their sleep, placed in three motor cars, and brought safely to Vienna. The castle at Gödöllő was watched by Republican agents hidden among the shrubberies in the park. When these saw the windows lighting up one after another as the preparations were made for the removal of the royal children, they sent urgent messages to the city that something was afoot in Gödöllő.

Some eager Republicans were hurrying to the royal residence, and in a short time a big crowd was assembled before the castle. But they came too late. Prince René was aware of the need of haste, and before the earliest of the crowd had reached the neighborhood of the vast pile which formed the chief Hungarian residence of the Emperor, the royal children were well on their way to Vienna. It is not supposed that the crowd had any hostile intention toward the children, but their attitude was disturbing until an old retainer mounted to the roof of the castle and hoisted the Hungarian colors on the flagstaff. The crowd cheered, and then the news spread that the royal children had gone to Vienna. At this the crowd cheered again, and then went quietly away.

When the revolution occurred the Emperor hesitated between abdication and an attempt to subdue the outbreak by force. But at last his entourage had recognized that the long reign of the Hapsburgs was over—for a time, at

least; and on the urgent representation of Count Hadik and Baron Wlassies the Emperor reluctantly signed his abdication. Down almost to the very end the unhappy monarch had not been told the real condition of affairs in his kingdom. When at length he found that the only alternatives open to him were abdication and a hopeless attempt to subdue the rebellion, he reproached his Ministers bitterly for the deception that had been practiced with regard to him.

BLIND STATESMEN

Prince Windischgrätz was one of the men who had the largest share in this folly. Even on the eve of the outbreak he communicated over the telephone in a light and airy tone and assured the Emperor that there was no need for anxiety.

It is interesting to know that practically all the communications between the imperial residence and the Ministries in Budapest and Vienna were carried on by telephone. A system of telephones had been long before set up which enabled this to be done, as was supposed, in complete secrecy. But the rulers of Austria-Hungary, blind in this as in so much else, failed to discover that the electricians and operators in the telephone service were heart and soul with the republican movement. Instead of the communications being secret, as the Emperor and his Ministers believed, every conversation passed through a special office prepared by the electricians and was carefully written down in shorthand. Transcripts of the notes so taken were furnished almost hourly to the republican leaders, so that they were familiar with every plan and move of the Government.

Some of these conversations are very interesting. For example, on the day he assumed office Count Hadik telephoned to the Archduke Joseph asking him whether anything had been done to combat a revolution, and what steps should be taken to that end. "Don't ask me," replied the Archduke. "I think it is now too late. Leave me out of it, and do what you think fit!"

Then the Military Governor of Budapest telephoned to the Prime Minister, saying he had a list of the revolutionary

leaders, and suggesting that they should be arrested. The Minister replied: "Certainly, arrest them at once." But nothing was done, because the Governor did not care to act without the direct authority of the King. At 2 o'clock in the morning he telephoned to Schönbrunn, asking permission to speak to the Emperor personally. Count Hunyadi, the Royal Chamberlain, who took the message, replied that his Majesty was asleep and he dared not wake him. An hour later the Governor, having received alarming news in the meantime, again rang up the royal residence and commanded the Chamberlain to call the King to the telephone. This time there was something in General Lukachick's tone that frightened the easy-going Viennese courtier, and Count Hunyadi went to the royal bedchamber and summoned the Emperor.

A FATEFUL MESSAGE

The message the Emperor heard, as he stood shivering in his nightclothes with the receiver at his ear, was as follows:

Your Majesty, the situation in Budapest is exceedingly grave. The public buildings have been occupied by the revolutionaries, and the soldiers refuse to obey orders. A few are faithful, and nothing but force applied at once can save the situation. I want your Majesty's authority to order the soldiers who remain true to shoot the revolutionary ringleaders. If you don't, all is lost.

The indecisive monarch turned to Count Hunyadi, crying, "What am I to do?" Then, without waiting for a reply, he telephoned to General Lukachick: "No, don't shoot. Wait." He stood a few moments longer in hesitation, put down the receiver, and went back to bed.

Half an hour later the Emperor changed his mind, and, rushing to the telephone, asked to be put through to the Hungarian Prime Minister at Budapest,

his Majesty's intention being to pass the order for the employment of force through the head of the Government. But matters had been moving in the meantime, and the telephone operator refused to put through the call.

Count Hunyadi, who was standing by the Emperor's side, took the transmitter and ordered the telephone girl, in the King's name, to make the connection to Budapest. "We take our orders now from the Hungarian National Council, and not from Kings or their servants," was the curt reply. The Court Chamberlain stormed and threatened into the telephone receiver, but the operator remained obdurate.

Then the Count changed his tone and said: "Well, at least tell me what is happening at Budapest."

"All power is in the hands of the National Council," was the overwhelming answer.

Count Hunyadi communicated this ominous statement to his helpless Emperor. A hurried consultation took place between the two men. Then the Empress was summoned and told the situation of affairs. Without a word the Empress went to the telephone and asked to be put through to the royal residence at Gödöllő. In that hour of crisis, in the small hours of the morning, the maternal instincts of the woman came uppermost. It was no longer an Empress thinking of her crown, but a woman anxious about her children who was speaking. The other woman in the telephone exchange felt a thrill of sympathy and responded to it. The connection to Gödöllő was made, and the mother, not the Empress, sent the message about her children to Prince René, to which I have already referred, and the little ones were brought in safety to Schönbrunn.

In that hour the last Hapsburg ceased to reign over Hungary.



The Hungarian People's Republic

Early Difficulties Encountered

ON the day of the formal proclamation of the Hungarian People's Republic, headed by Count Michael Karolyi, Nov. 16, 1918, the Government sent out a wireless message addressed "To All Civilized Nations," in which it declared the rebirth of Hungary to be an accomplished fact. The proclamation said in part:

The triumphant October revolution tore from the earth the last roots of the hampering compromise agreement (Ausgleich) of 1867. The work of this revolution was crowned today by the proclamation of the republic, and so, freed from all the institutions, from all the men, from the entire spirit of the past, the nation is preparing itself to create a pleasant home for the people living in Hungarian territory and to lead them again into the society of nations as worthy and respected comrades.

The Hungarian Republic founded in 1849 was the first in Eastern Europe. It had to fall. But now Hungary has again returned to the noble traditions of its past and the young Hungarian Republic turns to all the free peoples of the world with an appeal for support in the hard task of reorganizing Hungary. The sins of the former Governments make this work frightfully difficult. But the Hungarian Republic wants to reshape Hungary in the most complete and purest spirit of democracy based on President Wilson's points, and it is confident that the liberated forces of the people will find on this basis the possibility of joint, peaceful, and fraternal labor. Filled with this hope, the Hungarian Republic turns to all civilized nations today and asks them, in the name of the eternal solidarity of democracy, for their good wishes and their support in its great and holy endeavor.

We request all the civilized nations that are equal members of the society of nations to take cognizance of the forming of the Hungarian People's Republic and to accept it as a member of the community of nations with equal rights, so that the Hungarian People's Republic may be able to enter into diplomatic relations with the other members of this community as soon as possible. The Hungarian People's Republic declares that it will welcome the arrival of plenipotentiaries of the other nations and will always maintain the rights and privileges due them under international law. It asks the same treat-

ment for the representatives that it intends to send to the individual members of the community of nations. For it is its firm intention to resume as soon as possible the peaceful intercourse that binds the nations together and which is the most solid basis of all international law.

The text of the pronouncement adopted Nov. 16 at the plenary meeting of the Hungarian National Council, the body functioning temporarily as the Hungarian Parliament following the formal dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies and the House of Magnates, is as follows:

The National Council of Hungary has created the following popular resolution in accord with the will of the people:

I. Hungary is a People's Republic, free and independent of any other country.

II. The Constitution of the People's Republic will be established by the Constituent National Assembly soon to be called and elected on the basis of the new suffrage. The Chamber of Deputies and the House of Magnates of the Hungarian Reichstag are dissolved and cease to exist.

III. Until the Constituent National Assembly decrees to the contrary, the People's Government, under the Presidency of Michael Karolyi, exercises, with the support of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian National Council, the supreme powers of the State.

IV. The People's Government is to create imperatively needed popular laws for the universal, secret, equal, direct suffrage, including that of women, for national, municipal, and communal elections; for the freedom of the press; for popular courts of justice, with jury trials; for the rights of association and assemblage, and for the supplying of the agricultural population with land and property. The People's Government will imperatively bring into existence laws and put them into effect.

V. All legal dispositions conflicting with these resolutions lose their legal force. All other legal arrangements remain in force.

INTERNAL CONFUSION

At the close of 1918 Hungary was a hotbed of political factions, all at odds with each other, and the dominant political power was in the hands of the Ironworkers' Party. About the middle of December the Minister of War, General

Bartha, and the Minister of the Interior, Count Bathiany, were compelled to resign because of the demand made by the soldiers that the Minister of War should thereafter be a civilian and that the army should be constituted upon a democratic basis. Vinzenz Hazy became the Minister of the Interior and Count Karolyi became the nominal head of the War Ministry.

The radical leaders and Social Democrats were seeking to establish a semi-revolutionary form of government by preventing the presence of a strong military force. The Ironworkers' Party was dominated by a Socialist whose desire was to maintain order. In this the party succeeded to a certain extent, but the maintenance of private property rights was not on the program and there were many seizures of private property daily. There were sixteen different soldiers' councils in Budapest, making seizures and requisitions early in the revolution, but subsequently a better balance was restored.

Food conditions in Hungary were good in the country districts, but bad in Budapest and most of the other towns. The transport conditions were appalling, there being a great shortage of cars. There was plenty of money about, but it was of no use, since food was lacking. The State servants were excellently paid. Hungary had eighty State Secretaries, each getting 40,000 crowns (\$8,000) a year, with various free privileges and allowances.

INVADED AND HELPLESS

After the revolution the Hungarians signed the armistice with General Franchet, who at the time made a line of demarkation and obliged the troops to disarm and retire from all frontiers. It was promised that American, English, and French troops would occupy the frontiers. In place of this Rumanians, Serbs, and Czechs, following up their respective claims to various parts of Hungary, invaded that country, crossing the lines of demarkation made by General Franchet. Budapest became practically a frontier town, with the Czechs only thirty kilometers away. As the

Hungarians had been forced to disarm under the conditions of the armistice, the various invading troops assumed control everywhere. All communication with the regions economically most valuable to Hungary was stopped. Salt, wood, coal, gold, and a large part of the nation's grain and cattle had come from these parts of the country, so that Hungary became economically impotent. The people from all the invaded countries fled to the centre, Budapest, which doubled its population from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 in the space of two months.

Lack of coal especially menaced Hungary with the gravest consequences. Factories were stopped, houses unheated in the Winter months, the streets dark, the shops shut at sundown, and there was no public safety. The Government was obliged to pay the strikers 41 kroner daily in order to combat Bolshevism. The menace of economic Bolshevism grew with the lack of coal, and political Bolshevism spread with the advance of the invading troops, whose unhindered progress caused the Government to lose its prestige, deprived as it was of the support of its armies.

SPREAD OF BOLSHEVISM

By January the spread of Bolshevism into Hungary, superinduced by Russian influences, had begun to be an active disintegrating force. New Year's Eve in Budapest was celebrated with riot and murder in the city's streets. After unsuccessful efforts on the part of the Government to suppress his influence, Dr. Bela Kun, the chief Bolshevik agitator in Hungary, had eluded arrest and incited disturbances among the soldiers in the city. Taking advantage of the lack of coal, the closing of factories, the growth of the food shortage, and the steadily soaring prices of necessities, Bela Kun carried his appeal to those directly affected by the war, the great unemployed elements, and quickly raised a large following.

With the decision of the Workmen's Council in the second week of January that the Ministries of War and the Interior should be headed by Social Democrats, Count Karolyi received the resign-

nation of the members of the Cabinet who represented the moderates, which was followed by that of the whole Cabinet.

The Executive Committee of the National Council was called together to find some manner of clearing the situation. Count Karolyi reminded the committee that the Government had been formed on Oct. 31 of members of Karolyi's party and that he had been charged on Nov. 16 with the direction of the affairs of this Government and the creation of the necessary laws. The Government had fulfilled a great part of its task despite innumerable difficulties, but it was retarded from proceeding to the

elections owing to the fact that three-fifths of the country was invaded. With the resignation of the Cabinet Count Karolyi declared that he wished to leave the Government himself, but that he felt constrained by the duties intrusted to him on Nov. 16 to hold his post. The Executive Committee decided unanimously that the supreme power should be lodged in a popular government headed by Count Karolyi until such time as the Constitutional Assembly ordained otherwise. The National Council then intrusted Count Karolyi provisionally with full powers to form a new government, and this he proceeded to do, seeking the support of all the stronger elements.

Organizing German Austria

A Tentative Republic

THE Austrian National Assembly, in its first session, on Nov. 13, 1918, unanimously adopted a resolution presented by the Council of State, demanding that a German Austrian Republic be proclaimed, and that it form a part of the German Republic. Following is the text of the resolution:

A law relative to the type of State and manner of Government to be established in German Austria:

Article I. Austria is a democratic republic. All public powers reside in the people.

Art. II. German Austria forms an integral part of the German Republic. Special laws shall govern the participation of German Austria in the legislation and administration of the German Republic, and shall determine the force of laws and customs of the German Republic in German Austria.

Art. III. All the rights appertaining to the Emperor under the Constitution of the kingdoms and States represented in the Reichsrat are conferred upon the Council of State of German Austria, provisionally, until such time as the Constituent Assembly has established a definite Constitution.

Art. IV. The royal and imperial ministries are dissolved. Their functions and powers in the territory of German Austria are placed in the hands of the ministries of that State. The rights of the other independent States that have arisen on the

soil of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy are guaranteed them.

Art. V. All laws according the Emperor and members of the imperial family special prerogatives are abolished.

Art. VI. All officers and soldiers are released from their oath of fidelity to the Emperor.

Art. VII. A law shall provide for the disposition of crown property.

Art. VIII. All political privileges shall be abolished. The House of Lords and the Diet are abolished.

Art. IX. The National Constituent Assembly shall be elected in January, 1919. The Provisional National Assembly will order the manner of holding the elections. The elections will be conducted on the principles of proportional representation and equal and direct franchise for all electors, without sex distinction.

Art. X. Elections in provinces, districts, wards, and precincts shall be held according to the same principles. Local elections will be governed by the Provisional National Assembly. They will take place within three months. Existing local Assemblies shall be made complete by the addition of workmen's representatives.

Art. XI. This law goes into effect on the day of its proclamation.

A certain portion of the Austrians, those who had looked forward to a restoration of Charles I., considered that the constant suggestion to the allied powers of a union between Germany and

Austria was not wise; the Austrian Socialist leader, Bauer, however, gave open expression to the idea by declaring for a union with Germany.

Those who had taken a part in the nation's political life under the old régime hoped to win over the Allies to a plan for a "Danubian Federation," which was to have as its capital, Vienna, and was to be, in reality, a reconstituted Austria. Among the conditions of this arrangement the following stand out: (1) The Tyrol should not be given to Italy; (2) the German regions of Bohemia should not be incorporated into a Czechoslovak State, but should constitute a union of Bohemian provinces, and the Germans in Czech regions should be accorded the same rights for their language as those enjoyed by persons speaking the Czech language; (3) the German States of the south could join this federation; (4) the allied powers should endeavor to effect a reconciliation between the Czechs and Germans in Austria that this project of reconstructing Austria might succeed.

In a note transmitted orally early in January, 1919, to the Diplomatic Corps in Vienna, the German Austrian Government expressed the hope that the existence and liberty of the independent State of German Austria would be recognized by the civilized world and a place accorded it in the Society of Nations. The note defined German Austria as "internal Austria," with German Styria, German Tyrol, German Carinthia, and the German districts of Northern Bohemia. The new republic, it was added, wished to enter into relations with all civilized nations as soon as possible. If Czechoslovakia were to include the above-named regions, it would be no lasting advantage to it, the note said; it would be reconstituting ancient Austria with an amalgam of peoples.

The note demanded a plebiscite for towns almost exclusively German, such as Marburg, Radkersburg, Klagenfurt, Villach, Bozen, and Brunex. It asserted that the young republic must form part either of a Danube confederation by a union with other new-born States, or be attached to Germany, and then gave reasons against the former course, de-

claring that an attachment with Germany was the only possibility.

BOLSHEVISM IN AUSTRIA

Although political developments in the States which formerly composed the empire of the Hapsburgs seemed peaceful enough in comparison with the outbreaks of Bolshevik frenzy in Germany, there were storm signs also in German Austria, Hungary, and even in Bohemia. Attempts were being made by the extreme Socialist elements in Budapest, Vienna, and Prague to effect an agreement between Hungarian, German-Austrian, and Bohemian Socialist parties, with a view to joint political action.

Bauer, the Austrian Socialist leader, was secretly intriguing in Vienna to prevent German Austria from being supplied with food by the Entente. He raised difficulties of all kinds in order to prevent food from reaching Vienna, for the Austrian Socialists feared that the Allies' generous action toward their fallen enemy might influence the population and forestall not only union with Germany but also the establishment of Socialistic rule.

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, the German Foreign Minister, in an interview in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, declared that Foreign Minister Pichon of France had announced publicly that France would not tolerate the union of German Austria with Germany. This stand, the Count said, would mean that the German-speaking peoples would have no place in the new world in the upbuilding of which they would like to collaborate. The German Foreign Minister added:

It is incompatible, however, that the Slav nations should receive the unrestricted right of self-determination while it is refused to German Austria.

The Foreign Minister said that the recent note sent to the Allies by German Austria appeared to him to be permeated with a spirit of sincerity in which the right of self-determination for German Austrians was claimed unambiguously. The German Austrians, he continued, were assured of the full moral and political support of the German Nation and Government.

The Czechoslovaks and Jugoslavs

Methods of the Revolutionists

A staff correspondent of the Paris Temps, A. de Guillerville, writing from Prague in January, 1919, gave this account of the Czechoslovak revolution:

THE revolution that triumphed in Prague and Zagreb (Agram) on Oct. 28 and 29, 1918, had been carefully prepared for many months before the final coup, awaiting only the signal from the recognized Czech leaders in Entente countries.

Bohemia had tried for three centuries, by all possible means, to regain its liberty, lost at the battle of the White Mountain in 1620. All Czech history is but the relation of the long struggle against the Germanic domination of Austria. In all the Bohemian towns the local associations and school societies were the headquarters of an ardent patriotic propaganda movement. These organizations, persecuted by the Austrian police and military authorities, became secret societies at the beginning of the war, the most famous of which assumed the name of the "Maffia," borrowed from Sicily. The conspirators, following the clever methods of the Carbonari of former times, did not know each other, save for two fellow-workers, with whom each member, respectively, carried on his work. Dr. Szarnal, the chief of the Maffia, who became the Mayor of Prague after the revolution, alone knew all of his fellow-workers.

It was this organization—to which belonged Dr. Benes; M. Stanek, the Minister of Labor in the new Government; Dr. Stephanek, who acted as Minister to Paris, and Dr. Borsky, who became Minister to Rome—which assured the Czech patriots at Prague and Vienna communication with the Czechoslovak committee at Paris. Czech women, employes, and even servants, undertook perilous missions, risking life and liberty in order to serve their cause. It should be known also that there were many Czechs in all the Ministries and in all the important administrative branches of the Austrian Government, who stopped at nothing when their cause against the oppressor was called into question.

The "Maffia" had placed a Czech manservant in the home of Count Stürgkh, the President of the Austrian Council, who was assassinated by Fritz Adler. This servant each night gathered up the papers which he found on his master's desk and took them home, where he made copies of them on a typewriter. Women placed these copies in umbrella handles, and in that manner forwarded them to Switzerland or to Paris. They came back to Austria with the instructions of the Czechoslovak committees. The police arrested many suspected persons, among them President Masaryk's daughter and the wife of Dr. Benes, whom they imprisoned among thieves and prostitutes, but the secret was never discovered.

Thanks to this widespread organization, which was on the alert constantly, the Czechs were always informed of the most secret actions taken at the court and at the General Staff Headquarters. Even the decisions reached by Emperors William and Charles at their last meeting were learned. One of the conspirators, Dr. Rambousek, had discovered an invisible ink, and correspondence was exchanged by means of bulletin reviews, which the censorship permitted to pass, messages being written between the printed lines. In spite of all chemical reactions tried, the mysterious ink remained invisible to the police agents. Just eight days before the revolution the police forbade the sending of books and magazines outside of Austria. This did not prevent Dr. Benes from warning his friends at Prague "to prepare for the revolution."

On Oct. 29, when Prague was celebrating the triumph of the revolution, one of the members of the "Maffia" brought the last secret message of Dr. Benes to his colleagues: "Do not lose courage; the Czechoslovak Government is recognized by the Entente, with Thomas Masaryk, as President."

JUGOSLAVIA RECOGNIZED

The Union of the Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian peoples was recognized by the United States in a formal statement issued on Feb. 7, 1919, by Secretary of State Lansing. The text of the statement is as follows:

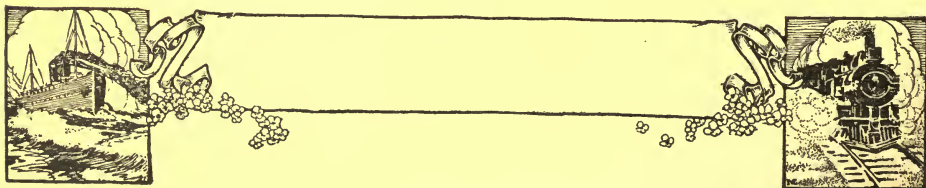
On May 29, 1918, the Government of the United States expressed its sympathy for the nationalistic aspirations of the Yugoslav races, and on June 28 declared that all branches of the Slav race should be completely freed from German and Aus-

trian rule. After having achieved their freedom from foreign oppression, the Yugoslavs, formerly under Austro-Hungarian rule, on various occasions expressed the desire to unite with the Kingdom of Serbia. The Serbian Government, on its part, has publicly and officially accepted the union of the Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian peoples.

The Government of the United States, therefore, welcomes the union, while recognizing that the final settlement of territorial frontiers must be left to the Peace Conference for adjudication according to the desires of the peoples concerned.

Transporting Locomotives to France

When they learned that British locomotives were being shipped across the English Channel, ready to travel under their own steam on their arrival in France, American Army transport officers decided that American locomotives could be taken over the same way. Accordingly, a fleet of ore-carrying vessels with hatches sufficiently large to accommodate such bulky cargo was commandeered for carrying the big machines. The ships each had three holds, 60 feet wide and 102 feet long, with hatches 39 by 42 feet. Twelve locomotives, each weighing seventy-three tons, were packed into each hold, making a total of thirty-six engines for each ship. The heavy machines rested on a floor supported by 3,000 tons of steel rails. They were braced with heavy wooden timbers against the pitching and rocking of the ship, and baled hay was packed closely into all unoccupied spaces. A second flooring was laid on the hay, and this supported the tenders. Still more cargo was piled on top of the tenders to the deck level, and in some instances crated airplanes were packed into the spaces on the deck. With its cargo of locomotives, other machinery, and supplies each vessel carried a dead weight of 14,000 tons, exclusive of its own machinery, coal, and supplies. The locomotives were taken, fourteen at a trip, on big railroad barges to the sides of the ships, and there 100-ton derricks on floating barges transferred them to their places in the holds. To hoist an engine from the barge, swing it over, and lower it into the hold required about twenty minutes. The whole time consumed in transferring a shipment of the ponderous machines from the factory to the wharf, loading them into the ships, and carrying them to France was a little less than twelve days. Within a few hours after they were unloaded on the other side they were completely assembled and ready to move off under their own power. Within a few months more than 400 of these seventy-three-ton machines were shipped from New York. In addition to this number, 1,200 were shipped in sections, each engine being packed in nine cases.



The Sinking of the *Viribus Unitis*

Official Report of the Destruction of the Austrian Dreadnought by Two Italian Officers

By LIEUTENANT COLONEL R. ROSSETTI

[Of the Italian Naval Construction Corps]

Two Italian officers, Colonel Rossetti and Dr. Paolucci, aided only by an ingenious apparatus for passing obstructions, swam into the harbor of Pola during the night of Oct. 31-Nov. 1, 1918, and sank the Austrian flagship Viribus Unitis by daring and unprecedented methods. They remained in the water eight hours, and were prisoners on the enemy dreadnought when their torpedo sank it, yet escaped alive. The following narrative is a translation of an official report—written in the form of a diary—by the leader of the expedition, Colonel Rossetti, a Genoese, who is also the inventor of the motor device that was used to get the mine over the formidable obstructions closing the entrance to the harbor, and to penetrate into the heart of this strongly fortified Austro-Hungarian naval base. The Viribus Unitis was the newest and largest of Austria's superdreadnoughts, with a displacement of 20,010 tons and an armament of twelve 12-inch guns, and had cost \$13,000,000.

THE operation that resulted in sinking the dreadnought *Viribus Unitis* in the port of Pola on the morning of Nov. 1, 1918, was carried out in its last phase as follows:

10:15 P. M.,* Oct. 31.—The towrope that connects our special apparatus with the chaser M. A. S. 95 is loosened. We have been in our places for some minutes, have made sure that everything is in perfect condition, and have reported to Commander Ciano† that all is well. The pressure of air in the reservoir is 205 atmospheres—greater than during any of the preliminary experiments. We are in splendid physical condition and of good courage.

We leave the chaser on our left with the parting whisper, "Viva il Re!" Following instructions, I steer half way between the lighthouse on Cape Compare (always lighted) and another far to the left of this, which we believe to be at

Punta Cristo. The phosphorescence is unusual; it will force us later on, while working near the enemy sentinels, to move much slower than the estimated speed of two knots.

10:30 P. M.—The obstruction at the extreme end of the jetty is now reached; it is probably a little south of the point indicated on our chart. The obstruction is made of long beams, linked together at the ends by about two meters of wire-rope. At intervals are large buoys that keep the obstruction in position. We put our apparatus in line with the beams, and, by pushing against them, drag it slowly forward for more than a quarter of an hour. During this time the searchlight of Cape Compare is flashed once, and lights us up in the ordinary inspection made of the surface of the water and the first obstruction. The light is not thrown again while we are outside the jetty.

At a certain point the beams of the outer edge of the obstruction are submerged, and we can no longer guide ourselves by them. I put the motor slowly into action, and we move toward the right, with the idea of reaching the inner edge of the obstruction or one of the supporting diagonals. We reach the inner side and again alternately pull

*Each officer carried a watch with a luminous dial, protected by a special watertight glass case. Most of the hours noted are, therefore, accurate; where any uncertainty exists the word "about" has been used.

†Lieut. Col. Rossetti and Dr. Paolucci were taken on board the chaser M. A. S. 95 to a point near the harbor of Pola. Commander Ciano remained on board the chaser in charge of the expedition.—TRANSLATOR.

ourselves along and use the motor, for here and there the beams are under water. Finally, to save time, we continue with the motor, but very slowly.

On our left (that is, toward the open sea) I have noticed a submarine with one tower. She is on the surface, and passes, darkened and noiseless, between



LIEUTENANT COLONEL RAFFAELE ROSSETTI

the harbor obstruction and the chaser which had brought us. I can see her like a shadow against the sky, and point her out to Dr. Paolucci.

About 11:15 P. M.—We can distinctly see a red light shining at intervals and moving up and down along the jetty. Probably it is on a patrol boat stationed between the jetty and the outside obstructions. This will not affect us, however, for here we shall be keeping to the outer side of the obstructions.

PENETRATING THE OBSTRUCTIONS

About 11:45 P. M.—We are nearing the jetty and are about 100 meters from it after passing rapidly through the second diagonal. At my request Dr. Paolucci swims off to explore in the direction

of the jetty, and returns in a few minutes to say that we can proceed. During this pause I notice that a rather strong current runs northward along the coast. We move on until we reach the jetty, and then work along parallel with it, placing ourselves between our apparatus and the jetty. We have a good hand hold, as the jetty is made of blocks of cement, piled one on another. The current, too, is in our favor. Everything is going smoothly, but we are losing far too much time, so I venture to start the motor once more. This is not really imprudent—withstanding the phosphorescence produced by increased speed—for the breakwater, with large intervals between the cement masses, surely cannot be patrolled at night by a sentry. We are in a “dead sector” as far as sentries are concerned.

12:30 A. M.—Still clinging to the jetty, we reach a group of chains that are fastened to the top of the jetty and hang down toward the water. I judge this may be the end of the last diagonal of the first observation, and conclude, therefore, that we must be about 200 meters from the small opening of the jetty. Dr. Paolucci again goes alone to explore the opening. He soon returns with the report that we may advance. We are under way again by about 12:45. When the opening is clearly visible I silence the motor and we proceed hand-over-hand.

PASSING AN ENEMY GUN

About 1 A. M.—We have reached the edge of the opening, always sticking close to the jetty, which now slopes down to the opening and is guarded by a small gun, (of about fifty millimeters,) which is silhouetted against the sky as we pass under it at a distance of about five meters.

A strong current coming from the interior of the roadstead meets the current flowing along the coast and drives us—despite all our efforts—out to sea in the direction of the northern extremity of the jetty. The motor is started into full action and we manage to make a wide loop toward the left, returning to the small opening.

Here, too, we find an obstruction

formed by several sections of floating beams, joined with wire ropes. Here and there points project above the water. Having satisfied ourselves that the obstruction has no submerged nets, we decide to climb over it while passing our apparatus underneath, and the plan is carried out without accident. We follow the inner side of this obstruction back to the jetty—easily recognized by the cannon and sentry-post which we had already seen from the other side. Still creeping along the jetty for a few meters, we find ourselves near the bow of a tug, moored there, and can hear the hissing noise of a jet of steam. A little further off, stern toward the jetty, is a large boat that guards the port. This is indicated on our chart, so we decide to turn toward the inner harbor.

About 2 A. M.—We reach the third obstruction, which runs parallel to the jetty, without encountering that running from the jetty on the right of the guard boat to the large opening of the port. The obstruction now to be overcome is made up of a row of metal cylinders, with tops projecting about twenty centimeters above the water, supporting, about sixty centimeters below the water level, a metal cable to which a net is attached. Given the distance between buoys, and the depth at which the net begins, it is easy to pass this barrier. About ten meters behind it is a second, and then a third, all parallel and of the same type. These are passed without real difficulty, though we have lost time between the second and third series. A boat was moored not more than thirty meters from us, and we had to move with extreme caution and very slowly.

It is easy to know where we are. Ahead and to our left, I can recognize Valmaggiore and the rocky mass near the curve toward the interior of the port. We consult the pocket compass, but it is full of water and will not work. Once past the third section of this obstruction, I steer in an oblique line to the right, the direction in which I believe we shall find the last series of obstructions—those projecting from the north coast and running perpendicular to the jetty.

The first big ships—dark, shadowy

forms—are barely visible on our right. Going forward, we can see three other ships, further in, that show lighted cabins and portholes, and that have white deck-lights.

APPROACHING THE FLAGSHIP

About 3 A. M.—We reach and pass, without trouble, a triple series of ob-



DR. RAFFAELE PAOLUCCI

structions similar to the preceding ones. Sure of our position, I steer so as to pass between the north coast and the line of big ships, along which we move for about 200 meters, now always fighting against the current.

It is late, and we fear that the air pressure of 120 atmospheres will not be sufficient to insure our return to the chaser. After consultation, we agree to continue as far as the flagship, which had been pointed out to us as of special importance. After sinking this we will endeavor to land on the north coast, sink our apparatus and dispose of our water-proof suits. Then, in the uniform of Italian naval officers, which we wear underneath the water-proof, we will try

to reach a place called Fontane, near Rovigno, where it has been agreed that a motor boat will wait for us each night from the 2d to the 7th of November.

As we move toward the ship I detach a small device that had been added at the last moment. It is supposed to insure an easy mooring for the propelling apparatus, but fails to work. To rid ourselves of this incumbrance I unsheathe my knife, lose the sheath, and am obliged to stick the knife into the wooden cover of the apparatus. (I mention this merely because it will explain why, later, I was so long under the *Viribus Unitis*.)

ANXIOUS MOMENTS

At this time an incident occurs that very nearly puts an end to the whole business. We find that, with no apparent cause, our apparatus is gradually, unmistakably, sinking—especially at the stern, where I am. Greatly disturbed, I endeavor to counteract this sinking by crossing my legs beneath the stern, and by accelerating the motor, at the same time working to open the little valve that lets air into the balance tank at the stern. After a hurried examination, I find that the valve for flooding the afterpart is open; how it happened I cannot imagine. The valve is finally closed, and when air is readmitted the apparatus returns to its normal condition. Without doubt these were the most exciting moments of the trip.

We continue slowly and cautiously until 4:30, when we find ourselves at the bow of the *Viribus Unitis*, the last of the six ships that are drawn up in line. At about 100 meters from the ship's bow the motor is stopped, and I move to the head of our apparatus and prepare the first weapon of offense. The time for the explosion must be calculated from 4:30 A. M., and the mine is so regulated that it will go off four hours from that time. This, however, is changed before sinking the mine.

It takes from 4:30 until 4:45 to detach the mine from our propelling apparatus. Meanwhile the current carries us along parallel to the right side of the ship at a distance of sixty meters. We have drifted too far toward the stern, so, by using our arms as in swimming, and by

putting the propeller very gently into action, we succeed in turning our apparatus and in getting back toward the bow of the ship near the lower boom, at a distance of about twenty-five meters from the right side. After another slight change of position toward the rear, on account of the current, I detach the mine, and, swimming, push it before me until it touches the hull.

ATTACHING THE MINE

The ship is lighted up and shows all the movement that is usual during the night. Some one speaks on the bridge, (also lighted;) some one is walking the deck. The spot toward which I am swimming is between the second and third of the 150-millimeter guns—counting from the stern—which corresponds roughly to the position of the principal motors. It is a convenient position for the sure sinking of the ship.

On the weapon of offense is a contrivance for fixing the machine to the hull of the ship. It is connected by a small rope that must be loosened or cut. I set to work, but the knot is intricate and my knife is sticking in the wooden cover of the apparatus. Consequently, as the rope is wet and my hands numb with cold, it takes a long time to untie that knot. Finally, after about twenty minutes, the knot yields. I then attach the device to the hull, and also fasten it to a rope that I find secured to the ship at this point. During the operation (it is about 5:15) I hear the morning bugle—it is sounded repeatedly—soon followed by the noise of all hands on board awake and moving. Ashes are thrown out close to me, and more steps sound on the deck. I must hasten and complete the work. I change the clockwork regulating the explosion from 4 to 2; consequently the explosion should take place at 6:30. I detach the bandage of linen and cork that has floated the mine, and sink it. It is now 5:30.

DISCOVERED BY THE ENEMY

I swim away from the ship as quickly as possible; the sky is cloudy, but in the east are signs of dawn. It is a question whether I can succeed in reaching our apparatus or whether I must swim

ashore and try to make my way to the point where they will be waiting for us. Happily, on my right I soon see Dr. Paolucci and the apparatus about fifty meters from the ship, and I soon reach them.

Again taking command, I send the apparatus as rapidly as possible toward the bow of the ship, and parallel to it, hoping to get away from her and to gain the north coast as we had planned. The ship's crew is now awake, and they must have discovered us by the excessive natural phosphorescence, which was increased by the more rapid movement of our apparatus. Suddenly a searchlight is operated upon the bridge and the light is thrown on us. We remain breathlessly still for a few moments, hoping against hope that we may not be seen. The light remains stationary on us and we move very slowly, for, although no shot has been fired, we understand that we have been discovered and that a boat will now be sent out to us.

Dr. Paolucci, at the bow, now prepares the second mine, while I open the valves that will sink the apparatus. In this way, while a motor boat is leaving the ship and approaching, we abandon our apparatus which drifts slowly forward—sinking—with the mine that will destroy it. Our mission is ended.

CAPTURED BY THE ENEMY

The motor boat reaches us, paying no attention to our apparatus, and they take us on board. It is 5:45. We are recognized as Italians and they take us to the ladder on the port side of the ship. A crowd of sailors receives us at the top of the ladder. We feel it our duty to shout "Viva l'Italia!" This demonstration, contrary to what might be expected, is received in a spirit rather more cordial than hostile. To our surprise we notice the new Yugoslav insignia on the caps. We are asked, in Venetian dialect, how we come to be here. We answer (as Commander Ciano had suggested) that we lighted on the water in a hydroplane which we had afterward sunk. In the meantime they are escorting us aft. The friendly reception and the changed nationality of the fleet cause us to hesitate a bit; we consult and come to a decision,

asking to speak with the Captain on a very important and urgent matter. The Captain is called, and it is 6 o'clock when he receives me in his cabin. I give him Dr. Paolucci's knife, which I find myself still holding, and inform him that his ship is in immediate and very serious danger. The Captain inquires the nature of the "serious danger" and asks if other ships are in the same peril. I answer that I cannot disclose the nature of the danger and that no other ship is involved.

The Captain picks up his lifebelt and leaves the cabin at once, giving loud orders in German that all should leave the ship. We follow him up on deck, where he repeats the order—obeyed, scatteringly, by all. I ask the Captain to permit Dr. Paolucci and myself to leave the ship. He consents, and we go down the ladder at the right and swim off toward the ship's stern with the current, but impeded by the great weight of our clothing. Numbers of swimming sailors pass us, as well as boats loaded with members of the crew. Searchlight signals are flashed to the nearest ship, Tegethoff, which sends boats to our assistance.

About 6:20 a boat picks us up and takes us back to the ladder on the right of the Viribus Unitis, where a large boat is waiting for the remainder of the crew. When we reach the deck we are received with threats, though the men are not especially violent. I lose sight of Dr. Paolucci in the crowd. It seems that they no longer believe in our warning or in the danger. A sailor begins to rip up my waterproof suit with his knife; others go through my pockets.

END OF DOOMED SHIP

There is a short, smothered thunderclap; the ship shivers violently, while a crest of foam is thrown up all along her starboard side. External damage is very slight, but the ship heels over to the right, at first very rapidly, then more slowly, but steadily. Most of the crowd has left us; a few, however, now close in, threatening to shut us up on board. The Captain, who stands a few meters off, shows no interest in our fate. I appeal to him, reminding him that we are



DIAGRAM OF POLA HARBOR, SHOWING ROUTE FOLLOWED BY ITALIAN NAVAL MEN WHO SANK THE VIRIBUS UNITIS.

prisoners of war; that what we have done, as belligerents, gives us the right to have our persons respected; that the threatened treatment is contrary to rules of war. The Captain acknowledges the justice of my protest, again gives permission for us to leave, and gives orders in German for a boat within hailing distance on the left of the stern to return and take us off the ship. I succeed meanwhile, with the help of Dr. Paolucci, in ridding myself of my waterproof suit, which had hampered me in swimming and which the sailors had ripped open.

Dr. Paolucci and I let ourselves down into the water on the port side at the stern. We are both pulled into the boat and can watch the end of the Viribus Unitis. She is still settling on the right. When the water almost reaches the deck—although the ship is still high out of the water—she suddenly heels over with remarkable rapidity. In a few seconds nothing is visible save the flat bottom of the keel and the four screws—encircled by smoke, flames, and fragments of shattered wood—while the sea all around is lashed up into frothy waves. One sailor in our boat gives vent to his

grief in a most touching manner; all the others appear indifferent. If my calculations are correct not ten minutes elapsed between the explosion and the end.

I have learned with sincere grief that Captain Ianko Vukovic de Podkapelski of the Viribus Unitis was wounded by a fragment of the sunken ship while swimming to a place of safety. He was picked up and carried to the hospital in Palo, but died a few hours afterward. Throughout, he was most chivalrous, and treated us with all the consideration that one could expect from an honorable enemy.

FREED BY THE ARMISTICE

We were landed on the neighboring shore and taken, under escort, on board the Hapsburg. There we were despoiled of our clothing and given Austrian uniforms. Then we were removed to the arsenal, where we arrived at 8. From that moment we became prisoners of war, but for four days only. On the 5th of November, after the signing of the armistice with Austria, Italian naval forces entered Pola—and we were free.

Throughout the expedition we were both calm and controlled, with a perfectly clear perception of details. I noticed that during the eight hours of immersion I felt very well, and, relatively speaking, quite comfortable; much more so than during the long experiments in the Lagoon of Venice that served as training for the undertaking. This excellent physical condition should be attributed, in some part, I believe, to an injection of camphorated oil that Dr. Paolucci thought it well to give me and himself before starting. However, the main cause was the success of the undertaking; to insure that, it was necessary not only to be in good shape physically, but to maintain a spirit of combined serenity and determination.

Before closing this report, it is my pleasant duty to put on record how much I owe to Dr. Paolucci, who behaved splendidly throughout the expedition. I would

stress the importance of the two explorations which he made, alone, under the very eyes of the sentinel guarding the jetty, as well as the period (about forty minutes) when he had to wait for me while I secured the mine to the ship. During this time he had to fight against the current, which was carrying him away. Again and again he returned to, or very near, the spot where I had left the apparatus in his care when I swam with the mine to the Viribus Unitis. Moreover, it was Dr. Paolucci who—under the glare of the searchlight, and while we were in momentary expectation of a charge of shot from the ship's guns—had the ready wit and cool hand to put the apparatus of the second mine into action, removing this menace.

R. ROSSETTI.

Lieutenant Colonel, Naval Construction.

Rome, Dec. 4, 1918.

Why Austria's Peace Efforts Failed

Count Czernin's Confession

COUNT CZERNIN, former Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, told an Associated Press correspondent in Vienna on Dec. 10, 1918, that in 1917 he had made desperate efforts to get out of the war, even to the extent of offering to Germany the Austro-Hungarian province of Galicia, the richest coal and oil province of the empire, if Germany would agree to surrender Alsace-Lorraine, but the offer was always rejected. General Ludendorff was the chief obstacle to peace and threatened war against Austria-Hungary if the latter attempted a separate settlement. Count Czernin said in part:

In April, 1917, I sent the Emperor Charles a letter, of which I have a copy at your disposal, saying that the submarine warfare was certain to fail, that we could never win, and that we must force Germany to peace. I told him that revolution was coming, that the Emperor William would lose his throne as he also would himself, that every Government head must see that we were the losers,

that we must try to insure, before we were crushed, that Germany's situation should be the same as ours, that only military men believed it possible to win the war, that America's entrance meant our ruin, and that her influence would be felt within a few months in spite of the belief in Germany that America would never be able to arrive in time. I said that there was nothing more dangerous in politics than to see things as you wished them rather than as they are, that there was only one possible way out, namely, by a general peace and arranging matters between England and Germany.

So the Emperor Charles agreed, and we proposed to the Emperor William to give Germany the whole of Austrian Galicia, and to let her have Russian Poland if only she would cede Alsace-Lorraine to France. I went to Kreuznach on the French front and put the matter before Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, but he was obliged to decline. I don't know if Ludendorff had any hand in this, but the Germans answered that it was impossible to give up Alsace-Lorraine because the German people would never understand the giving up of land which had cost so much blood.

Certainly the position in Germany was

dangerous. Our sacrifice was appreciated and our conversations were pleasant and friendly. When I saw we could not arrange things because Germany was obliged to obey the military party I tried another way. I sent to Berlin, unknown to the Germans, the Austrian Socialist Member of Parliament, Wassilko, who had a talk with Erzberger (Clerical) and Sudekum, (Socialist,) at which he told them why the war must be brought to an end. Both understood and took action in the Reichstag, where they submitted peace resolutions directed against the military party and also against Pan-Germanists. But the German victories began again and the Reichstag did nothing. It was always so. When our chances were very bad the Entente was elated and when ours were good Ludendorff refused to allow peace. I always wanted to use victory as an opportunity to make peace, and several times I had the impression that this would be possible to arrange.

Once I sent Count Mensdorff to Switzerland, but never was it precisely said on what conditions Germany might be willing to make peace, nor do I recall that Mr. Lloyd George last February named any conditions. Germany always assured us that she had never received any definite offers, and I believe this is true. England appeared to have the intention of crushing Germany, with Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Ludendorff always maintaining the same attitude, and Wilson only differing from the rest, while the Emperor William could not bring himself to give up Alsace-Lorraine. My impression is that neither the Emperor Joseph, Count Berchtold, nor the German Emperor wanted war. Anyway, we tried to get out of it in every way except by war with Germany, which would have meant the end of our empire.

Regarding the Brest-Litovsk Treaty Count Czernin said: "I signed it, but we took nothing from it, a fact which is worthy of mention. It was Ludendorff who forced Kühlmann to that peace, always Ludendorff."

GERMANY'S SINISTER PEACE OFFER IN 1914

Revelations made at the Cavallini trial in Rome as to Germany's efforts in November, 1914, through her agent, Lorenzo d'Adda, to induce France to agree to a separate peace, called forth this statement from Take Ionescu, the former Rumanian Premier, on Dec. 4, 1918:

The facts which have come out in the Cavallini trial relating to Germany's ef-

forts to make a separate peace with France in November, 1914, recall to me an even earlier attempt toward the same end. We had in Rumania an old German professor, a former railway official, who held a Chair at our School of Civil Engineering. He had married a Rumanian lady, and had lived so long in the country that I thought he was naturalized, which was not the case.

When war broke out Professor Shlawe, as he was called, was in Berlin. Ten days after the war began I received long telegrams from him, sometimes two and three times a day, and often running into several hundred words, giving me news of the progress of events, and especially laying stress on the certainty of a German victory. As other Rumanians received similar dispatches from the same man it was evident that the cost of such a telegraphic debauch could not be paid for by Shlawe himself. I was annoyed, because at that time I believed him to be a Rumanian subject.

In September, 1914, after the fall of Antwerp, and the first battle of the Marne, Shlawe, to my astonishment, came straight from Bucharest to see me at Sinaia. He was in such a hurry to see me that he did not stop even to brush off the dust which had covered his clothes during the automobile journey from Bucharest.

Before he could open the conversation I began to reproach him for sending telegrams so unworthy of a Rumanian subject. (At that time pro-German Rumanians had not made their appearance.) Shlawe replied that he had never become naturalized, and pleaded that he was only doing his duty and serving his country. Then, in a voice which trembled owing to the manner in which I had spoken to him, he made a most astonishing proposal to me. He asserted that he came on behalf of Herr Zimmermann to ask me to fulfill the finest rôle a man could wish. He explained that both Herr Zimmermann and himself knew that I was unshakably opposed to Germany, and that they believed that this was due to my love for France. He proposed therefore, he said, to offer me an opportunity to serve both France and Rumania, and asked me formally if I was prepared to go to Paris on behalf of Germany and offer the French Government a separate peace, in which Germany would ask France for absolutely nothing. Germany, he pointed out, would then find herself faced by Russia and England alone, and would be able to overcome England, which was the sole object Germany aimed at. As to France, Shlawe added, Germany was animated with nothing but feelings of admiration and friendship for her, and he pointed out with many flattering statements that nobody but a sincere friend of

France like myself could hope with any chance of success to undertake the mission he offered me. As you may imagine, I gave Shlawe the reply he deserved. I told

him that France was incapable of betraying her allies, and that I was neither such an imbecile nor such a scoundrel as to accept such a mission.

Mobilizing the British Army in 1914

Address by Viscount Haldane

The circumstances leading up to the reorganization of the British Army between 1906 and 1914 with a view to readiness in assisting France in event of attack by Germany were set forth by Viscount Haldane on Nov. 29, 1918, when he presided at a lecture on "America and the War," delivered at the Bedford College for Women by Major R. M. Johnstone. Lord Haldane said:

OUR effort, unlike that of America, which was fashioned quickly and decisively for its present purpose, because you can do things in war you cannot do in peace—our effort began in peace time and it was made under the influence of very fine military brains. I speak with knowledge because it fell to me as War Minister to assemble the young Generals with whose assistance the Expeditionary Force and the Territorial Force were fashioned. In the great speech which Sir Edward Grey made in the House of Commons on Aug. 3, 1914, which practically announced the determination to go to war, the then Foreign Minister told us how he had been approached by the French Government in January, 1906, and how it was conveyed to him that there was some apprehension of an attack from Germany which might menace British interests. What the French Government said in effect was: "We don't ask you to bind yourselves; you must be free. We don't ask anything unreasonable, but if you consider there is a possibility of your being called on in your own interests to come to our assistance and prevent the invasion of the northern part of France by Germany, then it is wise for your military authorities and ours to have conversations, without binding yourselves in any way, with a view to seeing what sort of military assistance you can give."

The policy of counterstrategy to German strategy was thought out, and under Mr. McKenna and Mr. Churchill the estimates were raised from £35,000,000

in 1906 to £51,000,000 in 1914. At the outbreak of war our fleet was in a state of efficiency such as it was never in before, and was not only more efficient but was equal to two to one against the whole German fleet. In the second place, the French pointed out: "You have a great fleet and we have a great army; our fleet is small, yours is large; our army is large, yours is small." They knew we could not have a large army—because we could not raise a great compulsory army in peace time unless we had about thirty years to do it in. To have attempted to change the system, to swap horses when crossing the stream, would have been foolish. But we set to work to do what had to be done. It was not for home defense. We were perfectly defended at home by the fleet and the territorial forces.

The French thought at that time that if we could contribute 100,000 men within fifteen days from the outbreak of war that would be enough to enable them, with their great fortifications and with our reorganized army on their left, to hold the Germans if they tried to break through Belgium. But when we came to look into things we found that all we could concentrate was 80,000 men, and then not under two months and a half. The French said: "We should be dead before that." This country, therefore, set itself out to effect a revolution. That revolution was made under Sir Douglas Haig and a number of other officers who have since distinguished themselves in the war, and some others who have passed away, all of whom worked night

and day for the purpose of putting our army for the first time in its history on a war footing in peace time, so that it might be mobilized with the utmost rapidity.

In the end we were able to increase the French estimate by giving them not 100,000 men but 160,000, not in fifteen days but twelve days. I do not think the public knew when we mobilized our army but I will tell you now: We mobilized at 11 o'clock on the morning of Monday, Aug. 3, thirty-six hours before we de-

clared war. Mobilization is not a declaration of war. If desired, you can mobilize in time of peace in order to be prepared for war. Within a few hours after the declaration of war the expeditionary force, with the aid of the navy, was across the Channel before anybody knew it. Indeed, the first detachment was over within nine days, instead of twelve. That was one of the results of putting a definite question as to what purpose the British Army was needed for, and working out the answer.

The French Withdrawal at Briey

THE French Government on July 30, 1914, upon learning that German troops were moving toward the French frontier, ordered its own troops to retire ten kilometers from the boundary, so as to establish proof of its desire for peace. This fact was stated in the French Chamber of Deputies on Jan. 31, 1919, by René Viviani, the former Premier. "On the same day," he said, "I requested Paul Cambon (French Ambassador at London) by wire to inform Sir Edward Grey of the measures taken. 'England,' I said, 'will realize that, if France is firm, it is not she who is taking measures of aggression. Although Germany has moved her troops upon her battleline the Government of the French Republic intends to demonstrate that France, as well as Russia, bears no responsibility for the attack.'" M. Viviani continued:

"Could we risk a murderous war upon a chance meeting of patrols? We desired to proclaim high before the world that, if France were forced to fight, she would do so for right and justice, and not take advantage of an equivocation. The withdrawal was carried out without meeting any obstacle, either technical or military. Had we met with an observation from General Joffre that the measure might endanger the fate of the country, we should not have hesitated, but would have kept the watch on the frontier. No objection came from the General."

M. Viviani's speech was made in re-

ply to questions by Deputy Fernand Engerand, who sharply criticised the abandonment of the ten-kilometer zone. He asserted that it was a technical mistake, because the mineral valley of Briey was within range of the French guns, and had it been bombarded intensively for three or four days the German iron ore deposits and factories would have been destroyed and Germany placed in an inferior position regarding minerals. This, the Deputy thought, would have brought about an end of the war in six months.

M. Viviani replied that the abandonment of the Briey Valley in the event of war had been decided upon by the General Staff in January, 1914. A withdrawal to a depth of twenty-five kilometers was first considered, said M. Viviani, who then read a telegram from General Joffre, dated July 30, reading as follows:

For diplomatic reasons it is indispensable that no incident occur at the frontier. No unit and no patrol shall advance east of the line fixed.

M. Viviani then read a message from Adolphe Messimy, the Minister of War at that time, as follows:

In order to assure English collaboration, it is indispensable that French troops do not cross the general line decided upon, unless a regular attack is made upon them.

General Joffre, learning that seventeen violations of the French frontier had been committed, telegraphed to Premier Viviani on Aug. 2 as follows:

The interdiction against crossing the

line indicated is lifted, but, for national reasons of a diplomatic and moral order, it is indispensable to leave to the Germans the entire responsibility for hostilities. Consequently our troops will merely hold the enemy back and throw him upon the frontier, without pursuing him beyond.

M. Viviani continued:

"Then war was declared. The President of the republic wrote a letter to King George, which was published in the press at that time, but the reply of the King has remained unpublished until now. It reads: 'I admire the limitation which France willingly imposed upon herself and which so vitally concerns her military defense.'"

General Adolphe Messimy, the French Minister of War in 1914, stated in an article in the *Matin* of Feb. 3, 1919, that it was to establish proof of the love of France for peace, and not to please the Socialists, that the Government had decided to establish a safety zone of ten kilometers. The French intelligence

service, he declared, absolutely knew that Germany was mobilizing secretly, but was endeavoring to make France appear as the aggressor, as in the case of the forged telegram of Ems in 1870.

"The mere wandering of one of our patrols across the frontier at night," he said, "would have given her the excuse she sought. In order to avoid falling into a trap I proposed a wholesale withdrawal ten kilometers behind the frontier. At that time the intervention of England on our side was anything but certain, and the neutrality of Italy, which was bound in a defensive alliance with Austria and Germany, depended upon who was the aggressor.

"A few hours after our troops withdrew England assured us she would help us, as Austria and Germany were the aggressors. Italy undertook to remain neutral and ten months later became our faithful ally. The nations of Europe and America have since, at their own time, fulfilled our expectations and our hopes."

Marshal Foch on the Armistice

The allied Commander in Chief, Marshal Foch, in response to inquiry as to whether the armistice had not been accorded the Germans too soon, said that it was not possible to have done otherwise, because the Germans had agreed at once to all terms laid down and had satisfied all conditions. The Marshal said:

"It was difficult to ask more. Doubtless, any General would have preferred to continue the struggle and give battle when battle offered itself so promisingly, but a father of a family could not fail to think of the blood that would be shed. A victory, however easy, costs the lives of men. We held victory in our grasp without any further sacrifice. We took it as it came. The German High Command was not ignorant of the fact that it faced colossal disaster. When it surrendered, everything was prepared for an offensive in which it would infallibly have succumbed. On Nov. 14 we were to attack in Lorraine with twenty French divisions and six American divisions. This attack would have been supported by other movements in Flanders and in the centre. The Germans were lost. They capitulated. There is the whole story."



Wanton Destruction of French Factories

Details of Germany's Systematic Crippling of Rival Industries in the Invaded Territory

This revelation of German methods and purposes in the destruction of rival factories was written by a correspondent of The London Morning Post, who visited the whole devastated region of France at the beginning of December, 1918.

THERE is a new desert in Europe—a Sahara more lonely and more terrible than the deserts of nature. It stretches in a belt more than 500 miles in length and of varying width from the North Sea to the Vosges: it is the country of the Western front—the lands from which the tide of German barbarism has receded, and left a wilderness which is as it were sown with salt, a country ruined as by long submersion under the sea. I have been through part of it: if it was awful in war it is even more awful in peace. It has no inhabitants—save occasional garrisons of soldiers, gangs of prisoners working on the roads, and a few returning peasants. You may travel in it for miles without seeing man or beast. The fields are without cattle; the towns and villages without people. Magpies, crows, and rats seem to be the only creatures that have survived the war in any numbers. Throughout larger stretches of country and in considerable towns I could see no other life. And to those who have memories of this country before the war the contrast between now and then adds tenfold to the desolation. For this was once among the busiest, the richest, the happiest, the most pleasant, and beautiful countries in Europe.

There is no doubt at all that the Germans made war not only upon the French armies but upon French industries, upon the very civilization of France. They did not only seek to destroy the organized defenses of France, but her means of livelihood. Germany conceives war not merely as a fight between armies but between economic systems. In peace she had tried first to imitate and then to supersede the older and finer industrial system of her neighbor. She had unscrupulously copied French fabrics

and patterns; but the plodding mechanic can never overtake the genius of the artist. The French found always a new surprise for the German imitator, and when war broke out France had still a flourishing and enterprising industrial system along her Northern and Eastern borders. It was this system which Germany set out deliberately to carry away, and, where she could not steal, destroy.

It is a remarkable fact that, although Germany and France have always been enemies, both countries have established their industries chiefly along their borders, where they are most likely to be attacked. The truth is that the situation of an industrial system is fixed not usually with any strategic design, but by economic necessities—access to raw materials, the presence of coal and iron, the convergence of roads, the navigability of rivers—such are the ruling factors in industrial geography.

It is true that France was not altogether happy about the situation of her industries, and tried in some measure to reinsure herself. Thus, for example, Bourges, the Woolwich of France, was deliberately placed south of the Loire because of the bitter experiences of the war of 1870, when France found her war industries surprised and overtaken by the invading Prussians. Creusot also was placed beyond the reach of invasion, and in the course of the present war a new industrial system has sprung up in the south to supply the place of the north.

SAVAGE AND BRUTAL WORK

But the fact remains that when war broke out the industries of France were very largely in that broad belt of country which has suffered most from invasion. In the dozen or so departments which were overrun existed the greater part of

the coal, the cotton, the woolen, the glass, and the sugar industries of France. The France of 1912 had a total steam machinery of 3,325,000 horse power. Of this no less than 1,250,184 horse power was situated in the invaded regions, so that upon this calculation the Germans have destroyed—that is to say, either put out of working or carried away—over one-third of the total industrial steam power of France.

The mines of Anzin and Lens, the linen of Roubaix, Tourcoing, and Sedan; the linen and cotton thread of Lille, the cottons and woolens of St. Quentin, the steel and iron, the metals and engineering of Fives and Isbergue, of Briey, of Maubeuge, of Douai, of Denain; the glass of St. Gobain, Anzin, and Aniche; the woolens and wines of Rheims, the sugar of hundreds of factories throughout the devastated beet-sugar country of the north—these and many other industries were not merely mechanical and material things, but the very centres and cores of busy, useful, and intelligent communities, who by their loss are now reduced to helplessness and beggary.

How small and petty seem the quarrels of capital and labor in face of this common interest which both have in the industry by which they exist. By it they live; if it fails they can no longer live. And this was part of Germany's tremendous crime against France—that she aimed and struck her blow not at the armed forces of France only, nor even against a single generation, but against the future and the very means by which the people of France found their livelihood. The capital loss of such a destruction might be widely computed, but who shall estimate the loss in terms of usefulness to the world, of happy, industrious life, of skill in industry and service to civilization, destroyed by this act of savage and brutal envy?

DESERT AROUND LILLE

You approach Lille, as you approach Bagdad—through the desert. This desert, if you go from Calais or Boulogne, begins about Hazebrouck, and increases to the abomination of desolation around what was Armentières. You look out from the train upon a land in which

there is neither man nor beast nor any living thing. You may trace waves of intensity in the destruction, as you approach a line of defense, until you reach the crest of a No Man's Land. There are several of these waves of battle, and at their height there is hardly a piece of level ground in this once the most level of countries. Silhouettes of fantastic ruins and broken trees break the skyline of this vast wilderness. You may still trace the hedges and ditches which divided the fields, but of any other vestige of agriculture there is none left. A French lady returning to Lille looked out with me upon this melancholy scene. I asked her what grew there before the war. "Wheat," she replied. When will it grow wheat again?

Upon the further edge of this desert is Lille—itself a desert of another kind. Before the war Lille and its neighbor cities of Roubaix and Tourcoing were the Manchester and Bradford of France. They had a population, taken together, of close on half a million people, and they lived and thrived by world-famous industries. Here the original "Lisle thread" was manufactured, and woolens, cottons, and linens, machinery and chemicals. All these industries worked together; the bleachers and dyers depended on the chemical works; the spinners and carders of cotton and wool passed their product on to the weavers, and all depended upon the coal of Lens for the power which worked their beautiful and intricate machinery. This machinery they either made themselves or imported—the cotton machinery chiefly from England, the woolen largely from Alsace. Such, in brief, was the industrial system upon which those vast, busy, and enterprising cities lived and thrived.

THE SILENT MILLS

You leave the railway outside Lille for the excellent reason that the railway bridges around Lille have been destroyed, and enter by roads deep in the all-permeating black mud. The city—except for patches of destruction here and there—has a fallacious appearance of being intact. You begin by thinking that the Germans were kind to Lille. The Mairie has been burned down; but in the main

the streets and houses and factories are there much as they were. Yet it is a city almost dead, a city in which such people as remain live, and must continue to live for many a day, upon charity or such credit as they still possess. It is a city without industries or the means of industry, without transport—I had almost said without horses, but when the Germans went there were five or six horses left in Lille. They had been taken by their owners up three flights of stairs and had their stables in an attic.

The mills of Lille, as I need not say, are silent. They are silent not only because they lack coal and raw material and workers, but for other causes which must keep some of them silent forever and others silent for years to come. The general plan of the invaders was to take from these cities as much money, as much labor, as much material, and as much machinery as they required, and to use the cities themselves as billets for their troops. But beneath this general plan was a darker and deeper design—nothing less than the destruction of industrial France.

DESTRUCTION OF MACHINERY

They collected the material by "requisitions" and "requisitions." "Convey" the wise call it. They began by taking all the stocks of raw materials and finished articles in the mills and storehouses of the three cities. They then went over the mills for their leather belting and brass and copper fittings, and such looms and machinery as they wanted in Germany. As every manufacturer knows, the life of a mill is its belting. The belts transmit the power from engine to machine. They are to the factory what tendons are to the limbs. When they are cut the whole frame is helpless. Again, it is obvious that a German with a hammer, stripping an intricate machine of its brass or copper, is apt to do a considerable amount of damage. The Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Tourcoing gave me some interesting details upon this branch of my inquiry. From the industrial factories of Tourcoing the Germans took over 1,000,000 kilos of copper and brass. This metal, reckoning in prices before the war, varied

from 2 to 200 francs per kilo, according to the article. For example, in a spinning machine the spindle, which is of steel, runs in a cup or bearing of brass. From 400 spindles the Germans got 6 kilos of brass. Reckoning at prices before the war, this brass was worth 18 francs, and the 400 spindles in working order were worth 8,000 francs. Thus they destroyed or dismantled material worth 8,000 francs to get 18 francs' worth of metal.

The damage done varied according to the industry and also according to chance. Many factories have been gutted from floor to ceiling; others have escaped with the loss of their belting, their copper fittings, and their dynamos. Certain industries in which the French competed with the Germans have been wiped out.

STEALING THE LOOMS

Take, for example, the linen industry, for which before the war Lille was famous the world over. She was the proud possessor of nine-tenths of the linen industry of France, or one-sixth of the linen industry of the whole world. She bought her flax mainly from Belgium and Russia, where the Germans were also buyers, and made of it linen which the Germans could not rival.

When Lille was in the grip of the Germans there arrived a certain Herr Rover, an expert in linen, whom the linen magnates of Lille knew slightly as an occasional visitor before the war. Herr Rover picked out the looms with the assured knowledge of a specialist, and they were packed up and sent to Germany. Before he and his friends had finished with those once wonderful and glorious linen factories of Lille there was nothing left but the bare walls. Lille must start her linen factories from the ground upward, and while they are rebuilding they may be forced—for this was the German plan—either to buy German linen made on their own stolen looms—or go without.

The cotton industry has not suffered so much as the linen industry; but it also has suffered terribly. The woolen industry of Tourcoing and Roubaix has been cruelly despoiled of its looms.

It appears—or so I was told by one of

the manufacturers—that an order came from Berlin to remove or destroy all the looms of the three cities. This terrible order so shocked a German officer, who was himself in the weaving industry, that he went from Lille to Berlin to remonstrate. He was received coldly and told that the order had been given and must be carried out. The work was begun. Many looms were removed—I saw myself the foundations from which they had been wrenched.

The northern corner of France does not grow wine, and Lille was a centre of the brewing trade. The Germans evidently intended to make a market for their lager after the war, and in the breweries there was the double incentive that they contained worms, pans, and cooling machinery of copper and brass. All these were stripped clean—save what the brewers contrived to hide. In sugar also France competed with Germany, and the sugar refineries were dismantled of their machinery.

All these industries depend in some measure upon chemistry and engineering. These are basic industries of Lille, and upon these industries the Germans fastened. It was their economic strategy. If they destroyed the basic industries of France the secondary industries would be helpless. They therefore set to work with system and thoroughness. There was, for example, the great chemical industry founded and conducted by the Kuhlmann family. The Germans had a special hatred for M. Kuhlmann for the reason that he was an Alsatian who left Alsace after the war of 1870 and remained a Frenchman. For the stripping of the Madeleine factory—which covers twenty-five hectares of ground—an expert in machinery removal named Haas was specially sent from Germany. Of that enormous place nothing now remains but the bare walls of the buildings.

SACKING FIVES-LILLE

Upon the eastern side of Lille, outside the walls and beyond the railway, is the industrial suburb of Fives, famous before the war as the seat of the Compagnie Fives-Lille. This company was one of the chief concerns in the heavy engineering industry of France. It employed

5,000 workmen, not counting clerks, and built locomotives, bridges, turntables, girders, machine tools, sugar machinery, turbines, &c. It was, in fact, one of the great industrial concerns not only of France but of the world.

But the boche has been to Fives and there is no longer this great industry; there is only a ruin. This ruin is not the least of the wonders of the war. Let me try to describe it.

To begin with, it must be said that it is the work of the boche and the boche alone, and that its ruin had nothing to do with what are called military operations. The boche was in possession and worked his sweet will upon Fives-Lille, undisturbed for four years save for an occasional stray shot from an allied airplane. The ruin, therefore, may be taken as a pure example of economic war as it is understood in Germany.

THE ART OF DESTRUCTION

The first sight which met our eyes as we entered the gates was a ruinous gable of brick rising to an imposing height and pierced by three gates of such generous dimensions as to admit the passage of the largest locomotives, the middle one being double the size of the others. As it stood entirely by itself, with nothing behind it, it had the appearance of a sort of industrial Arc de Triomphe partly damaged by dynamite. M. Kariatakis, the Chef du Matériel, who took me over the place, explained that behind this gable there once stood a great workshop 160 yards in length and more than 30 yards in width. This shed, large enough for all the varied processes of locomotive building, had been constructed of steel, and the Germans had taken it down piece by piece, packing it in railway cars, and sent it to Germany. The front, being of brick, was of no use to them, and had been damaged, not by dynamite, but by the wrenching away of the steel girders which rested upon it.

In this way they had stolen no less than nine of the company's newest and best steel-construction workshops, three of them of the largest size.

They took away, as unconsidered trifles, 750 electric motors of the latest type. There was one little gas engine

left, the only motor now in Fives-Lille. I asked how the Germans had contrived to forget it. M. Kariatakis explained that the German Government had been negotiating for its sale to a German manufacturer. There was a good deal of haggling over the bargain, and the negotiations were so protracted that when the sale was at last complete there was no time to take the motor away.

Besides these 750 motors, the Germans took away 1,750 machine tools of all kinds. The sheds, therefore, which are left are empty in the main. But there were some machines which were too large and heavy for German transport, and these had to be left. They were left, but they were not left in situ. The German is ingenious in destruction. His method in this case was to attach a heavy piece of steel to a traveling crane. The piece of steel was then brought to bear on the machinery to be destroyed, and swung like a battering-ram. Thus some of the finest and largest machines in the works were broken in fragments. And the parts that could not be broken thus were wrenched from their foundations by the use of these same traveling cranes, raised to a great height and then thrown down on the cement floor.

In this manner the Germans either took away or destroyed every motor, engine, lathe, and machine tool in the works of the Fives-Lille Company. In one of the remaining workshops the floor, which is of cement, is torn up in the most extraordinary way, as by a series of small explosions. M. Kariatakis explained that the hall had contained several very large steel tables, on which were traced the designs of bridges and other large pieces of construction work. These tables were wrenched from their cement foundations by means of the traveling crane and taken away bodily.

As to the amount of the damage done, I was told that in tools and machinery alone, and reckoning at pre-war prices, the value amounted to 40,000,000 francs. The damage to the workshops had not yet been estimated, but of glass alone there were 18,000 square meters to be replaced.

The Germans did not take everything. In one of the small sheds I saw a pa-

thetic little group of workmen cleaning and arranging a strange assortment of rusty gauges, dies, spanners, and small tools of all sorts. As they cleaned them one by one they put them back carefully into racks along the walls. M. Kariatakis explained that he had contrived to hide these oddments under heaps of old iron and other rubbish in the yards. Almost at the end of their occupation the Germans decided to carry away these heaps of old iron, and this precious little hoard of gauges and tools was upon the point of being discovered.

The approach of the King of the Belgians on the north forced the Germans to leave the old iron untouched, and thus was saved the remnant of the old, and, we may hope, the nucleus of the new Fives-Lille.

A GIGANTIC CRIME

When the Germans had negotiated the sale of a machine, and were about to dismount it, they invariably demanded a set of the drawings to go with it to Germany. M. Kariatakis no less invariably refused, and burned the drawings rather than allow them to fall into the hands of the enemy. But some of these invaluable plans and drawings survive. They were hidden away in the cellars of the fine new building which the company had built partly for its offices and partly as an institute for its workpeople. This building was spared by the German, whether out of respect for social utility or because he did not think it worth destroying did not appear.

To look upon the ruins of Fives-Lille, it is difficult to imagine that these shattered halls and empty spaces were once the busy home of a great engineering industry. M. Kariatakis showed me photographs of the works as they were before the war. Here was an empty void where once had stood a bench eighty meters long, with batteries of machines for handling and piercing steel beams, which were passed along from end to end. There stood wonderful pneumatic and hydraulic steel planing and chiseling machines. There long rows of lathes. That great hall once glowed with the white heat of molten steel as it was poured from great pots and caldrons into molds cunningly shaped in black

sand. Here skilled workmen handled a great masterpiece of the company's construction—a turning bridge for Cairo, weighing 1,200 tons. Here 5,000 engineers and laborers applied engineering science to the service of the whole world, where now a few half-starved, decrepit workmen scrape among the old iron for the hand implements of their industry.

The ruin of Fives-Lille was a gigantic crime, inspired not by military necessity but by greed and by German envy of the mechanical genius of France. The sheds and machinery of Fives-Lille, like those of hundreds of other French factories, have been by this time set up—and are probably now at work—in Westphalia or some other part of industrial Germany. The intention of Germany is to use them as the engines of an economic war, no less ruthless than the military war, against the future of the industries of France.

UNENDING REQUISITIONS

The Germans did not seek to destroy Lille as a city; what they did was to destroy its key industries and to wring it like a wet cloth until they had squeezed the last franc, the last kilo of wool, of cotton and copper out of its wretched inhabitants.

Their system of exactions and requisitions was well calculated to break the spirit as well as the purse of this great, ancient, and rich city. Half of the population of Lille have been in prison. The Germans organized a system of spies and denunciations which encircled the inhabitants like a net. One well-known citizen told me that he had a collection of over 200 posters, all threatening the people with severe penalties, up to a fine of 30,000 francs or a long term of imprisonment, if they did not declare something or other. Independently of the requisitions, gangs of from fifteen to twenty men went from house to house searching for hidden goods. Once he had a mason in to make an alteration in his cellars. The Germans came to know of it at once, and his house was immediately visited and searched.

The requisitions were unending; when the Germans had picked the city clean in the name of the Military Governor of

Lille, they started all over again in the name of the Military Governor of Valenciennes.

James Walker, the British Consul at Lille, was deported to Germany. I have since met Mr. Walker in Paris; he is 58 years of age, and his health has been completely broken by the treatment he received. He told me that he was taken away from Lille on Nov. 17, 1914. His fellow Consuls protested, and the American Consul suggested to von Gaevernitz that he was taking upon himself a very heavy responsibility. "The Master covers all," von Gaevernitz replied.

Mr. Walker was first taken to Giesseli, in Hesse, where his hair was cropped close, and he was set to work to clean the windows and sweep the yard. He was also drilled in the military salute so that he might minister to the pride of the German officers. He was then taken to Wittenberg, where he saw Sir Roger Casement and some Irish priests from Rome vainly trying to induce the Irish prisoners to enlist against England. From there he went to Ruhleben and was ultimately exchanged, but not before the cold, the wet, and the hardships of his prison life had destroyed his health.

REMOVING WHOLE FACTORIES

Mr. Walker was one of the principal manufacturers of Lille. The family factory on the Rue Montebello is a great building covering 10,000 square meters, where he and his brother carried on the business of machinery manufacture founded by his father. They specialized in machinery for the treatment of flax, jute, and hemp, and although they had competitors in Belfast and in England, they had almost a monopoly on the Continent, for in this branch of engineering British are supreme. No doubt this monopoly had long been the envy of the Germans, and soon after the German occupation the factory was visited by a German, whom they recognized as an old customer. The mission of this German was to transport the machinery of the Walker mill to Germany—and this was done so thoroughly that there is now not a scrap remaining. All that is left of the factory are the bare walls. Be-

fore the war the industry employed 700 men, and Mr. Walker estimates the damages at \$1,400,000.

Another important British concern, the mills of the Fine Cotton Spinners' Association of Fives, running no less than 150,000 spindles, has been treated in much the same fashion. Two of their three large and modern mills were completely wrecked by order of the German military authorities, some of the British prisoners of war being forced against their will to help in breaking down the machines with large hammers. The third mill was only partially destroyed, probably through lack of time; but Mr. Forest, the manager, was sent into Germany.

I might mention also the important soap works at Haubourdin, near Lille, where the Germans took out every piece of machinery and transported it bodily to the branch of the factory at Mannheim—which they had confiscated and reconstituted as a German concern. All that was left of a plant valued at from \$450,000 to \$500,000 were three boilers, one broken ventilator, and an old cistern.

So with most, if not all, of the British concerns in Lille. Mr. Snowden's big jute mill on the Rue Montebello has been entirely gutted, the machinery which was not taken away being smashed. The German hatred of the English did not stop short at their businesses, but pursued them to their homes. They destroyed a factory belonging to W. H. Young in Lombiersart, and when Mr. Young died, probably of a broken heart, they looted his house and sent off his widow to Belgium. David Ritchie, a thread merchant of over 50 years of age, was forced to work as a prisoner behind the German lines. Mr. MacLaughlan's house in the Boulevard Tourcoing was reduced to ruins. I might multiply instances.

ROBBÉRY AT TOURCOING

The first factory I visited in Tourcoing belonged to a M. Robbé, who was a wool-spinner, and had 6,000 spindles. Some of the machines were mere masses of broken and rusting metal; the spindles of others were lying in heaps upon the floor. It seemed to me that little or nothing could be done with such machinery as remained. German soldiers had

been in occupation, and had wrenched the wood from the floors for their fires, so that in some of the rooms the framework of the machines rested on the naked rafters.

The caretaker, a pathetic figure in his blue blouse, wept as he showed us the damage they had done. The carding machines had possessed rollers of wood, and these rollers the soldiers had hacked to pieces for their fires. For thirty kilos of wood they had destroyed a machine worth thousands of francs. He had offered to carry in wood for them if they would only leave his beloved machines. For answer they had thrown him through the door into the yard. He told us his story piecemeal as we went from room to room of his factory. He had had four sons; three of them had been killed in the war; the fourth, a cripple, was cleaning up the yard. How was he crippled? The boche had tried to force him to work. The boy had tried to hide, and had crawled under a car on a little tramway line near by. His pursuers had deliberately drawn the car over his foot, and broken it. *Les sales boches!*

Such was the state of M. Robbé's factories that they will have to be renewed from floor—in some cases there are no floors left—to ceiling. And he had lost, besides, half a million kilos of wool which the Germans had taken from his store-houses.

SOME TYPICAL CASES

But to return. On the road between Tourcoing and Roubaix, overlooking the ruined locks of a large canal, stood a handsome factory with an English name on it—the name of Richardson. I thought I ought to see if Mr. Richardson had been given preferential treatment. It was a large place, which had employed 500 hands. It made draperies and stuffs for covering furniture, and treated wool and cotton from thread to cloth. The caretaker took us over the place. He showed us where the dynamos had been; they had all been taken away; all the belting and electric fixtures were gone; the leather had been stripped from the rollers of the carding machines; four carding machines, eight looms, two "ef-

filancheuses," and one "mélangeur" had been carried off to Germany, and all spare parts had been taken with them; from the washing machines all the copper had been taken, and he showed me the empty brick socket of an enormous copper vat that must have made bands for many a German shell. The Germans, being short of brushes, had stripped the brushing machines. As in the brewery, there were holes in the brick floor where the Germans had searched for hidden parts.

I also looked in upon a bleachery in Tourcoing. The owner told me he had lost, besides 45,000 kilos of copper and all belting, 100,000 kilos of iron machinery. The machines and parts had been wrenched from their places in the most brutal fashion. The whole interior was, in fact, almost a ruin. He told me that one of the many returns sent out by the Germans invited him to say how the requisitions had been made. Some of his neighbors had not dared to tell the truth, but he had not minced matters. He had received, in consequence, a visit from a German official, who had been compelled to admit by the evidence of his senses that the return was true.

This list of inquisitions begins to become wearisome. Let me end them with only one more, the cotton mills, the Motté Bossut cotton mills of Roubaix, a considerable factory of 50,000 spindles, which had employed 700 hands. The Germans had taken a 600 horse power dynamo, and had thrown all its complementary machinery down into the pit below. One great hall on the ground floor they had been forced to clear of all its looms "within 24 hours" in order to make room for a German garage. They had succeeded in doing it, and had stored and saved the looms.

SAVING THE SPINDLES

But while all this had happened on the ground floor the owners had contrived to save the spinning machinery above. They told us with justifiable pride something of how they had done it. They had contrived even to save the brass bearings of their spindles, and they had kept all these 50,000 spindles not only clean but lubricated during four years. How did they get the lubricating oil? The Ger-

mans were accustomed to send around requisitions for oil at frequent intervals and even took the oil out of the lubricating chambers, but the management had a secret store of several barrels with which they replenished their machinery. Besides the requisition parties, marauding bands of German soldiers used to rove around the factories in search of hidden belting and copper, and a watch had to be kept day and night. Once at least a band of these thieves was prevented from entering by the sturdy night watchman. The windows were covered with paper to prevent and chance of observation, and the management worked stealthily at this vital task of cleaning and oiling their carding and spinning machines.

It was no small thing to have done, I thought, as I looked over the two great halls full of beautiful machinery, all shining and spotless and covered with sheets of cotton. They had saved not only their machinery, they had helped to save their workmen and their town from universal ruin.

They told me that they had also saved their looms at their weaving factory at Lers. The Germans had requisitioned the factory to make sacks and had taken away 30,000 pieces from their storehouse. They had also taken their dynamos, their shafting, their belts, and their copper, but the looms remain. Orders had actually come for the looms to be taken away, but they were not taken—probably for want of time.

THE SUMMING UP

Let me now sum up the injuries done to the industries of Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing as far as I was able to judge from observation and reliable witnesses:

The chemical industry—The Kuhlmann factories were three in number, employing 1,200 men in all. Their buildings and machinery were worth about 25,000,000 francs, their raw material 15,000,000.

All the raw material was taken, and of the three factories, the Madeleine—covering twenty-five hectares of ground—the most important, was utterly destroyed.

The Loos factory was destined for de-

struction and 100 mines were planted all over it; but in the hurry of evacuation they were not exploded.

In the Wattrelos factory, all lead, copper, brass, and a good deal of wood were taken away. The place was set on fire when the Germans left, but the fire was put out before the building was entirely destroyed. I might add that the company's factory near Ghent has been burned.

The other chemical, soap, and bleaching works round Lille have been mostly destroyed.

Heavy engineering and machinery-making—all destroyed.

Linen and lisle thread industry—totally destroyed.

Sugar industry—all factories dismantled.

Brewing—all copper fittings taken away and considerably injured.

Woolen industry—all motors, all brass and copper and belting and many looms taken.

Cotton industry—all motors, all brass and copper, all belting taken away. A considerable amount of other destruction.

There are hardly any electric motors or engines left in and around these cities. The motors of the Lille Tramway Company were taken away.

All stocks of raw material and of manufactured goods were taken.

A great part of the capital of the mercantile community was extracted by fines and levies.

Many of the workmen, male and female, were taken as prisoners into Germany and many will never return.

Such is the state in which Germany has left the industries of this great Department of the North—once the busy hive of French industry.

RUINED COAL MINES

The industrial system of France is governed by its coal mines. In the main they lie close together, in the Pas de Calais, in the Bas-Boulonnais, and in the Department of the North—making before the war a rich and flourishing group of towns and villages, connected by a wonderful system of canals, railways, and stone-paved roads with the chief centres

of consumption. Compared with the German coalfields, those of Northern France were small, yet so well were they organized that the mining companies of the Pas de Calais competed successfully with the mines of the Ruhr and the Sarre. In the twenty years before the war the production of the Pas de Calais had more than doubled; in 1911 it amounted to 19,500,000 and in 1912 to 21,000,000 tons, an increase of 7 per cent. in a single year, and it supported a sturdy population of 94,000 workers, of whom 72,000 were miners and 22,000 worked above ground. The neighboring coalfield of the north was smaller; in 1912 it produced 7,000,000 tons and employed 33,000 workers, of whom 24,000 were miners.

This industry had its centre at Lens, a considerable town of between 30,000 and 40,000 inhabitants, pleasantly situated in its valley and handsomely built and famous for its gardens, in which the miners took a pride. It was known in Northern France as the garden city of the miners. When the Germans invaded this region they either occupied or brought under fire the richest of these mines and stopped at a blow the production of 20,000,000 tons a year, which is to say half the total coal production of France.

The directors and miners of the pits that remained in French hands worked like heroes, often under shellfire, to make good the loss. The working day was lengthened from eight to nine hours. In the space of two years they increased their production by 50 per cent., and some of them even doubled their pre-war records.

As for the greater part of the coalfields which remained in German hands, they have been systematically and deliberately destroyed. The destruction, it is important to remember, was not only the destruction of the battlefield—it was also the destruction of the economic war waged by the Germans upon French industry.

I went through the coalfields from Béthune to Douai, and so much was plain even to my cursory inspection. For example, at one pithead all the main supports of the superstructure had been

separately broken at the same height from the ground. It was quite evidently done not by shellfire, but by an expert wrecker. Outside the range of severe fire, I saw pitheads where the boilers, pumps, lifts, caldrons, power houses, and engines were reduced to a mass of inextricable ruin, and confusion.

The Germans have also been at pains to drown the mines and to fill up the shafts. Near Lens they turned the little River Souchez into the pits. For part of its course the river has disappeared and flows through the shafts and galleries of the mines.

At Courrières, according to the French official report, all the superstructure, buildings, and machinery have been destroyed by deliberate explosions. And, again, the report says: "*Dans le groupe du Pas-de-Calais, à Lens, a Liévin, ils ont détruit sans aucune nécessité militaire toutes les installations extérieures, chevalements, ateliers, machines, que l'action de l'artillerie avait épargnés. Les chaudières sont crevées ou emportées, les cités ouvrières anéanties, les mines elles-mêmes sont entièrement noyées.*" And so also in the eastern part of the coalfields, the region between Valenciennes and Douai, which for four years was in German occupation. There, at all events, the destruction was not by the accident of battle.

In the opinion of experts it will take two years before even the less damaged mines can begin to produce, and it will take five years to bring most of the pits into anything like working order. The work of sixty years has been destroyed in four—and cannot be restored without infinite labor and enormous expense.

Such is the state to which the Germans have reduced the French coal industry. They have done it deliberately as part of their economic war, so that German coal might have a market in France.

Consider the crime! The Germans deliberately destroyed the industry which gave to France its heat, and light, and power. They decreed that the hearths of a million homes should have no fire; they designed that factories should go idle for want of steam. It was within their purpose that a hundred thousand miners should be robbed of their living and that

Northern France should for a period of years be without the coal which is the life of her industry.

AMONG THE RUINS

Lens was once a happy and prosperous town. Now to go down into the valley of Lens is like a descent into hell. It is such destruction as none can imagine who has not seen it. In its outer fringes there are still the semblances of houses, roofless and shattered, but still recognizable as such. As you go down the hill chaos encroaches more and more upon order until at last not even walls remain nor the semblance even of streets—nothing, nothing at all but broken rubble and splintered timber in a welter of confusion and ruin.

At the bottom of the hill there is a small, open oval, clear of rubbish. It is what was the Grande Place of Lens, but it now looks like a piece of level ground at the bottom of a quarry. A piece of the wall of the Mairie—a massive, jagged tooth of masonry, fifteen feet or so in height—is the only recognizable thing in sight.

Here in this centre of ruin we came upon a group at once odd and tragic. It consisted of two horses and a cart, drawn up near a deep and narrow hole, like a shaft leading into a mine. A stout old French lady, all muffled up in woollen wraps, was kneeling beside the hole and taking various articles of wreckage out of the hands of some worker below. Sometimes a charred piece of furniture would be pushed up, sometimes an old illustrated magazine, and again the fragments of a handsome ormolu and alabaster clock. The lady I discovered to be the wife of a banker whose bank had been on the Grande Place of Lens; the hole led down into what were the cellars of the bank, where she had left her papers and worldly gear; she and her daughter had come in the cart to recover what remained, and at the moment of our passing the daughter was down in the hole scraping out the miserable remnants of their household goods.

Not even the cellars of Lens are left to the people of Lens. Not even the shafts and galleries of their mines are left to the miners of the Pas-de-Calais.

THE FORGES OF DOUAI

From ruined Lens we passed along a stone-paved road lined with shattered houses and pitheads systematically destroyed. It was a melancholy approach to what was once among the busiest and most beautiful towns in Northern France, the now deserted City of Douai. This town, as I need hardly say, had long been in German occupation. Before the Germans left it was evacuated of all its civil population, which amounted in time of peace to some 35,000 people. Long before the Germans left they had pillaged all the factories and carried away what suited them into Germany.

Before the war Douai had some flourishing industries. It had its breweries, its sugar refineries, its rope walks and spinning mills, its arsenal, and, chief of them all, its famous Forges de Douai—a great iron and steel works, which covered many acres on both sides of the railway station.

I went to see the Forges. I could not find them. It is true that on one side of the railway, the Aceries, that is to say, the steel works, are still recognizable as such, though broken to pieces. But upon the other side of the railway, where at one time the greater part of the Forges were situated, there is nothing now but the twisted skeletons of two great sheds and the huge cement platforms on which the main buildings once stood. These cement platforms are bare and clean, as if they had been swept. There is nothing left on them at all, but at the four corners are four high factory chimneys, which, I was told, the boche left as landmarks for his airplanes. They are now the melancholy headstones—the silent obelisks—of a great dead industry.

So it is with the Arsenal. So with all the industries of Douai. I walked down the deserted Boulevard de l'Industrie, which borders on the Scarpe Canal. It is a line of ruined factories. But their ruins were to me less impressive than those great empty platforms of the Forges, with their tall chimneys pointing heavenward as if in protest.

The fate of the Forges de Douai was the fate of the Forges of Anzin and Denain. These latter iron and steel

works were the greatest in France. They covered an area of five kilometers by two. They produced 350,000 tons a year, and they employed no less than 25,000 workmen. The story of their destruction has already been told in an interview with their Managing Director, M. Woerth. The Germans occupied Denain on Sept. 2, 1914. Shortly afterward a German officer visited the works, which had closed their doors. He asked M. Woerth to continue. "The Germans," he said, "would furnish them with ore, and if need be with engineers." M. Woerth refused. The request was repeated. It was followed by threats, but to no purpose. As in the Kuhlmann Works, in Lille, so here. No threat could induce the management to help in making war against their own country.

The next move in the German game was to place the Forges under sequestration. There was a great show of legality. Everything was inventoried and a sequestrator was installed in the person of a German manufacturer in uniform, one Captain Bocking. Gangs of German workmen appeared and began to fill railway cars with the iron ore and the finished products of the factory. Still everything was done with a laborious German etiquette. A hundred times a day the Director was called upon to assist in the play, to accept delivery of some new scrap of paper. When the whole stock of the factories had been removed, the gangs began upon the machinery. The molds for steel ingots were first taken away. The manager protested. "Do not trouble yourself," said the German, "we will only take the old ones."

"WAR AFTER THE WAR"

But the new molds followed the old. And then came the turn of the cylinders and the rolling machines—the very vitals of the factory. The Director protested again. "This," he said, "is to make war after the war. My 20,000 workmen will starve."

A pause. Bocking had gone to Metz for instruction. Now at Metz there sat the permanent board and the Commander in Chief of the Central Service for Destruction, composed of industrial mag-

nates, financiers, and lawyers. For, as I have said, the boche does everything in order.

Now, when Bocking got to Metz a disagreeable surprise awaited him. A German spy, named Dryer, an old foreman of the steel works of Homecourt, who was anxious to make a reputation, had reported to the council, denouncing Bocking as too mild in his treatment of the Forges. Bocking returned to Denain burning with the desire to prove his zeal. In less than a week all the remaining cylinders and flatting mills were packed in wagons and sent across the Rhine. In the meantime the Director and his workmen had hidden away the brass work of the factory. He was called before his persecutor and told that unless he revealed the hiding place his 20,000 workmen would be deported to Germany. It was a terrible moment. The Director called in his foreman to a council of war and they decided that to save their workmen they must give up their brass work.

PICKING THE BONES

Then came the turn of the machine tools. All the other machinery followed. Then the locomotives. Then the cars. And lastly, the rails. Nothing was left but the empty factory and forges and machines too heavy for transport.

But the end was not yet. The "B. H. D. K.," that is to say, the German service of Economic Destruction, a branch of the Central Office at Metz, had sent down upon Denain a terrible band of ruffians, led by a German foreman, themselves under the command of German officers, who could be trusted to pick a factory as clean as a bone, and Russian, English, and French prisoners of war, who worked under the threat of revolver and pistol. All that had been too heavy to carry away, great generators, massive furnaces, were broken with the hammer or destroyed with dynamite.

And now, last scene of all. On Oct. 13 the Germans were forced to leave Denain. At a hundred points they set fire to the buildings, and left a conflagration to be seen even in the suburbs of Cambrai. So perished an in-

dustry valued at 500,000,000 francs, the life and support of many thousands of families. It is perhaps the supreme example of Germany's conception of economic war.

RUINED FARMING DISTRICTS

A correspondent of The London Times who visited the devastated areas in France on behalf of the Agricultural Relief of Allies Committee wrote on Jan. 6, 1919:

The devastated region in the Somme department alone amounts to 477,000 acres. Of this about one-half is completely ruined by the digging of trenches and by bombardment, and will take years to restore; the remainder is capable of being brought back within a measurable time to a state of cultivation. The district extends from Bapaume to Montdidier and from beyond Péronne to within a few miles of Amiens. It would be quite useless to send live stock into any part of this area at the present time, for there are no means of subsistence for animal life and the farmers have no houses to live in. It is hoped, however, that by May arrangements will have been made to enable the farmers gradually to return to their farms in the more favored districts.

Moreuil, Montdidier, Roye, Péronne, Albert, Rosières, places once of considerable importance, are absolutely ruins; they are cast down as if by an earthquake, and the material of which they were built has been grueled into the earth. Occasionally a portion of a dwelling remains, and the inhabitant has struggled back and has stuck over the open window a piece of oiled paper through which a dim light penetrates. The authorities have the greatest difficulty in preventing these poor people from returning to wander disconsolately among the ruins. From the main roads I was taken by devious tracks which once were roads and was shown spots where villages used to be; the only indication now being a little heap of bricks. In these districts there is no sign of life, except the inevitable growth of weeds, which always run riot in the absence of labor, and, but for the life on the roads in the shape of transport wagons, Brit-

ish Tommies, German prisoners, and Chinese, the whole country is dead.

HOMES DESTROYED FOREVER

The one abiding impression obtained by traversing the battlefields is that of sameness—towns and villages leveled to the ground and fields churned up by shell-fire. Wherever the battle has raged in its fury the effect is the same, and the state of the country beggars description. To feel the full force the present must be contrasted with the past. A few months before the Germans advanced the country around Amiens was sown with wheat. The prospect was good. The farmers had been secure since the retreat of the enemy in 1916. They were industrious and hopeful that the tide had turned and that the worst was over. Suddenly, on March 21, 1918, the German advance began. It became an onrush, and in a few days the enemy was at the gate of Amiens. Then followed a *saute qui peut*. Old men, women, and children seized on as many family goods as they could and fled. Surely the enemy would be stayed; it was only a momentary success. They would return in a few days. It was not to be; they could never return to their homes as they knew them. Their farewell was a final parting, for not one

house was to remain in the villages they left. A few bricks might indicate where the village stood, but no more. Shell, bomb, and dynamite, the sure agents of destruction, would see to that. Those who have known and loved a home can imagine the anguish. No homecoming for the man at the wars. It can never be the same again. Old associations cannot be re-created. A wound had been inflicted which can never heal.

The trees which are so essential to the beauty of the country, which give shade to the traveler and rest the eye, could tell a tale; whole woods have been mown down; others stand up limbless and headless like scaffolding poles. All are pierced and torn. The landscape is waste and treeless. The earth must have looked like this when first it cooled and before there was life and all was void. The work of centuries has been erased, and a new creation is required. When the Cathedral of Chartres was destroyed in the twelfth century it was considered to be such a calamity for Christendom that pilgrims flocked from all sides to aid in its rebuilding. In the same way this great calamity which France has suffered for the common cause must not be left on her shoulders alone to bear.

Summary of War Damage in France

By GEORGE B. FORD

Head of Research Department of American Red Cross in France

[A REPORT PREPARED IN DECEMBER, 1918, AND APPROVED BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT]

THE devastated area in France covers approximately 6,000 square miles in all, about 2 per cent. of France, with a total population of nearly 2,000,000 people. This is about equal to the area of Connecticut and Rhode Island.

Belgium has suffered at least two billion dollars' worth of destruction in all and there are two billion in thefts and taxes imposed by Germany. Of this amount \$1,150,000,000 is the loss of machinery, tools, and stock, and 150,000 workmen have been taken into Germany.

On July 24, 1917, the French Ministry of Interior prepared a report on the destruction, as closely as it could be determined on the French side of the lines. This report was the successor of a first report which was made at the end of May, 1916. The later report covered 1,223 communes in 11 departments, whereas the earlier report covered 754 communes in 10 departments. This number does not include 450 communes which were still too near the front to make possible a complete survey. The total number of communes freed from the enemy was

499 by the advance of the Spring of 1917, thereby reducing the total number of communes resting in the hands of the Germans from 2,554 to 2,055, all of which are now freed. Most of these communes are strictly agricultural, so that the destruction hits particularly hard the richest farming area of France.

It was reckoned that in the 1,223 communes reported on a year ago the number of buildings damaged was 102,697, as compared with 46,263 in May, 1916, and of these the statistics show that in 1917 50,756 of the buildings were completely destroyed. Of these latter 18,824 were in the Somme district and 12,701 in the Aisne.

250,000 BUILDINGS ANNIHILATED

The hasty investigation since the signing of the armistice shows that the total destruction in France has been quintupled, with something like 500,000 buildings damaged, and at least 250,000 are completely destroyed.

The average cost of these buildings before the war was nearly \$5,000. As the present cost of a building is about two and a half times greater than it was then, we can say that the total destruction in France of the buildings alone is today over \$6,000,000,000, as estimated by the Government engineers, and \$4,000,000,000 as estimated by the architects and constructors' associations.

The total cost of repairing and replacing the used or destroyed public works is estimated at about \$2,000,000,000, of which \$200,000,000 is for the Nord Railroad, \$150,000,000 for the East, \$50,000,000 for the other railroads, \$200,000,000 to cover the rebuilding of the canals. The Nord alone has lost 1,731 bridges and 338 stations.

In 1917 there were 527 communes in which over half of the buildings had been completely destroyed. This number has probably reached today something like 1,500 communes in all. In 1917, in 400 communes, over 80 per cent. of the buildings had been damaged, and this proportion probably reaches today over 1,000 communes in all. In the Summer of 1917 they counted over 435 town halls destroyed, 600 schools, 472

churches, and 377 other public buildings, and it could be safely said today that there are over 1,200 churches destroyed and over 1,500 schools in all.

In 1917 they counted over 414 industrial plants destroyed, which supported 105,000 persons. It can probably be said today that there are in all over 1,000 plants destroyed, supporting at least 500,000 persons.

On Oct. 25, 1916, a report was made by the Minister of the Interior on the building materials destroyed which would have to be replaced. It was made for 790 communes, or for 41,223 buildings totally or approximately destroyed, and it comprises the destruction of 1,700,000 cubic yards of stone masonry, 600,000 cubic yards of brick masonry, 300,000 tons of lime, &c. The largest part of this destruction was in the Pas-de-Calais, and the next larger in the Meurthe-et-Moselle. It also showed the destruction of 200,000,000 feet of lumber and 33,000 tons of iron and steel, with 91,000,000 roof tiles destroyed and 32,000,000 roofing slates. It can be probably said today that the total destruction would be at least five times the amount given in the above figures.

The total cost of furniture and furnishings today, exclusive of machinery, amounts to at least \$2,225,000,000, as estimated by the Government engineers, and over \$1,000,000,000, as estimated by the insurance companies.

DAMAGE TO AGRICULTURE

According to a report made by the Office de Reconstitution Agricole to the Minister of Liberated Regions in May, 1918, it was reckoned that at that time about 8,000 square miles of French land was in the hands of the Germans. About three-quarters of that area is tillable, and a large proportion of the rest is good for hay or pasturage. This is some of the very best and richest agricultural land in Europe. The ten invaded and liberated departments produced in 1913 nearly \$400,000,000 worth of crops. The average yield of this land is about 32 bushels of wheat to the acre, and in the Meuse and Meurthe-et-Moselle it drops down to about 17 bushels to the acre. In the Marne this drops down to about

22 bushels to the acre. These regions constitute about 15 per cent. of the total tillable area of France, and the crops constitute about 20 per cent. of the total for France. The agricultural population here is about 807,000, or about 10 per cent. of the working agricultural population of France. It is estimated that 250,000 acres are now rendered uncultivable by the war.

In this region there are about 250,000 farms, of which 110,000 are less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres apiece, and about 100,000 between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 25 acres. About 26,000 are between 25 and 100 acres, and 5,500 farms are over 100 acres. A great many of these farms belong to people who are working in factories, which accounts for there being such a large proportion of small farms. This is reckoned unusual in France. The capital investment in these farms is reckoned at \$400,000,000, which would mean \$1,600 average per farm. When we remember that the value of farms has more than doubled in France since the beginning of the war, it would mean the total value of these farms today stands near \$800,000,000, without counting the value of the buildings.

To get an idea of the number of agricultural implements that would be needed a list was made by the Government engineer in charge which showed that to replace the losses they would need about 51,000 side-hill plows, 33,000 other plows, 56,000 cultivators, 30,000 mowing machines, 115,000 farm wagons, 88,000 harrows, 50,000 rollers, 48,000 hoes, 36,000 seed drills, 13,000 fertilizers, 16,000 beet extractors, 21,000 winnowing machines, 18,000 horse rakes, 32,000 reapers and binders, 53,000 root cutters, &c.

With regard to the cattle lost, it is hard to get at the exact figures, but in these ten departments in 1913 there were 607,000 horses, whereas in 1915 there were only 242,000, or a loss of 60 per cent. Of cattle of all kinds there was a loss of 850,000, or 55 per cent.; of pigs there was a loss of 380,000, or about 55 per cent. The loss in wheat amounts to about 1,300,000 acres. The loss in hay amounts to about 850,000 acres. The total damage to the soil to live

stock, to crops, to forests, tools, &c., is estimated at \$2,000,000,000.

DAMAGE TO INDUSTRY

Before the war France used 59,407,000 tons of coal a year, with an addition of 9,166,000 tons in coke equivalent. Of this France produced about 40,844,000 tons and 5,357,000 tons of coke equivalent, the rest coming from abroad. Of this amount 27,389,000 tons of coal came from the Valenciennes basin. In all something over 70 per cent. of the total coal supply of France came from the invaded regions, and very much the best quality of coal at that. About 140,000 men were employed in these mines in the invaded regions out of 203,208 coal miners for all of France. This means, with their families, three-quarters of a million people were largely dependent on the coal mines. Over \$200,000,000 of machinery has probably been destroyed.

Before the war the total production of iron ore in France was about 21,918,000 tons, of which 19,629,000 tons came from the Briey and Longwy basins in the Meurthe-et-Moselle; that is, 90 per cent. of the total, of which 16,500,000 tons were in the hands of the Germans. The miners who were employed in these invaded mines, with their families, represented at least 150,000 people out of employment. It is interesting to note that just before the war the total of iron production of the Germans was 35,941,000 tons. In the United States it was 63,000,000 tons. More than \$500,000,000 worth of machinery has been destroyed, including that of steel and iron mills.

Before the war 3,000,000 tons of steel were manufactured in the region invaded by Germany out of 4,686,000 tons for all of France, or nearly 65 per cent. The same percentage holds for cast iron.

The effect of the German invasion on other metals has not been so serious, as most of them come from the interior of France. The chemical industries have proportionally suffered very little from the invasion.

The textile industry consisted before the war of about 7,530,000 cotton spindles throughout France, of which 4,500,000 were in the region invaded by Germany and of which almost all were either

destroyed or carried into Germany. Out of 2,365,000 wool spindles, 2,000,000 were in the invaded districts. Out of 550,000 linen spindles, 500,000 were in the invaded regions and destroyed or removed. The same is true of looms, of which there were 140,000 in France, and over 81,000 of these were in the invaded districts. Over \$120,000,000 worth of machinery has been destroyed.

Of 210 sugar refineries in France, 140 have been destroyed by the Germans. Of 3,000 brush factories, more than 2,000 have been destroyed. Over \$25,000,000 worth of machinery has been destroyed. Electric power stations, totaling 300,000 kilowatts, have been destroyed with an equipment loss of \$50,000,000. Breweries have lost more than \$250,000,000 worth of machinery. In machine shops \$100,000,000 worth of machinery has been destroyed. In foundries, &c., \$60,000,000 worth of machinery is gone.

None of these damages include land or buildings. Furthermore, almost all of this machinery costs three times as much to replace today, so that it can safely be said that \$4,000,000,000 worth of machinery will be needed to replace that destroyed or carried away. This includes the stock and raw materials damaged and damage done to the mines.

Before the war France used to manufacture 3,000,000 tons of cement a year. In February, 1918, it was manufacturing only 400,000 tons.

FOREST LAND DESTROYED

The Service of Forests and Water Supply in the Department of Agriculture estimates that 1,200,000 acres of forest land have been destroyed by the enemy. Over half of this wooded area belongs to the Government or to the communes. There were about 750,000 acres of woodland within the war zone which have not been cared for since the beginning of the war and which have thereby lost a great deal of their value. We can count on the complete loss of at least one-quarter of this latter area, or a total loss of nearly 1,500,000 acres. Therefore, through the destruction by the Germans and destruction caused by battle, France has lost nearly 10 per cent. of its lumber and 6½ per cent. of its firewood.

The war has destroyed over 2,000,000,000 board-feet of lumber.

Before the war there were about 750,000 men in the various building trades, of whom about 75,000 were in the invaded departments. The total building done throughout France before the war in any one year was less than 7 per cent. of the building that would have to be done to replace what has been destroyed in the invaded departments. Therefore if no building were to be done elsewhere in France after the war, and reckoning that 500,000 of the building tradesmen of France would be available to work in the devastated regions, it would take over twenty years to rebuild.

The total damage in the north of France, including buildings, agriculture, industry, furniture, and public works, is estimated at 64,500,000,000 francs, or about \$13,000,000,000. These were the figures reported by M. Dubois for the Committee on Budget in the Chamber of Deputies, December, 1918. We have checked most of these figures from various official and private sources and believe they are somewhat high.

GOVERNMENTAL RELIEF

In general the Government has been giving immediate aid and relief to the returning refugees, clothing them, feeding them, giving them shelter and the necessary utensils and tools, and it has been helping them establish themselves permanently by giving them advances on the eventual indemnities which they will probably receive from the Government and helping them to construct the necessary buildings. More than \$34,000,000 has already been distributed for immediate aid out of a total credit of \$60,000,000 which was voted in December, 1918.

Up to March 31, 1918, \$28,000,000 had been advanced to returning refugees against their eventual indemnity to help them get started in re-establishing themselves. In addition, about \$10,000,000 has been advanced against industrial indemnity. In addition, \$1,200,000 has been advanced to the farmers to help them start recultivation.

To prepare for eventual reconstruction the technical service of reconstruction of the Government is organizing a bureau to purchase building material in advance. It is expected that a credit of \$60,000,000 will now be voted to this bureau, \$20,000,000 of this to be available to house and feed workmen in the devastated regions while they are starting reconstruction. Materials and housing will be allocated from the Government storage yards to co-operative groups of contractors according to priority rules.

On Dec. 13, 1918, there was created in the Ministry of War a special service for supplying and setting up temporary barracks wherever needed for workmen or refugees.

In July, 1918, the Ministry of Liberated Regions asked for bids from private manufacturers on 75 000 articles of furniture, including chairs, tables, cupboards, and wardrobes. At the end of August, 1918, it asked for bids on a lot of standardized doors and windows that could be made up ahead, including 20,000 exterior doors, 42,000 interior doors, 37,000 windows, and 25,000 shutters. Today it is rapidly increasing these orders, especially to the plants that until the signing of the armistice were manufacturing airplane parts.

With regard to the furniture indemnity law about to be voted, which provides for paying damages for furniture loss up to \$2,000, the decree was issued by the Ministry of Liberated Regions on Nov. 2, 1918, which allows the individual who has suffered loss of furniture to go out and buy his own furniture with an advance which will be made to him by the State of a sum which must not exceed \$200 for the head of the family and \$40 for each other member of the family. If the damaged person prefers, the State will provide him with the furniture out of a stock which it is accumulating.

RE-ESTABLISHING AGRICULTURE

In the Spring of 1917 1,000,000 acres of land were released, of which at least 500,000 were tillable. During 1917 the tractor service of the Department of Agriculture plowed 80,000 acres, the French

Army plowed 12,000 acres, and the British Army plowed about 50,000 acres. At that time the Government owned 800 tractors and had on order 1,500 more. It is probable that it has today over 1,500 tractors available, of which half are for the devastated regions.

During the Summer and Fall of 1917 the Office of Agricultural Reconstitution, through the special mission of the agricultural co-operative societies, founded 120 agricultural co-operatives in as many villages in the Somme, Aisne, and the Pas-de-Calais. These co-operatives include in some cases in their membership nearly all the farmers in the commune. Among them they had nearly 100,000 acres of land under cultivation, with a total membership of nearly 8,000 people. Virtually all of them were wiped out by the German advance in the Spring of 1918.

The mission is trying to reorganize them and to create other co-operatives to stock them with instruments, machines, and cattle, so that they can start operations as units on their return to their native villages. The \$20,000,000 which was recently voted for encouraging agriculture is being used in part for the founding of these co-operatives.

INDUSTRIAL RE-ESTABLISHMENT

To prepare for the enormous need of industrial materials, machinery, and tools, after the war, the Office of Industrial Reconstitution has been organized and has been composed half of officials and half of manufacturers. It has a credit of \$50,000,000 to arrange for buying up raw materials, machinery, tools, &c., and it arranges for ceding them to the damaged manufacturers. It is not equipped to buy and sell on a large scale itself, but has intrusted its credit to a private body organized for this purpose. This organization, formed in the first year of the war, is called L'Association Centrale pour la Reprise de l'Activité Industrielle dans les Regions Envahies. It is composed of most of the industrial people in the invaded departments. Its object is to employ every useful means for restoring the machinery and stocks destroyed. How-

ever, according to French law, the group cannot trade. It can only be a consulting and plan-forming body; therefore, it created the Comptoir Centrale d'Achats Industriels pour le Regions Envahies.

The latter has a capital of \$200,000. It has a council that controls all buying and selling and which authorizes the projects of each of the subcommittees for each kind of industry to buy and sell. Each project must also be approved by the Office of Reconstitution, which allocates the necessary funds from its credit. The Comptoir can buy directly for a private owner, or it can constitute general stocks for later use. The recipient can pay for tools or machinery in cash, or he can have the total deducted from his eventual State indemnity. Cash is not given to the manufacturer. This is to save his money by wholesale quantity buying and to prevent the unfortunate

effect on the market of a number of little buyers competing against each other.

At the present day these services have effected purchases to the amount of about \$12,000,000 and prepared orders for machinery, tools, and raw materials for more than \$40,000,000. These orders are especially assigned to the reconstitution of coal mines, of central electric power plants and of their distribution works, of general tools, &c. Other orders to a total amount of \$30,000,000 are now being prepared for textile industries, breweries, sugar mills, and for oil, grease, &c. Supplementary credit on new orders is expected in a short while. The Comptoir can, by its constitution, make no profits; merely its running expenses and 5 per cent. on its actually paid-in private capital.

Mr. Ford's report ends with a summary of reconstruction work by private individuals and organizations.

Epicedium

IN MEMORY OF AMERICA'S DEAD IN THE GREAT WAR

By J. CORSON MILLER

No more for them shall Evening's rose unclose,
Nor Dawn's emblazoned panoplies be spread;
Alike, the Rain's warm kiss and stabbing snows
Unminded, fall upon each hallowed head.
*But the Bugles, as they leap and wildly sing,
Rejoice, . . . remembering.*

The guns' mad music their young ears have known—
War's lullabies that moaned on Flanders Plain;
Tonight the Wind walks on them, still as stone,
Where they lie huddled close as riven grain.
*But the Drums, reverberating, proudly roll—
They love a Soldier's soul!*

With arms outflung, and eyes that laughed at Death,
They drank the wine of sacrifice and loss;
For them a life-time spanned a burning breath,
And Truth they visioned, clean of earthly dross.
*But the Fifes—can ye not hear their lusty shriek?
They know, and now they speak.*

The lazy drift of cloud, the noonday hum
Of vagrant bees, the lark's untrammelled song,
Shall gladden them no more, who now lie dumb
In Death's strange sleep, yet once were swift and strong.
*But the Bells that to all living listeners peal,
With joy their deeds reveal!*

They have given their lives, with bodies bruised and broken,
Upon their Country's altar they have bled;
They have left as priceless heritage a token
That Honor lives forever with the Dead.
*And the Bugles, as their clear notes rise and fall—
They answer, knowing all.*

[OFFICIAL]

HAIG'S VICTORY DISPATCH

Full Text of the British Field Marshal's Official Narrative of the Final Battles in France

[FIRST HALF]

The British War Office made public on Jan. 7, 1919, the dispatch of Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, Commander in Chief of the British Armies in France, describing the operations on the western front from the end of April, 1918, to the signing of the armistice on Nov. 11. It is a story of continuous victories and one of the most absorbing documents of the war. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE presents the complete text in two installments. The dispatch is addressed to the British Secretary of State for War and is as follows:

21st December, 1918.

MY LORD: I have the honor to submit the following report on the operations of the forces under my command since the successful termination of the great defensive battles on the Somme and Lys Rivers, which were described in my last dispatch.

(1) STATE OF BRITISH ARMIES

At the end of April, 1918, though the onrush of the German Armies had been stemmed for the time being, the situation on the western front, and particularly on the British portion of it, was still critical.

The immense weight of the enemy's first and heaviest onslaughts in March and April, and the unprecedented masses of men and material employed by him, had called for practically the whole strength of the British Armies to withstand them, and had left our forces greatly weakened. Although prompt steps had been taken by the home authorities to dispatch to France as rapidly as possible all reinforcements then available in England, as well as to recall considerable bodies of troops from other theatres of war, these reinforcements required time to arrive. A further period was needed to complete their training and equipment, to allow troops brought from abroad to become acclimatized, and to enable the new drafts to become assimilated within their various units.

Meanwhile it had become impossible to

maintain at an effective strength the full number of our divisions. At the beginning of May no less than eight divisions had been reduced to cadres and were temporarily written off altogether as fighting units. Two other divisions were holding positions in line with reduced cadres which it was not yet possible to bring up to establishment.

Arrangements had been made at the end of April to hand over to the French for employment on a quiet part of their front a further five divisions, comprising the Ninth Corps, (see Paragraph 10 below.) These had only just been reconstituted, and, being badly in need of rest and training, were not yet considered fit to hold an active sector. In return for these five British divisions, and in accordance with Marshal Foch's views, presently explained, regarding the enemy's intentions, the French had dispatched a number of their divisions to be held in reserve in rear of the British right and to strengthen the Flanders front.

There remained available for operations on the British front forty-five British infantry divisions, most of which were below establishment. Fully three-fourths of them had been heavily engaged in one or other of the enemy's offensives, if not in both. All were urgently in need of rest; they contained a large number of young, partially trained, and totally inexperienced recruits, and subordinate commanders had had little or

no opportunity to become acquainted with their men.

(2) POSITION OF ALLIES

The French, though as yet they had been less heavily engaged than ourselves, had none the less been obliged to employ a substantial proportion of their reserves in the fighting south of the Somme and north of the Lys.

The American Army, though rapidly increasing in numbers and efficiency, was not yet ready to take the field in sufficient strength materially to affect the situation. In short, the German attacks, though they had failed to break the allied line, had stretched the resources of the Allies to the uttermost; while before Amiens and Hazebrouck they had brought the enemy within a short distance of strategic points of great importance. In these circumstances, the possibility of an immediate renewal of the enemy's offensive could not but be viewed with grave anxiety.

(3) THE ENEMY'S POSITION

On the other hand, the enemy had undoubtedly paid heavily for his successes, and had used up a great number of divisions, among them his best and his most highly trained. The reserves which he was known to have had at his disposal at the beginning of the year would suffice, indeed, to make good his losses; but in his case, also, time would be required before the divisions which had suffered most would be fit to undertake a fresh attack against prepared positions.

At the commencement of the period under review the enemy was estimated to possess seventy-five divisions in reserve on the western front. It was evident that further German attacks could not long be postponed if the enemy was to achieve a decision before the weight of the American Army was thrown into the scale.

(4) THE ENEMY'S INTENTIONS

At this period, early in May, the Allied High Command repeatedly expressed the opinion that the enemy would renew his attack on a large scale on the front Arras-Amiens-Montdidier. The strategic results to be obtained by the capture of Amiens, the separation of the French and British Armies, and an advance toward the sea along the Valley of the Somme, were very great, and might well have proved decisive. The enemy's opening offensive had already brought him within a measurable distance of success in this direction, and had carried his armies through practically the whole of our organized lines of defense.

Since the conclusion of his attacks on this front in the first week of April, the enemy had had a considerable period of time in

which to re-establish communications through the devastated area, and make his preparations for a fresh advance. This period of delay had also afforded us some opportunity, of which full use was being made with all the means and resources in our power, to lay out new trench lines and reconstruct such old systems as already existed. This work, however, was still far from complete, and our defenses could not be compared with those which the enemy had already overrun.

(5) POLICY OF BRITISH ARMIES

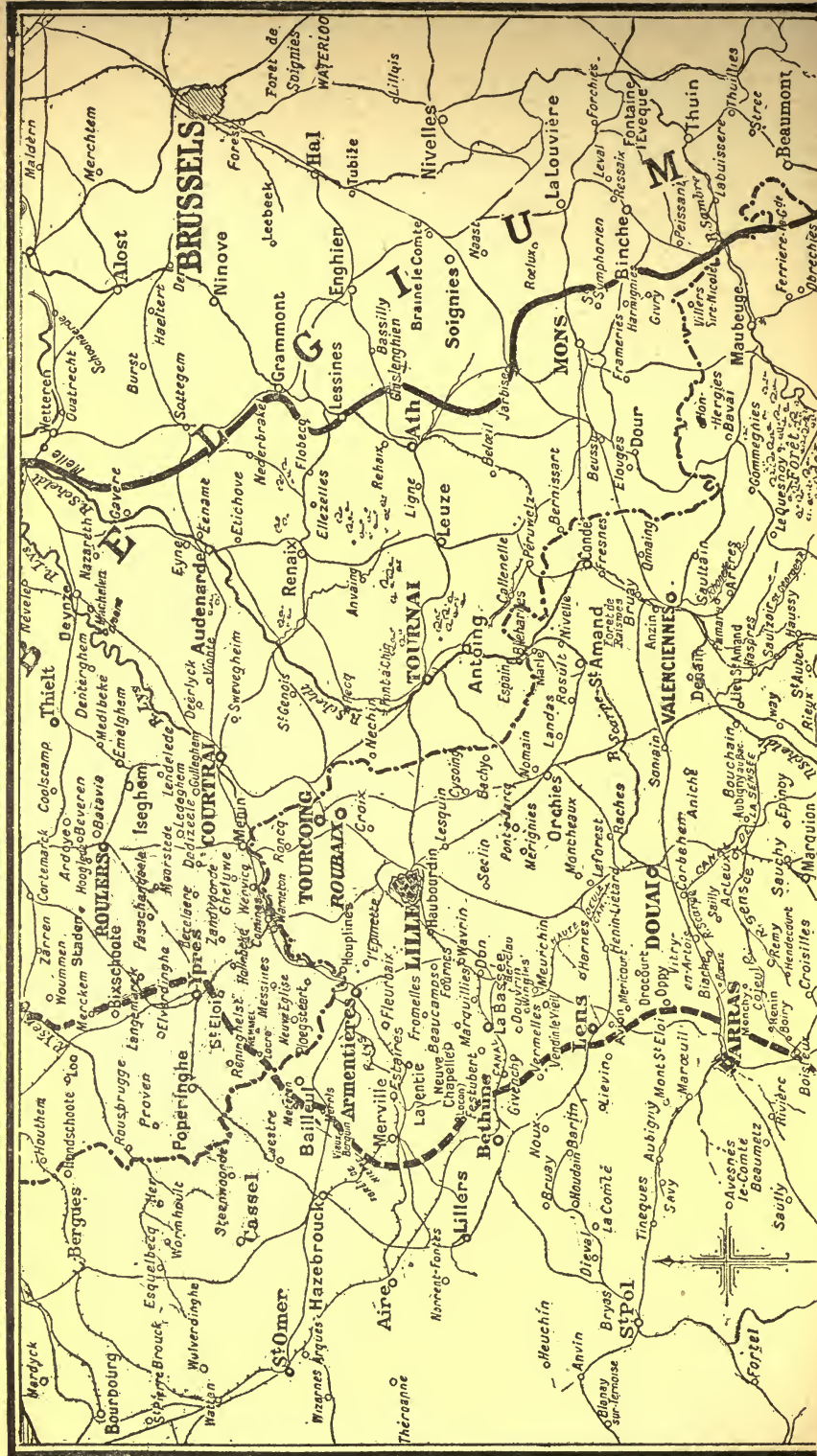
In short, the enemy still possessed a sufficient superiority of force to retain the initiative, and it was known that he would be compelled to act within a comparatively limited time if he were to turn his superiority to account before it passed from him. These were the two main factors which had to be taken into consideration when deciding the policy of the British Armies during the late Spring and early Summer. The common object of the French and ourselves was to tide over the period which must still elapse until the growth of the American Armies and the arrival of allied reinforcements placed the opposing forces once more on a footing of equality.

The situation was an anxious one, but it was confidently expected that, if all measures open to us were undertaken promptly and executed with the energy and zeal demanded by the occasion, the enemy's future assaults would be met and overthrown as those had been which he had already made. If the Allies could preserve their front unbroken until August at the latest there was every hope that during the later portion of the year they would be able to regain the initiative, and pass to the offensive in their turn.

The period under review accordingly divides itself naturally into two main sections. During the first, the policy governing the action of the forces under my command was the maintenance of an active defense, whereby our line might be preserved unbroken, while every opportunity was taken to rest and train our sorely tried divisions. As the strength and efficiency of our divisions were restored, minor operations of gradually increasing scope, but with limited objectives, could be carried out with greater frequency. These would serve to keep alive the fighting spirit of the troops, and could be used to effect local improvements in our line, where such improvement was considered necessary either for defense or for attack.

The second period arrived when the swelling list of German casualties and the steady influx of American and allied reinforcements had produced an equilibrium of strength between the opposing forces. The complete success of the allied counterattack on the 18th of July near Soissons marked this turning point in the year's campaign, and commenced the second phase of the allied operations. Thereafter the initiative lay with the

Scene of the Final British Victories in France





THE BROKEN LINE INDICATES THE BATTLEFRONT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE MAIN BRITISH OFFENSIVE, AND THE SOLID BLACK LINE SHOWS WHERE THE GERMANS HAD BEEN DRIVEN TO WHEN THE ARMISTICE WAS SIGNED

Allies, and the growing superiority of their forces enabled them to roll back the tide of invasion with ever-increasing swiftness. At this point and in this connection I should like to pay my personal tribute to the foresight and determination of the French Marshal in whose hands the co-ordination of the action of the allied armies was placed.

PART I.

THE PERIOD OF ACTIVE DEFENSE

(6) REORGANIZATION

During the period following the breakdown of the German attacks on the Lys the military centre of gravity moved to the south, and, as regards the British front, the months of May, June, and July, though full of incidents of a minor character, in which the different troops concerned showed great gallantry and skill, can be dealt with comparatively shortly.

At the outset of this period, the most pressing need after that of filling up the gaps in our divisions was to close the breaches which the German advances had made in our successive defensive systems. This work had been begun, indeed, in the early days of the Somme offensive, but much still remained to be accomplished before our positions could be regarded as reasonably secure.

Further, the depth to which the enemy had penetrated in the Somme and Lys Valleys had disrupted important lateral lines of railway and had created a situation of extreme gravity with regard to the maintenance of communications in Northern France. At Amiens, Béthune, and Hazebrouck, much-used railway junctions had been brought under the effective fire of the enemy's guns, while the railway centre at St. Pol was threatened. To relieve the situation a comprehensive program of railway construction was undertaken by us in conjunction with the French, so as to provide three separate routes for north and south traffic, which should be independent of Amiens. This involved extensive doublings and quadruplings of existing railways and the building of new lines, for which some 200 miles of broad-gauge track was laid during the period April-July.

All these various constructional needs threw an immense amount of work upon the staff of the departments concerned, and called for the employment of great quantities of skilled and unskilled labor. All available resources of men and material were concentrated upon satisfying them, and by the time that the great change in the general military situation had taken place the essential part had been satisfactorily accomplished. In particular, a complete series of new defensive lines had been built, involving the digging of 5,000 miles of trench.

(7) MINOR OPERATIONS IN MAY AND JUNE

While intense activity prevailed behind the lines, our fighting troops were not idle. Full use was made of harassing tactics by all arms, and in the Lys salient in particular the German troops crowded into this exposed area were continually subjected to a most effective system of artillery harassing fire.

The losses suffered by the enemy in the Lys sector and the destruction caused to his artillery and material were very great. Convincing evidence of this was obtained from prisoners' statements, and was furnished also by the extensive German graveyards afterward found in this area, by the condition of the roads, and the litter of all kinds found near them and near battery positions and dumps. These tactics undoubtedly postponed the renewal of the German offensive on this front until the allied counteroffensive made it impossible.

The chief centres of infantry activity during this period were on the fronts of the Fourth and Second Armies. Early in May small operations improved our line about Morlancourt. These were followed on the 19th of May by an admirably executed operation, in which the 2d Australian Division (Major Gen. N. M. Smyth) took Ville-sur-Ancrè, with 400 prisoners. Later, on June 10, the same division, in a highly successful night attack on a front of about two miles south of Morlancourt, effected a substantial advance, taking over 300 prisoners.

On the Second Army front, Loere Hospice and the small woods southeast of Dickebusch Lake, known as Scottish and Ridge Woods, were the scenes of very lively fighting, in which French forces took part. A successful minor operation by the French on May 20 resulted in a valuable gain of ground in the neighborhood of Loere Hospice and the capture of over 500 prisoners, though the Hospice itself was not secured by us till the first week in July. Ridge Wood changed hands several times prior to its final capture, with 350 prisoners, by the 6th Division (Major Gen. Sir T. O. Marden) and 33d Division (Major Gen. Sir R. J. Pinney) on July 14.

A material improvement in our line was also effected by the capture, on June 3, of the small hill known as the Mont de Merris, west of Merris village, with nearly 300 prisoners, by the 1st Australian Division (Major Gen. Sir H. B. Walker) and troops of the 29th Division, (Major Gen. D. E. Cayley.) At other points there was much fighting of a minor character, notably about Aveluy Wood and in the neighborhood of the Lawe River and Merville.

(8) OPERATIONS IN JULY—HAMEL CAPTURED

Two months of comparative quiet worked a great change in the condition of the British armies. The drafts sent out from England had largely been absorbed, many reinforce-

ments from abroad had already arrived, and the number of our effective infantry divisions had risen from forty-five to fifty-two. In artillery we were stronger than we had ever been.

Though the general situation did not warrant the adoption of a definitely offensive policy, in view of the concentration of the bulk of the enemy's large reserves in Prince Rupprecht's group of armies opposite the British front, I now felt strong enough to undertake operations of a somewhat larger scope, which would at once strengthen our position for defense and fit in with future schemes.

The first of these, carried out at the end of June, east of Nieppe Forest, aimed at establishing our main line of resistance further in advance of the wooded ground, which was constantly being shelled with gas. The assault, launched at 6 A. M., on the 28th of June by the 5th Division (Major Gen. R. B. Stephens) and 31st Division, (Major Gen. J. Campbell,) without preliminary bombardment, took the enemy by surprise, and was completely successful; the German defenses west of the Plate Becque stream, on a front of 6,000 yards from Pont Tournant to La Becque, being captured, together with some 450 prisoners.

A necessary preliminary to any operation to disengage Amiens was the recapture of our old positions east of Hamel and Vaire Wood and the clearing of the Villers Bretonneux Plateau. This was accomplished on July 4 by the Australian Corps, (Lieut. Gen. Sir J. Monash,) with the aid of four companies of the 33d American Division and sixty tanks.

The most striking characteristic of the attack was the close and effective co-operation between tanks and infantry. Moving up and down behind the barrage, the tanks either killed the enemy or forced him to take shelter in dugouts, where he became an easy prey to the infantry. Hamel was taken by envelopment from the flanks and rear, the enemy was driven from Vaire Wood, and at the end of the day our troops had gained all their objectives and over 1,500 prisoners.

Our success at Hamel was followed by a series of admirably executed operations north of the Lys.

On July 11 troops of the 1st Australian Division gave a striking example of their ascendancy over the German infantry opposite to them. At 11 A. M. on this day four men went out on patrol near Merris and returned with between thirty and forty prisoners. Other patrols, pushed forward both by the 1st Australian and 31st Divisions, secured in two days no fewer than 223 prisoners and established a number of new posts well in advance of our former line.

Surprise played an important part in the successful attack by which the 9th Division (Major Gen. H. H. Tudor) took Meteren on July 19, with some 350 prisoners. The village stood on high ground close to our line,

and its capture provided greater depth to our defense.

For some time prior to this attack gas was discharged, in conjunction with a smoke and high-explosive shell bombardment. When at 7:55 A. M. on July 19 our infantry advanced behind a barrage of smoke and high explosive, the enemy was expecting only a gas discharge, and had in many cases put on gas masks.

The capture of Meteren was followed shortly after midnight on July 28-29 by a boldly conceived operation by the 1st Australian Division, which resulted in the capture of Merris, with 187 prisoners.

(9) ON THE FRENCH FRONT

By the end of July the reconstitution of the British armies had been completed. The spirit of the men was as high as ever, and the success of their various local operations had had a good effect. I had once more at my command an effective striking force, capable of taking the offensive with every hope of success when the proper moment should arrive.

Meanwhile, events of the most critical importance had been taking place on the French front.

The British General Staff had always held the opinion that before the resumption of the enemy's main offensive on the Arras-Amiens-Montdidier front the attack on our northern flank in Flanders would be followed by a similar attack on the southern flank of the allied armies. This view had proved correct. Though probably delayed by his unexpectedly extensive commitments in the Lys battle, at the end of May the enemy had developed his plan of operations on the lines which we had foreseen, and had launched a violent surprise attack on the Aisne front. In this attack certain British divisions which had been sent there to rest became involved from the outset.

(10) OPERATIONS OF THE NINTH CORPS IN THE AISNE BATTLE

At the end of April and early in May the 8th, 21st, 25th, and 50th Divisions, subsequently reinforced by the 19th Division, and constituting the 9th British Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir A. Hamilton-Gordon, had been placed at Marshal Foch's disposal, as noted above. These divisions had been dispatched by him to the French Sixth Army, to take the place of certain French divisions concentrated behind Amiens.

Of these divisions, the 19th, (Major Gen. G. D. Jeffreys,) 21st, (Major Gen. D. G. M. Campbell,) 25th, (Major Gen. Sir E. G. Bainbridge,) and 50th Divisions, (Major Gen. H. C. Jackson,) had taken part in both the Somme battle and the battle of the Lys. The 8th Division (Major Gen. W. C. G. Heneker) had been involved south of the Somme in some of the heaviest fighting of the year, and had behaved with distinguished gallantry. All these divisions had but lately been filled

up with young drafts, and, despite their high spirit and gallant record, were in no condition to take part in major operations until they had had several weeks' rest. During the first fortnight in May three of these divisions—the 21st, 8th, and 50th—were put into line on a front of about fifteen miles between Bermicourt and Bouconville, northwest of Rheims.

About May 26 prisoners taken by the French gave the first definite information regarding the great offensive launched by the enemy on the Aisne front on the morning of May 27. This attack, delivered by twenty-eight German divisions, supported by tanks, was directed against the Sixth French Army on a front of about thirty-five miles northwest of Rheims. It involved the whole of the 9th British Corps, as well as the French corps holding the Chemin des Dames on the left of the British sector.

Preceded by an artillery and trench mortar bombardment of great intensity, the German infantry broke into the battle positions of the allied divisions. The enemy gained a footing on the Chemin des Dames at an early hour, and, pressing on in the centre of his attack in overwhelming strength, forced the line of the Aisne on a wide front. By nightfall he had crossed the Vesle west of Fismes, and in the British sector, after very heavy and determined fighting, had compelled the left and centre of the 9th Corps, now reinforced by the 25th Division, to swing back to a position facing west and northwest between the Aisne and the Vesle.

On May 28 and following days the enemy launched fresh attacks in great force on the whole battlefield, pressing back our allies to west of Soissons and south of Fère en Tardenois. The 9th British Corps, greatly reduced in numbers by severe and incessant fighting, was forced to withdraw across the Vesle, and thence gradually pressed back in a southeasterly direction between the Vesle and the Ardre. During the night of May 28-29 the 19th Division was brought up in buses, and put in to fill a gap in the French line across the Ardre Valley, deploying with great skill and steadiness. By the evening of May 30, at which date in the centre of his attack the enemy had reached the Marne, the rate of his advance in the British sector had begun to slacken.

During the next few days, however, fighting was still intense. On the southern and western portions of the battlefield the enemy made deep progress, gaining the bank of the Marne from Dormans to Châteaui-Thierry, and advancing astride the Aisne to the outskirts of the Villers Cotterets Forest, and across the high ground northeast of Attichy. On the eastern flank of the salient created by the enemy's advance, the British forces, at this date under command of the French Fifth Army, withdrew gradually to the line Aubilly-Chembrecy-Boujacourt, where they were able to consolidate. Though the enemy's attacks continued persistently

for some time longer, and on June 6 culminated in two determined attempts upon the important position known as the Montagne de Bligny, which commands the valley of the Ardre, all these attacks were most gallantly repulsed, and the enemy's advance definitely stayed.

Throughout this long period of incessant fighting against greatly superior numbers the behavior of all arms of the British forces engaged was magnificent. What they achieved is best described in the words of the French General under whose orders they came, who wrote of them: "They have enabled us to establish a barrier against which the hostile waves have beaten and shattered themselves. This none of the French who witnessed it will ever forget."

(11) THE SECOND BATTLE OF THE MARNE

While our troops were still engaged in the fighting southwest of Rheims a fresh battle had broken out on June 7 on the French front between Noyon and Montdidier. In this case the enemy did not succeed in effecting a surprise, but the strain thrown upon the French armies by these two attacks was considerable, and the situation was such that the German command might reasonably be expected to endeavor to develop it with all the means at their disposal.

While, on the one hand, at the beginning of July it was known that Prince Rupprecht's reserve group of divisions about Douai and Valenciennes were still intact and opposite the British front, on the other hand, for a number of reasons it was believed at French General Headquarters that the Germans were about to attack in strength east and west of Rheims. It was apprehended, indeed, that the attack might spread even further east into the Argonne and might endanger a wide sector of the French position. Marshal Foch accordingly withdrew the whole of the French forces, some eight divisions, from Flanders, and transferred them southward to the French front. In addition he asked that four British divisions might be moved, two of them to areas south of the Somme and two to positions astride that river, so as to insure the connection between the French and British Armies about Amiens and to enable him to move four French divisions further east to his right flank. After carefully weighing the situation, I agreed to this proposal, and immediate orders were given for the movement.

On July 13 a further request was received from Marshal Foch that these four British divisions might be placed unreservedly at his disposal and that four other British divisions might be dispatched to take their places behind the junction of the allied armies. This request was also agreed to, and the 15th, 34th, 51st, and 62d British Divisions, constituting the 22d Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir A. Godley, were accordingly sent down to the French front.

Meanwhile, on July 15, the enemy had launched his expected attack east and south-west of Rheims, and after making some progress at first and effecting the passage of the Marne, was held by the French, American, and Italian forces on those fronts. On July 18 Marshal Foch launched the great counter-offensive which he had long been preparing on the front between Château-Thierry and Soissons, supporting this successful stroke by vigorous attacks also on other parts of the German salient. In this fighting the 22d British Corps speedily became involved.

(12) OPERATIONS BY THE 22D CORPS

On July 20 the 51st and 62d Divisions of the 22d Corps, under command of Major Gens. G. T. C. Carter-Campbell and W. P. Braithwaite, respectively, attacked in conjunction with the French on the eastern side of the salient southwest of Rheims. The sector assigned to the British troops covered a front of 8,000 yards astride the Ardre River, and consisted of an open valley bottom, with steep wooded slopes on either side. Both valley and slopes were studded with villages and hamlets, which were for the most part intact and afforded excellent cover to the enemy.

On this front our troops were engaged for a period of ten days in continuous fighting of a most difficult and trying nature. Throughout this period steady progress was made, in the face of vigorous and determined resistance. Marfaux was taken on July 23, and on July 28 British troops retook the Montagne de Bligny, which other British troops had defended with so much gallantry and success two months previously. In these operations, throughout which French artillery and tanks rendered invaluable assistance, the 51st and 62d Divisions took 1,200 prisoners from seven different German divisions and successfully completed an advance of over four miles.

Meanwhile, on July 23, the 15th and 34th Divisions, under command of Major Gens. H. L. Reed and C. L. Nicholson, respectively, attacked on the west side of the salient in the neighborhood of Beryz-le-Sec and Parcy-Tigny, southwest of Soissons. These divisions also had many days of heavy and continuous fighting on different parts of this front until withdrawn during the first days of August, and acquitted themselves very gallantly side by side with their French comrades in arms. Many prisoners were taken by both divisions, and the 15th Division in particular earned distinction in the fierce struggle for Buancy.

PART II.

THE PERIOD OF OFFENSIVE ACTION

(13) SITUATION AT END OF JULY

The definite collapse of the ambitious offensive launched by the enemy on July 15

and the striking success of the allied counter-offensive south of the Aisne effected a complete change in the whole military situation. The German Army had made its effort, and had failed. The period of its maximum strength had been passed, and the bulk of the reserves accumulated during the Winter had been used up. On the other hand, the position of the Allies in regard to reserves had greatly improved. The fresh troops made available during the late Spring and early Summer had been incorporated and trained. The British Army was ready to take the offensive; while the American Army was growing rapidly, and had already given convincing proof of the high fighting quality of its soldiers.

At a conference held on July 23, when the success of the attack of July 18 was well assured, the methods by which the advantage already gained could be extended were discussed in detail. The allied Commander in Chief asked that the British, French, and American Armies should each prepare plans for local offensives, to be taken in hand as soon as possible, with certain definite objectives of a limited nature. These objectives on the British front were the disengagement of Amiens and the freeing of the Paris-Amiens railway by an attack on the Albert-Montdidier front. The rôle of the French and American Armies was to free other strategic railways by operations further south and east.

In addition to the disengagement of Amiens, the situation on the British front presented strong arguments in favor of certain other schemes, such as the disengagement of Hazebrouck by the recapture of Kemmel Hill, combined with an operation in the direction of La Bassée. If successful, such an operation would have the effect of improving our position at Ypres and Calais. The Lys salient would be reduced, and the safety of the Bruay coal mines become less threatened.

These different operations had already been the subject of correspondence between Marshal Foch and myself, as well as of the earnest consideration of the British General Staff. Ultimately, I had come to the conclusion that of the tasks assigned to the British forces the operation east of Amiens should take precedence as being the most important and the most likely to give large results.

It would depend upon the nature of the success which might be obtained in these different allied operations whether they could be more fully exploited before Winter set in. It was subsequently arranged that attacks would be pressed in a converging direction towards Mézières by the French and American Armies, while at the same time the British armies, attacking toward the line St. Quentin-Cambrai, would strike directly at the vital lateral communications running through Maubeuge to Hirson and Mézières, by which alone the German forces

on the Champagne front could be supplied and maintained.

As a secondary result of the advance of the British armies toward the all-important railway centres about Maubeuge, the group of German armies in Flanders would find their communications threatened from the south, and any operations which it might be possible for the Allies to undertake in that theatre at a later date would be powerfully assisted thereby. It was obviously of vital importance to the enemy to maintain intact his front opposite St. Quentin and Cambrai, and for this purpose he depended on the great fortified zone known as the Hindenburg line.

(14) GENERAL SCHEME OF BRITISH OPERATIONS

The brilliant success of the Amiens attack was the prelude to a great series of battles, in which, throughout three months of continuous fighting, the British armies advanced without a check from one victory to another. The progress of this mighty conflict divides itself into certain stages, which themselves are grouped into two well-defined phases.

(A) During the first part of the struggle the enemy sought to defend himself in the deep belt of prepared positions and successive trench systems which extended from the springtide of the German advance, about Albert and Villers Bretonneux to the Hindenburg line between St. Quentin and the Scarpe. From these positions, scene of the stubborn battles of the two preceding years, the German armies were forced back step by step by a succession of methodical attack which culminated in the breaking through of the Hindenburg line defenses.

(B) Thereafter, during the second period of the struggle, our troops were operating in practically open country against an enemy who endeavored to stand, on such semi-prepared or natural defensive positions as remained to him, for a period long enough to enable him to organize his retreat and avoid overwhelming disaster. The final stages of our operations, therefore, are concerned with the breaking of the enemy's resistance on these lines.

Throughout this latter period, the violence of our assaults and the rapidity of our advance toward the enemy's vital centres of communication about Maubeuge threatened to cut the main avenue of escape for the German forces opposite the French and American Armies. The position of the German armies in Flanders, themselves unable to withstand the attacks of the Allied forces operating under the King of the Belgians, was equally endangered by our progress behind their left flank. To the south and north of the area in which our victorious armies were driving forward through his weakening defense, the enemy was compelled to execute hasty withdrawals from wide tracts of territory.

The second phase had already reached its legitimate conclusion when the signing of the armistice put an end to hostilities. Finally defeated in the great battles of the 1st and 4th of November and utterly without reserves, the enemy at that date was falling back without coherent plan in widespread disorder and confusion.

FIRST PHASE

FIGHTING IN INTRENCHED POSITIONS

Aug. 8-12

(15) PLAN OF OPERATIONS

The plan of the Amiens operation was to strike in an easterly and southeasterly direction, using the Somme River to cover the left flank of our advance, with the object in the first place of gaining the line of the Amiens outer defenses between Le Quesnel and Mericourt sur Somme, thereby freeing the main Paris-Amiens railway. Having gained the Amiens defense line, the attack was to proceed without delay toward Roye, and to include the capture as soon as possible of the important railway junction of Chaulnes, thereby cutting the communications of the German forces in the Lassigny and Montdidier areas. If all went well, French troops would be in readiness to co-operate by pressing the enemy southeast of Montdidier.

Preliminary instructions to prepare to attack east of Amiens at an early date had been given to the Fourth Army commander, General Rawlinson, on July 13, and on July 28 the French First Army, under command of General Debeney, was placed by Marshal Foch under my orders for this operation. Further to strengthen my attack, I decided to reinforce the British Fourth Army with the Canadian Corps, and also with the two British divisions which were then held in readiness astride the Somme. In order to deceive the enemy and to insure the maximum effect of a surprise attack, elaborate precautions were taken to mislead him as to our intentions and to conceal our real purpose.

Instructions of a detailed character were issued to the formations concerned, calculated to make it appear that a British attack in Flanders was imminent. Canadian battalions were put into line on the Kemmel front, where they were identified by the enemy. Corps headquarters were prepared, and casualty clearing stations were erected in conspicuous positions in this area. Great activity was maintained also by our wireless stations on the First Army front, and arrangements were made to give the impression that a great concentration of tanks was taking place in the St. Pol area. Training operations, in which infantry and tanks co-operated, were carried out in this neighborhood on days on which the enemy's long-distance

reconnaissance and photographic machines were likely to be at work behind our lines.

The rumor that the British were about to undertake a large and important operation on the northern front quickly spread. In the course of our subsequent advances convincing evidence was obtained that these different measures had had the desired effect, and that the enemy was momentarily expecting to be attacked in strength in Flanders.

Meanwhile, the final details for the combined British and French attack had been arranged early in August, and the date for the assault fixed for the morning of the 8th. The front held by the Australian Corps on the right of the British line was extended southward to include the Amiens-Roye road, and the Canadian Corps was moved into position by night behind this front. The assembly of tanks and of the Cavalry Corps was postponed until the last moment and carried out as secretly as possible.

Partly as the result of successful minor operations of the Allies, and partly in consequence of the change in the general situation, the enemy during the first days of August withdrew from the positions still held by him west of the Avre and Ancre Rivers. These movements did not affect our plans, but, on the other hand, a strong local attack launched by the enemy on Aug. 6 south of Morlancourt led to severe fighting, and undoubtedly rendered the task of the 3d Corps more difficult.

(16) THE TROOPS EMPLOYED

The front of attack of General Rawlinson's Fourth Army extended for a distance of over eleven miles from just south of the Amiens-Roye road to Morlancourt exclusively. The troops employed were: On the right the Canadian Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir A. W. Currie, with the 3d, 1st, and 2d Canadian Divisions in line, and the 4th Canadian Division in close support; in the centre the Australian Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir J. Monash, with the 2d and 3d Australian Divisions in line and the 5th and 4th Australian Divisions in support; on the left, north of the Somme, the 3d Corps, under the command of Lieut. Gen. Sir R. H. K. Butler, with the 58th and 18th Divisions in line and the 12th Division in support.

The attack of the French First Army, under General Debeney, was timed to take place about an hour later than the opening of the British assault, and was delivered on a front between four and five miles between Moreuil inclusive and the British right. As the allied troops made progress the right of the French attack was to be gradually extended southward until the southern flank of the allied battle front rested on Braches.

Behind the British front the British Cavalry Corps, consisting of three cavalry divisions under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir C. T. McM. Kavanagh, was concentrated at zero hour east of Amiens. A special mobile force

of two motor machine-gun brigades and a Canadian cyclist battalion, under command of Brig. Gen. Brutinel, had orders to exploit success along the lines of the Amiens-Roye road.

(17) THE BATTLE OPENED

At 4:20 A. M. on Aug. 8th our massed artillery opened intense fire on the whole front of attack, completely crushing the enemy's batteries, some of which never succeeded in coming into action. Simultaneously, British infantry and tanks advanced to the assault. The enemy was taken completely by surprise, and under cover of a heavy ground mist our first objectives, on the line Demuin, Marcelcave, Cerisy, south of Morlancourt, were gained rapidly.

After a halt of two hours on this line by the leading troops, infantry, cavalry, and light tanks passed through and continued the advance, the different arms working in co-operation in the most admirable manner. At the close of the day's operations our troops had completed an advance of between six and seven miles. The Amiens outer defense line, including the villages of Calx, Harbonnières, and Morcourt, had been gained on the whole front of attack, except at Le Quesnel itself. Cavalry and armored cars were in action well to the east of this line, and before dawn on Aug. 9 Le Quesnel also had been taken. North of the Somme the enemy was more alert as the result of the recent engagements in this sector, and succeeded by heavy fighting in maintaining himself for the time being in the village of Chilly.

East of the line of our advance the enemy at nightfall was blowing up dumps in all directions, while his transport and limbers were streaming eastward toward the Somme, offering excellent targets to our airmen, who made full use of their opportunities. Over 13,000 prisoners, between 300 and 400 guns, and vast quantities of ammunition and stores of all kinds remained in our possession.

The brilliant and predominating part taken by the Canadian and Australian Corps in this battle is worthy of the highest commendation. The skill and determination of these troops proved irresistible, and at all points met with rapid and complete success. The fine performance of the cavalry throughout all stages of the operation also deserves mention. Having completed their assembly behind the battlefield by a series of night marches, on the first day of the attack they advanced twenty-three miles from their points of concentration, and by the dash and vigor of their action, both on this and subsequent days, rendered most valuable and gallant service. The general success of all arms was made possible by the good staff work of my own staff at General Headquarters, and of the staffs of the armies concerned. Under the able and experienced direction of the Fourth Army commander, General Raw-

linson, the preparations for the battle, including detailed artillery arrangements of an admirable nature, were carried out with a thoroughness and completeness which left nothing to chance. Without this excellent staff work neither the rapid concentration of troops, unknown to the enemy, nor the success of our initial assault and its subsequent development could have been accomplished.

Meanwhile, at 5:55 A. M., the attack of the French First Army had been launched successfully, and gained the line Pierrepont-Plessier-Fresnoy, all inclusive, in touch with Brutinel's Force on the Amiens-Roye road west of Le Quesnoy. Three thousand three hundred and fifty prisoners and many guns were taken by the French forces on this day.

(18) THE ADVANCE CONTINUED

The sweeping character of this success, which in one day had gained our first objective and disengaged the Paris-Amiens railway, opened a clear field for the measures of exploitation determined upon to meet such an event.

The attack was continued on Aug. 9. After meeting with considerable opposition on the line Beaufort-Vrely-Rosières-Framerville, the enemy's resistance weakened under the pressure of our troops, and once more rapid progress was made. The 8th Hussars, 1st Cavalry Division (Major Gen. R. L. Mullen) took Meharicourt at a gallop; the 2d and 3d Cavalry Divisions (Major Gens. T. T. Pitman and A. E. W. Harman) also passed through our advancing infantry, capturing a number of prisoners and gaining much ground. That night we held Bouchoir, Rouvroy, Morcourt, and Framerville, and were on the western outskirts of Lihons and Proyart.

North of the Somme the 3d Corps, including the 12th Division (Major Gen. H. W. Higginson) and a regiment of the 33d American Division, (Major Gen. G. Bell,) attacked in the late afternoon and gained a line east of Chipilly, Morlancourt, and Dernancourt.

During the following days our operations continued successfully in close co-operation with the French. By the evening of Aug. 12 our infantry had reached the old German Somme defenses of 1916, on the general line west of Damery, east of Lihons, east of Proyart, having repulsed with severe loss determined counterattacks in the neighborhood of Lihons. North of the Somme we were on the western outskirts of Bray-sur-Somme.

Montdidier had fallen to the French two days earlier, and on the whole front from the Oise River to the Roye road at Andechy our allies had made deep and rapid progress.

On the night of Aug. 12, as has been seen, our advance east of Amiens had reached the general line of the old Roye-Chaulnes defenses. The derelict battle area which now lay before our troops, seared by old trench lines, pitted with shell holes, and crossed in all directions with tangled belts of wire,

the whole covered by the wild vegetation of two years, presented unrivaled opportunities for stubborn machine-gun defenses.

Attacks carried out on Aug. 13 proved the strength of these positions, and showed that the enemy, heavily reinforced, was ready to give battle for them. I therefore determined to break off the battle on this front, and transferred the front of attack from the Fourth Army to the sector north of the Somme, where an attack seemed unexpected by the enemy. My intention was for the Third Army to operate in the direction of Bapaume, so as to turn the line of the old Somme defenses from the north. The French First Army now ceased to be under my command.

Meanwhile, south of the Somme, our pressure was to be maintained, so as to take advantage of any weakening on the part of the enemy and encourage in him the belief that we intended to persist in our operations on that front. During the succeeding days local attacks gave us possession of Damery, Parvillers, and Fransart, and made progress also at other points.

(19) THE RESULTS OF THE BATTLE OF AMIENS

The results of the battle of Amiens may be summarized as follows: Within the space of five days the town of Amiens and the railway centring upon it had been disengaged. Twenty German divisions had been heavily defeated by thirteen British infantry divisions and three cavalry divisions, assisted by a regiment of the 23d American Division and supported by some four hundred tanks. Nearly 22,000 prisoners and over 400 guns had been taken by us and our line had been pushed forward to a depth of some twelve miles in a vital sector. Further, our deep advance, combined with the attacks of the French armies on our right, had compelled the enemy to evacuate hurriedly a wide extent of territory to the south of us.

The effect of this victory, following so closely after the allied victory on the Marne, upon the morale both of the German and British troops was very great. Buoyed up by the hope of immediate and decisive victory, to be followed by an early and favorable peace, constantly assured that the allied reserves were exhausted, the German soldiery suddenly found themselves attacked on two fronts and thrown back with heavy losses from large and important portions of their earlier gains. The reaction was inevitable and of a deep and lasting character.

On the other hand, our own troops felt that at last their opportunity had come, and that, supported by a superior artillery and numerous tanks, they could now press forward resolutely to reap the reward of their patient, dauntless, and successful defense in March and April. This they were eager to do, and as they moved forward during the ensuing months, from one success to another, suffer-

ing, danger, and losses were alike forgotten in their desire to beat the enemy, and their confidence that they could do so.

Meanwhile, as a further and immediate result of our successes, the enemy was thrown back definitely upon a defensive policy, and began to straighten out the salients in his line. Between Aug. 14 and 17 he withdrew from his positions about Serre, and further north indications multiplied of an intention shortly to abandon the salient in the Lys Valley. Our patrols were already beginning to push forward on this front, and on the night of Aug. 13-14 established posts south and east of Vieux Berquin. On Aug. 18 and 19 the capture of Outterstene village and ridge, with some 900 prisoners, by the 31st, 29th, and 9th Divisions of the Second Army, hastened the enemy's movements on the Lys.

THE BATTLE OF BAPAUME

Aug. 21-Sept. 1

(20) SCHEME OF OPERATIONS

In deciding to extend the attack northward to the area between the Rivers Somme and Scarpe, I was influenced by the following considerations:

The enemy did not seem prepared to meet an attack in this direction, and, owing to the success of the Fourth Army, he occupied a salient the left flank of which was already threatened from the south. A further reason for my decision was that the ground north of the Ancre River was not greatly damaged by shellfire, and was suitable for the use of tanks. A successful attack between Albert and Arras in a southeasterly direction would turn the line of the Somme south of Péronne, and gave every promise of producing far-reaching results. It would be a step forward toward the strategic objective St. Quentin-Cambrai.

This attack, moreover, would be rendered easier by the fact that we now held the commanding plateau south of Arras about Bucquoy and Ablainzavelle, which in the days of the old Somme fighting had lain well behind the enemy's lines. In consequence we were here either astride or to the east of the intricate systems of trench lines which, in 1916, we had no choice but to attack frontally, and enjoyed advantages of observation which at that date had been denied us.

It was arranged that on the morning of Aug. 21 a limited attack should be launched north of the Ancre to gain the general line of the Arras-Albert railway, on which it was correctly assumed that the enemy's main line of resistance was sited. The day of Aug. 22 would then be used to get troops and guns into position on this front and to bring forward the left of the Fourth Army between the Somme and the Ancre. The principal attack would be delivered on Aug. 23 by the Third Army and the divisions of the Fourth Army north of the Somme, the remainder of the Fourth Army assisting by pushing forward south of the river, to

cover the flank of the main operation. Thereafter, if success attended our efforts, both armies would be press forward with the greatest vigor and exploit to the full any advantage we might have gained.

As soon as the progress of the Third Army had forced the enemy to fall back from the Mercatel spur, thereby giving us a secure southern flank for an assault upon the German positions on Orange Hill and about Monchy le Preux, the moment arrived for the First Army to extend the front of our attack to the north. Using the River Sensée to cover their left, in the same way as the River Somme had been used to cover the left of the Fourth Army in the battle of Amiens, the right of the First Army attacked east of Arras, and, by turning from the north the western extremity of the Hindenburg line, compelled the enemy to undertake a further retreat. It was calculated correctly that this gradual extension of our front of attack would mislead the enemy as to where the main blow would fall, and would cause him to throw in his reserves piecemeal.

(21) OPENING ATTACKS; ALBERT

At 4:55 A. M. on Aug. 21 the 4th and 6th Corps of General Sir Julian Byng's Third Army, under command, respectively, of Lieut. Gen. Sir G. M. Harper and Lieut. Gen. Sir J. A. L. Haldane, attacked on a front of about nine miles north of the Ancre, from Miraumont to Moyenneville.

The opening assault was delivered by the divisions then in line—namely, the 42d, New Zealand, and 37th Divisions of the 4th Corps, and the 2d and Guards Divisions of the 6th Corps, supported by tanks—and carried the enemy's foremost defenses rapidly and without difficulty. The 5th Division and 63d Division (Major Gen. C. E. Lawrie) of the 4th Corps and the 3d Division (Major Gen. C. J. Deverell) of the 6th Corps then passed through and continued the advance. During this stage the thick fog, which at first had favored us, led to some loss of direction. None the less, after much hard fighting, particularly about Achiet-le-Petit and Logeast Wood, where the enemy counterattacked vigorously, our troops reached the general line of the railway on practically the whole front, capturing the above-named village and wood, together with Courcelles and Moyenneville, east of which places they crossed the railway.

The 21st Division of the 5th Corps assisted by clearing the north bank of the Ancre about Beaucourt, and as a result of the whole operation the positions we required from which to launch our principal attack were gained successfully, with more than 2,000 prisoners.

Early next morning the 3d Corps of the Fourth Army, assisted by a small number of tanks, attacked with the 47th, 12th, and 18th Divisions, the 3d Australian Division and

the 38th Division co-operating on either flank. By this attack, in which the 18th Division (Major Gen. R. P. Lee) forced the passage of the River Ancre and captured Albert by a well-executed enveloping movement from the southeast, our line between the Somme and the Ancre was advanced well to the east of the Bray-Albert road. The left of the Fourth Army was brought forward in conformity with the remainder of our line, and more than 2,400 prisoners and a few guns were taken by us.

(22) THE MAIN ATTACK LAUNCHED

These preliminary attacks cleared the way for the main operation. This was opened on Aug. 23 by a series of strong assaults on practically the whole front of thirty-three miles from our junction with the French north of Lihons to Mercatel, in which neighborhood the Hindenburg line from Quéant and Bullecourt joined the old Arras-Vimy defense line of 1916. About one hundred tanks were employed by us on different parts of this front and were of great assistance, particularly in overcoming the enemy's machine gunners. Many of these fought with great determination, continuing to fire until their guns were run over by the tanks.

On the eve of these operations I issued a note of instructions to the forces under my command, in which I drew attention to the favorable change which had taken place in the conditions under which operations were being conducted and emphasized the necessity for all ranks to act with the utmost boldness and resolution. Wherever the enemy was found to be giving way there the pressure was to be increased.

To this appeal all ranks and all services responded during the strenuous fighting of the succeeding weeks with a whole-hearted and untiring devotion, for which no words of mine can adequately express my admiration and my gratitude. Divisions which in the worst days of the March retreat had proved themselves superior to every hardship, difficulty, and danger once more rose to the occasion with the most magnificent spirit. Over the same ground that had witnessed their stubborn greatness in defense they moved forward to the attack with a persistent vigor and relentless determination which neither the extreme difficulty of the ground nor the obstinate resistance of the enemy could diminish or withstand.

At 4:45 A. M. the Australian Corps attacked south of the Somme, employing the 32d Division, (Major Gen. T. S. Lambert,) composed of men of Lancashire, Dorset, and Scotland, and the 1st Australian Division, (Major Gen. T. W. Glasgow,) and captured Herleville, Chuignolles, and Chuignes, with over 2,000 prisoners. The fighting about Chuignolles, on the Australian front, was very heavy and great numbers of the enemy were killed.

At the same hour the 18th Division and the right brigade of the 38th Division of the 3d and 5th Corps recommenced their

attacks about Albert, and by a well-executed operation, entailing hard fighting at different points, captured the high ground east of the town known as Tara and Usna Hills. At the same time two companies of the Welsh regiment, part of the left brigade of the 38th Division, waded the Ancre in the neighborhood of Hamel, and with great gallantry maintained themselves all day east of the river against constant counterattacks.

Meanwhile, at different hours during the morning, the other divisions of the 5th Corps and the 4th and 6th Corps, (comprising respectively the 17th and 21st Divisions; the 42d, New Zealand, 5th and 37th Divisions, and the 2d, 3d, Guards, 56th, and 52d Divisions,) attacked along the whole front north of Albert, directing the chief weight of their assault upon the sector Miraumont-Boiry Bequerelle.

Our troops met with immediate success. On the right progress was made by light forces of the 17th and 21st Divisions along the left bank of the Ancre north of Thiepval, but in this sector no deep advance was attempted during the day.

North of the Ancre the attack of the 6th Corps was opened at 4 A. M., at which hour the 3d Division took Gomicourt and 500 prisoners. During the morning the attack spread along the front of the 4th Corps also. The enemy's main line of resistance was stormed and, penetrating deeply beyond it, our troops captured Bihucourt, Ervillers, Boyelles, and Boiry Bequerelle, together with over 5,000 prisoners and a number of guns. Under the continued pressure of our attacks the enemy was becoming disorganized and showed signs of confusion.

Our troops were now astride the Arras-Bapaume road, and closing down upon the latter town from the north and northwest. The position of the German divisions in the pronounced salient on the Thiepval Ridge was becoming perilous.

At 1 A. M. on the night of Aug. 23-24 the Third and Fourth Armies again attacked, and during the early morning the advance was resumed on the whole front from the Somme to Neuville Vitasse. On the right, the 3d Australian Division took Bray-sur-Somme, and the 47th Division, (Major Gen. Sir G. T. Goringe,) the 12th and 18th Divisions of the 3d Corps carried our line forward across the high ground between Bray and La Boisselle. In the neighborhood of the latter village and at certain other points heavy fighting took place, and a number of prisoners were taken.

On the front of the Third Army the same divisions which had delivered the attacks on the previous day again moved forward against the beaten enemy and pressed him back rapidly. The German positions on the Thiepval Ridge were carried by a well-conceived and admirably-executed concentric attack, directed upon the high ground about Pozières from the southwest and northwest. In this brilliant operation a brigade of the

38th Division, attacking on the right, crossed the Ancre at Albert during the early part of the night, and formed up close to the German lines on a narrow front between the Albert-Pozières road and the marshes of the Ancre. The left brigade of the same division waded breast-deep through the flooded stream opposite Hamel, under heavy fire, and formed up in the actual process of a German counterattack along the line held by the two companies who had crossed on the previous morning. At the given hour, the brigades of the 38th Division advanced in concert with the other divisions of the 5th Corps on their left, and drove the enemy from the high ground about Ovivillers and Thiepval. Continuing their advance, the divisions of the 5th Corps gained Pozières, Courcellette, and Martinpulch. Miramont, which for three days had resisted our attacks, was taken by the 42d Division (Major Gen. A. Solly-Flood) with many prisoners, and, pressing forward, the same division seized Pys. The 5th Division (Major Gen. J. Ponsonby) having captured Irles, cleared Loupart Wood in co-operation with the New Zealand Division, (Major Gen. Sir A. H. Russell,) tanks rendering valuable assistance to our infantry in both localities. New Zealand troops having taken Grevillers, reached Avesnes-les-Bapaume, and assisted also in the capture of Biefvillers by the 37th Division, (Major Gen. H. B. Williams.) Strong opposition was encountered on the high ground between Sapiègnies and Mory. Our troops pressed the enemy in these villages closely, and further north the Guards Division (Major Gen. G. P. T. Fielding) gained possession of St. Leger. On the left, troops of the 56th Division (Major Gen. Sir C. P. A. Hull) had heavy fighting about Croisilles and on the high ground northwest of that village known as Henin Hill. Important progress was made, and on their left the 52d Division (Major Gen. J. Hill) took Henin-sur-Cojeul and gained a footing in St. Martin-sur-Cojeul.

Several thousand prisoners, many guns, and great quantities of material of every kind were captured by us on this day.

(23) BAPAUME TAKEN

During the next five days our troops followed up their advantage hotly, and in spite of increasing resistance from the German rearguards realized a further deep advance. The enemy clung to his positions in the later stages of this period with much tenacity. His infantry delivered many counterattacks, and the progress of our troops was only won by hard and determined fighting.

During these days the 37th Division cleared Favreuil late in the evening of Aug. 25, after much confused fighting. On the same day the 2d Division captured Sapiègnies and Behagnies, taking a number of prisoners, and the 62d Division drove the enemy from Mory.

On Aug. 27 the 18th Division secured possession of Trones Wood, after an all-day struggle, in the course of which troops of the

2d Guard Division, fresh from reserve, made strong but unsuccessful counterattacks. Next day the 12th Division and 58th Division (Major Gen. F. W. Ramsay) captured Hardecourt, and the spur south of it, overcoming strong resistance. Both on Aug. 27 and 28 the 38th (Welsh) Division (Major Gen. T. A. Cubitt) was engaged in bitter fighting about Longueval and Delyville Wood, and made progress in company with the 17th Division (Major Gen. P. R. Robertson) attacking toward Flers.

Yielding before the persistent pressure of our attacks, in the early morning of Aug. 29 the enemy evacuated Bapaume, which was occupied by the New Zealand Division. On the same day the 18th Division entered Combles, while to the north of Bapaume a gallant thrust by the 56th and 57th Divisions penetrated the enemy's positions as far as Rencourt-lez-Cagnicourt. Though our troops were unable at this time to maintain themselves in this village, our line was established on the western and northern outskirts of Bullecourt and Hendecourt.

By the night of Aug. 30 the line of the Fourth and Third Armies north of the Somme ran from Cléry-sur-Somme past the western edge of Marrières Wood to Combles, Lesboeufs, Hancourt, Fremicourt, and Vraucourt, and thence to the western outskirts of Ecourt, Bullecourt, and Hendecourt. Any further advance would threaten the enemy's line south of Péronne along the east bank of the Somme, to which our progress north of the river had already forced him to retreat.

This latter movement had been commenced on Aug. 26, on which date Roye was evacuated by the enemy, and next day had been followed by a general advance on the part of the French and British forces between the Oise and the Somme. By the night of Aug. 29 allied infantry had reached the left bank of the Somme on the whole front from the neighborhood of Nesle, occupied by the French on Aug. 28, northward to Péronne. Further south the French held Noyon.

(24) FIGHT FOR MONT ST. QUENTIN AND CAPTURE OF PERONNE

During these days an increase in hostile artillery fire, and the frequency and strength of the German counterattacks indicated that our troops were approaching positions on which the enemy intended to stand, at any rate for a period. In the face of this increased resistance, by a brilliant operation commenced on the night of Aug. 30-31, the 2d Australian Division (Major Gen. C. Rosenthal) stormed Mont St. Quentin, a most important tactical feature commanding Péronne and the crossing of the Somme at that town. Being prevented by floods and heavy machine-gun fire from crossing the river opposite Mont St. Quentin, the 5th Australian Infantry Brigade was passed across the Somme at Feuillères, two miles further west, by means of hastily constructed bridges. By 10:15 P. M. on Aug 30, the brigade had cap-

tured the German trenches east of Clery, and was assembled in them ready for an assault which would turn the German positions from the northwest. At 5 A. M. on Aug. 31 the assault was launched, and, despite determined opposition, was completely successful. Both in the attack itself and in the course of repeated counterattacks, delivered with great resolution by strong hostile forces throughout the remainder of the day and the greater part of the following night, fighting was exceptionally severe, and the taking of the position ranks as a most gallant achievement.

In this operation nearly 1,000 prisoners were taken, and great numbers of the enemy were killed. On Sept. 1, as a direct consequence of it, Australian troops captured Péronne.

In support of the operation against Mont St. Quentin, on the morning of Aug. 31 the left of the Fourth Army (the 3d Australian, 58th, 47th, and 18th Divisions) attacked toward Bouchavesnes, Rancourt, and Fregicourt, and by successful fighting on this and the following day captured these villages with several hundred prisoners. On the Third Army front also there was hard fighting on both of these days. At the close of it we held Sailly Saillisel, Morval, Beaulencourt, and Reincourt-les-Bapaume, and were established on the ridges cast of Baucourt Fremicourt, Vaulx Vraucourt, and Longatte. Troops of the 17th Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir C. Ferguson, completed the capture of Bullecourt and Hendecourt, and following up their advantage, during the night took Rencourt-les-Cagnicourt with 380 prisoners.

(25) THE RESULTS OF THE BATTLE OF BAPAUME

Sept. 1 marks the close of the second stage in the British offensive. Having in the first stage freed Amiens by our brilliant success east of that town, in the second stage the troops of the Third and Fourth Armies, comprising 23 British divisions, by skillful leading, hard fighting, and relentless and unremitting pursuit, in ten days had driven 35 German divisions from one side of the old Somme battlefield to the other, thereby turning the line of the River Somme. In so doing they had inflicted upon the enemy the heaviest losses in killed and wounded, and had taken from him over 34,000 prisoners and 270 guns. For the remarkable success of the battle of Bapaume the greatest credit is due to the excellence of the staff arrangements of all formations and to the most able conduct of the operations of the Third Army by its commander, General Byng.

In the obstinate fighting of the last few days the enemy had been pressed back to the line of the Somme River and the high ground about Rocquigny and Beaupny, where he had shown an intention to stand for a time. Thereafter his probable plan was to retire slowly, when forced to do so,

from one intermediary position to another, until he could shelter his battered divisions behind the Hindenburg defenses. The line of the Tortille River and the high Nurlu Plateau offered opportunities for an ordered withdrawal of this nature, which would allow him to secure his artillery, as well as much of the material in his forward dumps.

On the other hand, the disorganization which had been caused by our attacks on Aug. 8 and 21 had increased under the pressure of our advance, and had been accompanied by a steady deterioration in the morale of his troops. Garrisons left as rear-guards to hold up our advance at important points had surrendered as soon as they found themselves threatened with isolation. The urgent needs of the moment, the wide extent of front attacked, the consequent uncertainty as to where the next blow would fall, and the extent of his losses had forced the enemy to throw in his reserves piecemeal as they arrived on the battlefield. On many occasions in the course of the fighting elements of the same German division had been identified on widely separated parts of the battlefield.

In such circumstances, a sudden and successful blow, of weight sufficient to break through the northern hinge of the defenses to which it was his design to fall back, might produce results of great importance. At this date, as will be seen from the events described in Paragraph 27, our troops were already in position to deliver such a stroke.

(26) THE WITHDRAWAL FROM THE LYS SALIENT

Meanwhile, during the progress of the great events briefly recorded above and in immediate consequence of them, other events of different but scarcely less importance were taking place on the northern portion of our front.

The exhaustion of the enemy's reserves resulting from the allied attacks made the shortening of the German line imperative. The obvious sector in which to effect such a shortening was the Lys front. The enemy had only maintained himself in the Lys salient under the constant fire of our guns at the expense of heavy casualties, not only to his infantry in line, but to his artillery and troops in back areas. With the abandonment of his projected offensive against the Channel ports, all reason had gone for remaining in so costly a salient, while the threat, carefully maintained by us, of a British attack provided an additional reason for withdrawing.

Accordingly, from about July 26 the enemy had been actively employed in removing the ammunition and stores accumulated for his offensive, and as early as Aug. 5 he had begun to effect local withdrawals on the southern flank of the salient.

The development of our own and the French offensive hastened this movement,

although immense quantities of ammunition still remained untouched. On Aug. 18 our patrols, whose activity had been constant, were able to make a considerable advance opposite Merville. Next day Merville itself was taken, and our line advanced on the whole front from the Lawe River to the Plate Becque.

During the following days various other small gains of ground were made by us on the southern and western faces of the salient, but on the northern face the enemy as yet showed no signs of withdrawal, the various local operations carried out by us meeting with strong resistance. On the night of Aug. 29-30, however, impelled alike by the pressure exerted without remission by our troops on the spot and by the urgency of events elsewhere, the enemy commenced an extensive retirement on the whole of the Lys front.

In the early morning of Aug. 30 our troops found Bailleul unoccupied, and by the evening of that day our advanced detachments had reached the general line Lacouture, Lestrem, Noote Bloom, east of Bailleul.

Thereafter the enemy's withdrawal continued rapidly. At certain points, indeed, his rearguards offered vigorous resistance, notably about Neuve Eglise and Hill 63, captured with a number of prisoners by the 36th and 29th Divisions, but by the evening of Sept. 6 the Lys salient had disappeared. Kemmel Hill was once more in our hands, and our troops had reached the general line Givenchy, Neuve Chapelle, Nleppe, Ploegsteert, Voormezele.

THE BATTLE OF THE SCARPE

Aug. 26-Sept. 3

(27) RETAKING MONCHY-LE-PREUX

By Aug. 25 our advance had formed a salient of the German positions opposite Arras, and the proper moment had therefore come for the third stage of our operations, in which the First Army should extend the flank of our attack to the north. By driving eastward from Arras, covered on the left by the Rivers Scarpe and Sensée, the First Army would endeavor to turn the enemy's positions on the Somme battlefield and cut his system of railway communications which ran southwestward across their front.

At 3 A. M., on Aug. 26, the Canadian corps, Lieut. Gen. Sir A. W. Currie commanding, on the right of General Horne's First Army, attacked the German positions astride the Scarpe River with the 2d and 3d Canadian Divisions (commanded by Major Gens. Sir H. E. Burstall and L. J. Lipsett) and the 51st Division. This attack, delivered on a front of about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles and closely supported by the left of the Third Army, was completely successful. By noon we had taken Wancourt and Guemappe, and had stormed the hill and village of Monchy-le-Preux. This latter position was one of great natural strength, well organized for

defense, and commanded observation of much importance. Many prisoners were taken, and later in the day substantial progress was made to the east of these three villages, a strong counterattack east of Monchy being successfully repulsed. North of the Scarpe the 51st Division pushed forward their line towards Roeux, so as to secure an easily defensible base of departure for this advance, and by a successful attack during the evening captured Greenland Hill.

Their opening success was followed up by the troops of the First Army with the greatest energy, and on the following day Cherisy, Vis-en-Artois, the Bois du Sart, Roeux, and Gavrelle were taken. By the end of the month they had gained the high ground east of Cherisy and Haucourt, had captured Eterpigny, and cleared the area between the Sensée and Scarpe Rivers, west of the Trinquis Brook. North of the Scarpe, Plouvain was held by us. Our progress brought our troops to within assaulting distance of the powerful trench system running from the Hindenburg line at Quéant to the Lens defenses about Drocourt, the breaking of which would turn the whole of the enemy's organized positions on a wide front southward.

(28) THE STORMING OF THE DROCOURT-QUEANT LINE

On Sept. 2 the Drocourt-Quéant line was broken, the maze of trenches at the junction of that line and the Hindenburg system was stormed and the enemy was thrown into precipitate retreat on the whole front to the south of it. This gallant feat of arms was carried out by the Canadian Corps of the First Army, employing the 1st and 4th Canadian Divisions and the 4th English Division, and the 17th Corps of the Third Army, employing the 52d, 57th, and 63d Divisions.

The assault of the Canadians was launched at 5 A. M. on a front of about four and one-half miles south of the Trinquis Brook, our infantry being supported by forty tanks of the 3d Tank Brigade and assisted by a mobile force of motor machine-gun units, Canadian cavalry, and armored cars. The attack was a complete success, and by noon the whole of the elaborate system of wire, trenches, and strong points constituting the Drocourt-Quéant line on the front of our advance was in our hands.

On the right the attack of the 17th Corps, launched at the same hour by the 52d and 57th Divisions, directed its main force on the triangle of fortifications marking the junction of the Hindenburg and Drocourt-Quéant lines northwest of the village of Quéant. Pressed with equal vigor it met with success equally complete. There was stern fighting in the network of trenches both north and south of Quéant, in which neighborhood the 52d (Lowland) Division performed distinguished service and by the progress they made greatly assisted our advance further north. Early in the afternoon our troops had

cleared the triangle, and the 63d Division (Major Gen. C. A. Blacklock) had passed through to exploit the success thus gained.

During the afternoon our further progress met with considerable resistance from machine-gun nests sited in woods and villages and on the reverse slopes of the Dury Ridge. There was hard fighting until dusk, especially on the front of the 63d Division and of the 4th Division, (Major Gen. L. J. Lipsett.) By nightfall this opposition had been overcome, the 63d Division had reached the railway east of Quéant, and the 57th Division, swinging to the right, was threatening that village and Pronville from the north. Our troops had pushed forward to a depth of over three miles along the Arras-Cambrai road and had reached the outskirts of Buissy. Cagnicourt, Villers-les-Cagnicourt, and Dury were in our hands. During the day 8,000 prisoners had been taken and many guns.

Troops of the Third and Fourth Armies prolonged the line of attack as far south as Péronne. At all points important progress was made, though fighting was severe.

In the battle of the Scarpe, as in the battles of Amiens and Bapaume and the victories that followed them, staff work of a high order played an important part in our success. The greatest credit is due to the First Army commander, General Horne, and his staff for the excellence of their arrangements.

(29) THE ENEMY IN RETREAT

The result of the battles of Amiens, Bapaume, and the Scarpe now declared itself.

During the night of Sept. 2-3 the enemy fell back rapidly on the whole front of the Third Army and the right of the First Army. By the end of the day he had taken up positions along the general line of the Canal du Nord from Péronne to Ypres, and thence east of Hermies, Inchy-en-Artois, and Ecourt St. Quentin to the Sensée east of Lecluse. On the following day he commenced to withdraw also from the east bank of the Somme south of Péronne, and by the night of Sept. 8 was holding the general line Vermand, Epéhy, Havrincourt, and thence along the east bank of the Canal du Nord.

The withdrawal was continued on the front of the French forces on our right. On Sept. 6 French troops occupied Ham and Chauny, and by Sept. 8 had reached the line of the Crozat Canal.

Throughout this hasty retreat our troops followed up the enemy closely. Many of his rearguards were cut off and taken prisoner; on numerous occasions our forward guns did great execution among his retiring columns, while our airmen took full advantage of the remarkable targets offered them. Great quantities of material and many guns fell into our hands.

In the battle of the Scarpe itself, in which ten British divisions attacked and overthrew thirteen German divisions, thereby giving the signal for this general retreat, our total

captures amounted to over 16,000 prisoners and about 200 guns.

(30) THE BATTLE OF HAVRINCOURT AND EPEHY

Sept. 12-18

North of Havrincourt, the Canal du Nord, behind which the enemy had taken shelter, with the open slopes leading down to it swept by the fire of the German positions on the east bank, could scarcely be taken except by a carefully organized attack.

From the neighborhood of Havrincourt southward the enemy's main line of resistance was the well-known Hindenburg line, which, after passing through that village, ran southeast across the Beaucamp, La Vacquerie, and Bonavis Ridges to the Scheldt Canal at Bantouzele, whence it followed the line of the canal to St. Quentin. In front of this trench system strong German forces held formidable positions about Havrincourt and Epéhy, which had to be taken before a final attack on the Hindenburg line could be undertaken. By successful operations carried out during the second and third weeks of September these different defenses were secured and our line advanced to within assaulting distance of the enemy's main line of resistance.

On Sept. 12 the 4th and 6th Corps of the Third Army attacked on a front of about five miles in the Havrincourt sector, employing troops of the New Zealand, 37th, 62d, and 2d Divisions. The villages of Trescault and Havrincourt were taken by the 37th and 62d Divisions respectively, and positions were secured which were of considerable importance in view of future operations.

On the right of the British front the 9th and Australian Corps continued to push forward with light forces. By the evening of Sept. 17, as the result of skillful manoeuvring and well-executed local attacks, they had captured Holnon Village and Wood and Massey, and were closely approaching Le Verguer and Templeux-le-Guerard.

The next day, at 7 A. M., Sept. 18, the Fourth and Third Armies attacked in heavy rain on a front of about seventeen miles from Holnon to Gouzeaucourt, the First French Army co-operating south of Holnon. A small number of tanks accompanied our infantry, and were of great assistance.

In this operation our troops penetrated to a depth of three miles through the deep, continuous and well-organized defensive belt formed by the old British and German lines. On practically the whole front our objectives were gained successfully, the 1st, 17th, 21st, and 74th Divisions (Major Gen. E. S. Birdwood commanding the 74th Division) and the 1st and 4th Australian Divisions (the latter commanded by Major Gen. E. Sinclair-Maclagan) distinguishing themselves by the vigor and success of their attack. On the extreme right and in the left centre about Epéhy the enemy's resistance was very de-

terminated, and in these sectors troops of the 6th, 12th, 18th, and 58th Divisions had severe fighting. Before nightfall, however, the last centres of resistance in Epéhy were reduced, and both in this area and on our right about Gricourt local actions during the succeeding days secured for us the remainder of the positions required for an attack on the main Hindenburg defenses.

At the close of these operations, in which fifteen British Divisions defeated twenty German Divisions and completed the fourth stage of our offensive, we had captured nearly 12,000 prisoners and 100 guns.

(31) THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALLIED PLAN

The details of the strategic plan outlined in Paragraph 13 upon which future operation should be based were the subject of careful discussion between Marshal Foch and myself. Preparations were already far advanced for the successful attack by which, on Sept. 12, the First American Army, assisted by certain French divisions, drove the enemy from the St. Mihiel salient and inflicted heavy losses upon him in prisoners and guns. Ultimately it was decided that as soon as possible after this attack four convergent and simultaneous offensives should be launched by the Allies as follows:

By the Americans west of the Meuse in the direction of Mézières;

By the French West of Argonne in close co-operation with the American attack and with the same general objectives;

By the British on the St. Quentin-Cambrai front in the general direction of Maubeuge;

By Belgian and allied forces in Flanders in the direction of Ghent.

By these attacks it was expected, as already indicated, that the important German forces opposite the French and Americans would be pressed back upon the difficult country of the Ardennes, while the British thrust struck at their principal lines of communication. In Flanders it was intended to take advantage of the weakening of the German forces on this front to clear the Bel-

gian coast by a surprise attack. Success in any one of these offensives might compel the enemy to withdraw to the line of the Meuse.

(32) THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH ARMIES

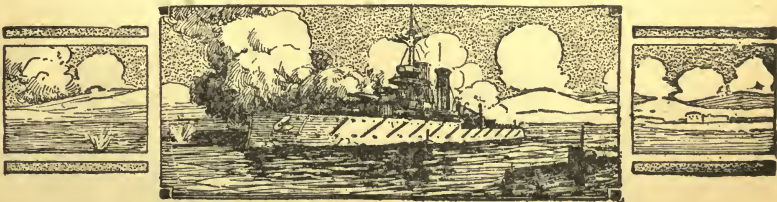
The results to be obtained from these different attacks depended in a peculiarly large degree upon the British attack in the centre. It was here that the enemy's defenses were most highly organized. If these were broken the threat directed at his vital systems of lateral communications would of necessity react upon his defense elsewhere.

On the other hand, the long period of sustained offensive action through which the British armies had already passed, had made large demands both upon the troops themselves and upon my available reserves. Throughout our attacks from Aug. 8 onward our losses in proportion to the results achieved and the number of prisoners taken had been consistently and remarkably small. In the aggregate, however, they were considerable, and in the face of them an attack upon so formidably organized a position as that which now confronted us could not be lightly undertaken. Moreover, the political effects of an unsuccessful attack upon a position so well known as the Hindenburg line would be large and would go far to revive the declining morale not only of the German Army, but of the German people.

These different considerations were present to my mind. The probable results of a costly failure, or, indeed, of anything short of a decided success in any attempt upon the main defenses of the Hindenburg line, were obvious; but I was convinced that the British attack was the essential part of the general scheme and that the moment was favorable.

Accordingly, I decided to proceed with the attack, and all preparatory measures, including the preliminary operations already recounted, were carried out as rapidly and as thoroughly as possible.

[Conclusion in Next Issue.]



Campaign That Liberated Palestine

General Allenby's Official Report of the Battles That Wrested Damascus From the Turks

[In this dispatch General Allenby for the first time uses the "New Army Time Reckoning," which avoids the use of "A. M." and "P. M." by running the clock hours up to 24 o'clock, beginning with 00:01 to designate one minute after midnight, and ending with 23:59 to designate one minute before the ensuing midnight. This Italian system was adopted by the British Army in the Autumn of 1918.]

GENERAL E. E. H. ALLENBY, Commander in Chief of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, described his last campaign in Palestine and Syria, with the final overthrow of the Turks, in a dispatch sent to the British War Office under date of Oct. 31, 1918, though not made public until Dec. 30. In this report he took up the story of the Egyptian expedition at the point where his dispatch of Sept. 18 had left off. He began with the following summary of the enemy's forces:

At the beginning of September I estimated the strength of the Fourth, Seventh, and Eighth Turkish Armies to be 23,000 rifles, 3,000 sabres, and 340 guns. The Fourth Army, 6,000 rifles, 2,000 sabres, and 74 guns, faced my forces in the Jordan Valley. The Seventh Army held a front of some twenty miles astride the Jerusalem-Nablus road with 7,000 rifles and 111 guns, while the Eighth Army front extended from Furkhah to the sea and was held by 10,000 rifles and 157 guns. In addition the garrison of Maan and the posts of the Hedjaz Railway north of it consisted of some 6,000 rifles and 30 guns.

The enemy's general reserve, only 3,000 rifles in strength, with 30 guns, was distributed between Tiberias, Nazareth, and Haifa. Thus his total strength amounted to some 4,000 sabres, 32,000 rifles, and 400 guns—representing a ration strength, south of the line Rayak-Beirut, of 104,000.

I had at my disposal two cavalry divisions, two mounted divisions, seven infantry divisions, an Indian infantry brigade, four unalotted battalions, and the French detachment, (the equivalent of an infantry brigade, with other arms attached,) a total, in the fighting line, of some 12,000 sabres, 57,000 rifles, and 540 guns. I had thus a considerable superiority in numbers over the enemy, especially in mounted troops.

I was anxious to gain touch with the Arab forces east of the Dead Sea, but the experience gained in the raids which I had undertaken against Amman and Es Salt in March and May had proved that the communications of a force in the hills of Moab were liable to interruption as long as the enemy

was able to transfer troops from the west to the east bank of the Jordan. This he was in a position to do, as he controlled the crossing at Jisr ed Damieh. The defeat of the Seventh and Eighth Turkish Armies west of the Jordan would enable me to control this crossing. Moreover, the destruction of these armies, which appeared to be within the bounds of possibility, would leave the Fourth Army isolated, if it continued to occupy the country south and west of Amman. I determined, therefore, to strike my blow west of the Jordan.

PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

With the exception of a small reserve, the whole military force of the Turk was west of the Jordan, and the vital points of his communication were El Afule, Besian, and Deraa. If these could be reached he would be cut off. Deraa was beyond Allenby's reach, but his Arab Army could get to it and destroy the railway junction there. El Afule, in the Plain of Esdraelon, and Beisan, in the Valley of Jezreel, were within reach of the British cavalry if the infantry could break a gap in the Turkish defenses. For this reason General Allenby decided to deliver his main attack in the coastal plain rather than through the hills north of Jerusalem. He continues:

The coastal plain at Jiljulieh, the ancient Gilgal, is some ten miles in width. The railway from Jiljulieh to Tul Keram skirts the foothills, running through a slight depression on the eastern edge of the plain. To the west of this depression the Turks had constructed two defensive systems. The first, 14,000 yards in length and 3,000 in depth, ran along a sandy ridge in a northwesterly direction from Bir Adas to the sea. It consisted of a series of works connected by continuous fire trenches. The second, or Et Tireh system, 3,000 yards in rear, ran from the village of that name to the mouth of the Nahr Falik. On the enemy's extreme right the ground, except for a narrow strip along the coast, is marshy, and could only be crossed in few places. The defense of the



SCENE OF GENERAL ALLENBY'S FINAL AND VICTORIOUS CAMPAIGN

second system did not, therefore, require a large force.

The railway itself was protected by numerous works and by the fortified villages of Jiljulieh and Kalkileh. The ground between our front line at Ras El Ain and these villages was open, and was overlooked from the enemy's works on the foothills round Keft Kasim.

By reducing the strength of the troops in the Jordan Valley to a minimum, and by withdrawing my reserves from the hills north of Jerusalem, I was able to concentrate five divisions and the French detachment, with a total of 383 guns, for the attack on these defenses. Thus, on the front of the attack I was able to concentrate some 35,000 rifles, against 8,000, and 383 guns, against 130. In addition, two cavalry and one Australian mounted divisions were available for this front.

The task of attacking the enemy's defenses in the coastal plain was intrusted to Lieut. Gen. Sir Edward Bulfin, commanding the 21st Corps, with four extra divisions, the French detachment, an Australian light horse brigade, two brigades of mountain artillery and eighteen batteries of heavy and siege artillery. This force, mainly infantry, was ordered to break through and drive the enemy northward into the arms of the British cavalry at El Afule. Lieut. Gen. Sir Harry Chauvel, commanding the Desert Mounted Corps, was meanwhile to advance along the coast, seize El Afule, and be ready there to cut off the enemy's retreat and to send a detachment to attack Nazareth, the site of the Turks' general headquarters. Lieut. Gen. Sir Philip Chetwode with the 20th Corps was to advance and block the exits to the lower Valley of the Jordan, while Major Gen. Sir Edward Chaytor, to keep the enemy from perceiving the withdrawal of cavalry divisions from the Jordan Valley, was ordered to make a series of demonstrations threatening an attack east of the Jordan.

ENEMY TAKEN BY SURPRISE

General Allenby states that the enemy remained absolutely in ignorance of the coming attack on the coastal plain until the blow fell. He continues:

In the early hours of Sept. 19 El Afule and the headquarters of the Turkish Seventh and Eighth Armies at Nablus and Tul Keram were bombed by the Royal Air Force with a view to disorganizing their signal communications.

At 04.30 the artillery in the coastal plain

opened an intense bombardment, lasting fifteen minutes, under cover of which the infantry left their positions of deployment. Two torpedo boat destroyers assisted, bringing fire on the coastal road to the north.

The operations which followed fall into five phases.

The first phase was of short duration. In thirty-six hours, between 04.30 on Sept. 19 and 17.00 on Sept. 20 the greater part of the Eighth Turkish Army had been overwhelmed, and the troops of the Seventh Army were in full retreat through the hills of Samaria, whose exits were already in the hands of my cavalry.

In the second phase the fruits of this success were reaped. The infantry, pressing relentlessly on the heels of the retreating enemy, drove him into the arms of my cavalry, with the result that practically the whole of the Seventh and Eighth Turkish Armies were captured, with their guns and transport.

This phase also witnessed the capture of Haifa and Acre, and the occupation of Tiberias and of the country to the south and west of the Sea of Galilee.

As the result of the rout of the Seventh and Eighth Armies the Fourth Turkish Army, east of the Jordan, retreated, and Maan was evacuated.

The third phase commenced with the pursuit of this army by Chaytor's Force, and closed with the capture of Amman and the interception of the retreat of the garrison of Maan, which surrendered.

The fourth phase witnessed the advance by the Desert Mounted Corps to Damascus, the capture of the remnants of the Fourth Turkish Army, and the advance by the 21st Corps along the coast from Haifa to Beirut.

In the fifth phase my troops reached Homs and Tripoli without opposition. My cavalry then advanced on Aleppo and occupied that city on Oct. 26.

COAST FORCE OVERWHELMED

The attack in the coastal plain on the morning of Sept. 19 was attended with complete success. On the right, in the foothills, the French Tirailleurs and the Armenians of the Légion d'Orient advanced with great dash, and, in spite of the difficulties of the ground and the strength of the enemy's defenses, had captured the Kh. Deir El Kussis ridge at an early hour. On their left the 54th Division stormed Keft Kassim village and wood and the foothills overlooking the railway from Ras El Ain to Jiljulieh. North of Keft Kassim the advance was checked for a time at Sivri Tepe, but the enemy's resistance was quickly overcome and the remaining hills south of the Wadi Kanah captured.

In the coastal plain the 3d (Lahore) Division attacked the enemy's first system between Bir Adas and the Hadrah road. On its left the 75th Division attacked the Tabor defenses, the 7th (Meerut) Division the works west of Tabor, while the 60th Division at-

tacked along the coast. The enemy replied energetically to our bombardment, but in most cases his barrage fell behind the attacking infantry. The enemy was overwhelmed. After overrunning the first system, the three divisions on the left pressed on without pausing to the Et Tireh position. On the left the 60th Division reached the Nahr Falk and moved on Tul Keram, leaving the route along the coast clear for the Desert Mounted Corps. The 7th (Meerut) Division, after passing through the second system, swung to the right and headed for Et Taiyibeh, leaving Et Tireh, where the 75th Division was still fighting, on its right.

By 11.0 the 75th Division had captured Et Tireh, a strongly fortified village standing on a sandy ridge, where the enemy offered a determined resistance. On the right the 3d (Lahore) Division turned to the east and attacked Jiljulieh, Railway Redoubt, Kefr Saba and Kalkilleh, all of which were defended with stubbornness by the enemy. His resistance was, however, broken; and the 3d (Lahore) Division pressed on eastward into the foothills near Hableh, joining hands with the 54th Division north of the Wadi Kanah.

Disorganized bodies of the enemy were now streaming across the plain toward Tul Keram, pursued by the 60th Division and the 5th Australian Light Horse Brigade. This brigade, which had been attached to the 21st Corps, consisted of two Australian light horse regiments, with a composite regiment of Chasseurs d'Afrique and Spahis attached. Great confusion reigned at Tul Keram. Bodies of troops, guns, motor lorries and transport of every description were endeavoring to escape along the road leading to Messudie and Nablus. This road, which follows the railway up a narrow valley, was already crowded with troops and transport. The confusion was added to by the persistent attacks of the Royal Air Force and Australian Flying Corps, from which there was no escape. Great havoc was caused, and in several places the road was blocked by overturned lorries and vehicles. Later in the evening an Australian regiment, having made a detour, succeeded in reaching a hill four miles east of Tul Keram, overlooking the road. As a result, a large amount of transport and many guns fell into our hands.

In the meantime the 7th (Meerut) Division and 3d (Lahore) Division had entered the hills, and, in conjunction with the 54th Division, had pressed eastward. By dusk the line Bidieh-Kh. Kefr Thilth-Jiyus-Felamleh-Taiyibeh had been reached. The 75th Division remained in the vicinity of Et Tireh in corps reserve.

FIERCE HILL FIGHTING

As soon as the success of the initial attack by the 21st Corps, on the morning of Sept. 19, had become apparent, I ordered the 20th Corps to advance that night on Nablus and the high ground northeast of that town, in order to close the roads leading to the lower

valley of the Jordan, and to drive the enemy from the triangle formed by the Kh. Fusail-Nablus road, our original front line, and the El Funduk-Nablus track, by which the 3d (Lahore) Division was advancing.

The two divisions of the 20th Corps had been concentrated beforehand, in readiness to carry out this operation; the 53d Division to the east of the Bireh-Nablus road, the 10th Division on the extreme left of the Corps Area, in the vicinity of Berukin and Kefr Ain. The enemy had long anticipated an attack astride the Bireh-Nablus road, and had constructed defenses of great strength on successive ridges. For this reason the 10th Division was ordered to attack in a northeasterly direction astride the Furkhah-Selfit and Berukin-Kefr Haris ridges, thus avoiding a direct attack. Even so, the task of the 20th Corps was a difficult one. The enemy in this portion of the field was not disorganized, and was able to oppose a stout resistance to the advance. The country is broken and rugged, demanding great physical exertion on the part of the troops, and preventing the artillery keeping pace with the infantry.

Nevertheless, good progress was made on the night of Sept. 19 and during the following day. The 53d Division captured Kh. Abu Malul, and advanced their line in the centre. On their right Khan Jibeit was heavily counterattacked on the morning of Sept. 20. The Turks succeeded in regaining the hill, but were driven off again after a sharp fight. This incident, and the necessity of making a road to enable the guns to be brought forward, caused delay.

The 10th Division advanced in two columns, and by midday on Sept. 20 the right column, after a hard fight at Furkhah, had reached Selfit and was approaching Iskaka, which was strongly held by the enemy. The left column reached Kefr Haris, which was only captured after heavy fighting. The 10th Division had already driven the enemy back seven miles. The artillery, however, had been unable to keep up with the infantry, and little progress was made during the afternoon.

On the left of the 10th Division the 21st Corps had continued its advance in three columns. On the right the 3d Division advanced up the Wadi Azzun. In the centre the Meerut Division moved on Kefr Sur and Beit Lid. The 60th Division and the 5th Australian Light Horse Brigade advanced along the Tul Keram-Nablus road on Messudie Station. By evening the line Baka-Beit Lid-Messudie Station-Attara had been reached.

The 3d (Lahore) and 7th (Meerut) Divisions encountered a determined and well-organized resistance, which stiffened as the Meerut Division approached Beit Lid. The enemy showed no signs of demoralization, and the country was very rugged and difficult.

Considerable confusion existed, however, behind the enemy's rearguards. All day his transport had been withdrawing. The Mes-

sudie-Jenin road was crowded. Its defiles had been bombed continuously by the Royal Air Force, as had long columns of troops and transport moving on Nablus in order to reach the Beisan road. It is probable that the enemy did not yet realize that my cavalry was already in Afule and Beisan, and had blocked his main lines of retreat.

Early on the morning of Sept. 19, before the infantry had advanced to the attack, the 4th and 5th Cavalry Divisions moved out of the groves round Saron and formed up in rear of the 7th (Meerut) and 60th Divisions. The Australian Mounted Division, less the 5th Light Horse Brigade, was on its way from Ludd.

VON SANDERS'S FLIGHT

Thanks to the rapidity with which the infantry broke through both Turkish systems of defense, the cavalry obtained a good start. By noon the leading troops of the Desert Mounted Corps had reached Jelameh, Tell ed Drurh, and Hudeira, eighteen miles north of the original front line. After a brief rest the advance was continued. The 5th Cavalry Division moved north to Ez Zerghaniyeh. It then turned northeast, and, riding through the hills of Samaria past Jarak, descended into the Plain of Esdraelon at Abu Shushah. The 13th Cavalry Brigade was then directed on Nazareth, the 14th on El Afule.

The 4th Cavalry Division turned northeast at Kh. es Sumrah, and followed the valley of the Wadi Arah into the hills. The valley gradually narrows as the pass at Musmus is reached.

The enemy had sent a battalion from El Afule to hold this pass, but only its advanced guard arrived in time. Overcoming its resistance, the cavalry encountered the remainder of the battalion at El Lejjun. The 2d Lancers charged, killed forty-six with the lance, and captured the remainder, some 470 in number.

The 4th Cavalry Division then marched to El Afule, which it reached at 08.00, half an hour after its capture by the 14th Cavalry Brigade.

In the meantime the 13th Cavalry Brigade of the 5th Cavalry Division, riding across the Plain of Esdraelon, had reached Nazareth, the site of the Yilderim General Headquarters, at 05.30. Fighting took place in the streets, some 2,000 prisoners being captured. Liman von Sanders had already made good his escape, but his papers and some of his staff were taken. This brigade then marched to El Afule, arriving there as the 4th Cavalry Division rode down the Plain of Jezreel to Beisan, which it reached at 16.30, having covered some eighty miles in thirty-four hours. The 4th Cavalry Division detached a regiment to seize the railway bridge over the Jordan at Jisr Mejameh.

The Australian Mounted Division, which had followed the 4th Cavalry Division into the Plain of Esdraelon, was directed on Jenin, where the road from Messudie to El

Afule leaves the hills. Jenin was reached at 17.30, and was captured after a sharp fight, a large number of prisoners being taken.

Thus, within thirty-six hours of the commencement of the battle, all the main outlets of escape remaining to the Turkish Seventh and Eighth Armies had been closed. They could only avoid capture by using the tracks which run southeast from the vicinity of Nablus to the crossings over the Jordan at Jisr ed Damieh. These were being rapidly denied to them.

The first phase of the operations was over. The enemy's resistance had been broken on Sept. 20. On Sept. 21 the Turkish rearguards were driven in early in the morning. All organized resistance ceased. The 5th Australian Light Horse Brigade, with the French Cavalry leading, entered Nablus from the west, the 10th Division from the south. By the evening the 20th Corps had reached the line Neby Belan, on the high ground north-east of Nablus, and Mount Ebal; the 21st Corps the line Samaria, Attara, Belah.

AIR FORCE BLOCKS RETREAT

Since the early hours of the morning great confusion had reigned in the Turkish rear. Camps and hospitals were being hurriedly evacuated; some were in flames. The roads leading northeast and east from Nablus to Beisan and the Jordan Valley were congested with transport and troops. Small parties of troops were moving east along the numerous wadis. The disorganization which already existed was increased by the repeated attacks of the Royal Air Force; in particular, on the closely packed column of transport moving north from Balata to Kh. Ferweh, where a road branches off, along the Wadi Farah, to Jisr ed Damieh. Some of the transport continued along the road to Beisan, where it fell into the hands of the 4th Cavalry Division. The greater part made for the Jordan along the Wadi Farah. Nine miles from Kh. Ferweh, at Ain Shibleh, a road branches off to the north to Beisan. A mile beyond this point the Wadi Farah passes through a gorge. The head of the column was heavily bombed at this point. The drivers left their vehicles in panic, wagons were overturned, and in a short time the road was completely blocked. Still attacked by the Royal Air Force, the remainder of the column turned off at Ain Shibleh and headed for Beisan.

The Seventh Turkish Army was by this time thoroughly disorganized, and was scattered in the area between the Kh. Ferweh-Beisan road and the Jordan. These parties had now to be collected.

At 01.30 on Sept. 22 the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade and the British West Indies Battalions of Chaytor's Force seized the bridge at Jisr ed Damieh. All hope of escape for the enemy in that direction had vanished.

In the early hours of the morning parties of Turks, of strengths varying from 50 to

300, began to approach Beisan, preceded by white flags.

At 08.00 a column, with transport and guns, ten miles long, was reported by the Royal Air Force to be moving north along the Ain Shibleh-Beisan road, its head being nine miles south of Beisan. The 4th Cavalry Division was ordered to send detachments toward it, and also to patrol the road, which follows the Jordan on its east bank, to secure any parties which might escape across the Jordan.

At the same time the Worcester Yeomanry of the 20th Corps, supported by Infantry, was ordered to advance northward from Ain Shibleh, and the infantry of the 10th Division along the Tubas-Beisan road, to collect stragglers, and to drive any formed bodies into the hands of the 4th Cavalry Division.

TWO ARMIES DESTROYED

The Royal Air Force had proceeded to attack the Turkish column, which broke up and abandoned its guns and transport. The task of clearing the enemy between the Kh. Ferweh-Beisan road and the Jordan was continued during Sept. 23. On this day the 20th Corps Cavalry met with occasional opposition, and its advance was hampered considerably by the large numbers of Turks who surrendered. Great quantities of transport and numerous guns were found abandoned by the roadsides. On one stretch of road, under five miles in length, 87 guns, 55 motor lorries, and 842 vehicles were found.

Numerous bodies of Turks surrendered to the 4th Cavalry Division. One column attempted to escape across the Jordan at Makhadet Abu Naj, five miles southeast of Beisan, but was intercepted by the 11th Cavalry Brigade. Part of the column had already crossed to the east bank. It was charged, by the 36th (Jacob's) Horse and broken up, few escaping. On the west bank the remainder of the column was charged by the 29th Lancers and Middlesex Yeomanry, who killed many and captured the remainder, together with twenty-five machine guns.

On Sept. 24 the 11th Cavalry Brigade attacked and dispersed another column in the Wadi El Maleh. The last remnants of the Seventh and Eighth Turkish Armies had been collected. As armies they had ceased to exist, and but few had escaped.

While the 4th Cavalry and the Australian Mounted Divisions were collecting the remnants of the Seventh and Eighth Turkish Armies, I ordered the Desert Mounted Corps to occupy Acre and Haifa. The roads leading to Haifa from Tul Keram are only country tracks, which, in the event of rain, might become impassable for motor lorries at any time. Any force advancing northward from Haifa along the coast would have to depend on supplies landed at that port. It was necessary, therefore, to occupy the town without delay, in order that the harbor could be swept for mines, and the landing of stores taken in hand. The 13th Cavalry Brigade of the 5th Cavalry Division, which had entered

Nazareth on Sept. 20, and had then marched to El Afule, returned to Nazareth the following day.

HAIFA AND ACRE CAPTURED

Part of the garrison of Haifa, which was attempting to reach Tiberias, was intercepted by this brigade on the morning of Sept. 22. At 01.30 this column approached the outposts of the 13th Cavalry Brigade. It was attacked in the moonlight by the 18th Lancers, who killed a large number of Turks and captured over 300.

That afternoon Haifa was reconnoitred by a battery of armored cars. It was still held by the enemy. The road was barricaded, and the armored cars were shelled from the slopes of Mount Carmel.

On Sept. 23 the 5th Cavalry Division, less the 13th Cavalry Brigade, marched from El Afule to capture the town. The 13th Cavalry Brigade marched direct from Nazareth on Acre.

The road from El Afule to Haifa skirts the northeastern edge of the Mount Carmel range. Some two miles before Haifa is reached the road is confined between a spur of Mount Carmel on the left and the marshy banks of the River Kishon and its tributaries on the right. When the 5th Cavalry Division reached this point on Sept. 23 it was shelled from the slopes of Mount Carmel, and found the road and the river crossings defended by numerous machine guns.

While the Mysore Lancers were clearing the rocky slopes of Mount Carmel the Jodhpur Lancers charged through the defile, and, riding over the enemy's machine guns, galloped into the town, where a number of Turks were speared in the streets. Colonel Thakur Dalpat Singh, M. C., fell gallantly leading this charge. In this operation 1,350 prisoners and 17 guns were taken.

At Acre the 13th Cavalry Brigade met with little opposition. The small garrison, consisting of 150 men and two guns, attempted to escape to the north, but was overtaken and captured.

EAST JORDAN OPERATIONS

Interest now turned to the fate of the Fourth Turkish Army east of the Jordan. Up till Sept. 22 this army showed no signs of moving from its positions on the east bank. On the west bank the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade and the 1st and 2d Battalions, British West Indies Regiment, had advanced northward on Sept. 21, west of the Jericho-Beisan road, and had reached Khurbet Fusail, four miles in advance of our defenses at El Musalabeh. The enemy, however, still held the bridgeheads on the west bank, covering the crossings at Umm Es Shert, Red Hill, Mafid Jozeleh, and Jisr Ed Damieh. Early in the morning of Sept. 22 the 38th Battalion Royal Fusiliers captured the bridgehead at Umm Es Shert. The New Zealand Mounted Rifles placed themselves astride the road which follows the Wadi Farah from Nablus to Jisr

Ed Damieh, thus closing the last loophole of escape to the Turkish forces west of the Jordan. The crossing at Jisr Ed Damieh was captured a few hours later. The bridge was intact; 514 prisoners were taken.

Thus the west bank of the Jordan had been cleared. As a result of the defeat of the Seventh and Eighth Armies, the position of the Fourth Army east of the Jordan was no longer tenable, and by the morning of Sept. 23 this army was in full retreat on Es Salt and Amman, pursued by the Australian and New Zealand Mounted Division, and bombed by the Royal Air Force. At 16.30 the New Zealanders captured Es Salt, taking 350 prisoners and 3 guns. The pursuit was continued on a broad front, in face of stout opposition from the enemy's rearguards. On Sept. 25 Amman was attacked and captured.

The enemy retreated northward along the Hejaz Railway and the Pilgrim route in a disorganized state, harassed by the Royal Air Force and the Arabs. He was pursued by the Australian and New Zealand Mounted Divisions, and left over 5,000 prisoners and 28 guns in their hands.

I ordered Chaytor's forces to remain at Amman to intercept the troops of the Second Turkish Army Corps, who were retreating from the Hejaz. Maan had been evacuated on Sept. 23, and had been occupied by the Arab Army, which then advanced to Jerdun, harassing the rear of the retreating garrison.

On Sept. 28 these troops came into contact with the patrols of Chaytor's force at Leban Station, ten miles south of Amman. The Turkish commander, seeing that escape was impossible, surrendered on the following day with 5,000 men.

ADVANCE ON DAMASCUS

In addition to bringing about the retreat of the Fourth Turkish Army, the total defeat of the Seventh and Eighth Armies had removed any serious obstacle to an advance on Damascus. On Sept. 25 I ordered the Desert Mounted Corps to carry out this operation, occupy the city, and intercept the retreat of the remnants of the Fourth Turkish Army.

The Desert Mounted Corps was to advance on Damascus in two columns; one column by the south end of the Sea of Galilee, via Irbid and Deraa, the other round the north end of the sea, via El Kuneitra.

On Sept. 24, Semakh, at the south end of the Sea of Galilee, was captured by the 4th Australian Light Horse Brigade, after fierce hand-to-hand fighting, in which 350 Turks and Germans and a gun were captured. Tiberias was occupied on the following afternoon.

Thus on Sept. 26 the Australian Mounted Division was concentrating around Tiberias, and the 5th Cavalry Division was marching from Haifa and Acre to Nazareth. The 4th Cavalry Division was concentrated around Beisan.

The 4th Cavalry Division started on its 120-mile march that afternoon. The Australian

and 5th Cavalry Divisions started the following day, the distance they had to traverse being thirty miles less. Both columns met with opposition. The Australian Mounted Division experienced considerable difficulty in crossing the Jordan on Sept. 27. The bridge at Jisr Benat Yakub had been damaged, and Turkish rearguards commanded the crossings. After some delay, the 5th Australian Brigade succeeded in crossing the river a mile south of the bridge, and, working around the enemy's flank, forced him to retire. Opposition was again met with on the eastern side of the Jordan plateau, at El Kuneitra, and the column was continually fired on by the Circassians who dwell on the plateau. Passing through El Kuneitra, the column entered first a plateau covered by boulders and then undulating pasture land, intersected by the numerous streams which rise in Mount Hermon. Fighting took place at Sasa, but the enemy's rearguards were driven back, and by 10.00 on Sept. 30, Katana, twelve miles southwest of Damascus, had been reached by the Australian Mounted Division, which was here checked for a time.

ARAB ARMY'S ACTIVITIES

At this hour the 14th Cavalry Brigade, or the right of the Australian Mounted Division, was approaching Sahnaya on the old French railway. Further south the 4th Cavalry Division, with the Arab Army on its right, was approaching Kiswe.

The route followed by the 4th Cavalry Division across the Jordan plateau had proved difficult, and considerable opposition had been encountered at Irbid, and again at Er Remte, where, after driving the enemy northward toward Mezerib, the cavalry gained touch with the Arab Army.

After its raids on the enemy's railways around Deraa between Sept. 16 and 18, the Arab Army had moved into the Hauran. It issued thence to attack the Fourth Turkish Army as the latter passed Mafrak in its retreat northward, forcing the Turks to abandon guns and transport. Moving rapidly northward, the Arabs then captured the stations of Ezra and Ghazale, between Damascus and Deraa. On Sept. 27 they intrenched themselves at Sheikh Saad, seventeen miles north of Deraa, across the Turkish line of retreat. Sharp fighting took place all day, in which heavy casualties were inflicted on the retreating Turks and Germans and in which numerous prisoners were taken. After breaking up the retreating columns of the Fourth Army the Arabs captured Deraa, and, on Sept. 28, joined hands with the 4th Cavalry Division near Er Remte.

The cavalry then advanced northward through Mezerib and along the old French railway, with the Arabs on its right flank, collecting stragglers, and pressing on the heels of the remnants of the Fourth Turkish Army. In this way a column of Turks some 1,500 strong was driven, at noon on Sept. 30,

into the arms of the 14th Cavalry Brigade at Sahnaya.

Shortly after midday, on Sept. 30, the Australian Mounted Division overcame the enemy's resistance at Katana. By the evening it had closed the exits from Damascus to the north and northwest, while the 5th Cavalry Division had reached the southern outskirts of the town.

ENTERING DAMASCUS

At 06.00 on Oct. 1 the Desert Mounted Corps and the Arab Army entered Damascus amid scenes of great enthusiasm. After the German and Turkish troops in the town had been collected and guards had been posted, our troops were withdrawn. In the meantime the 3d Australian Light Horse Brigade had proceeded northward in pursuit of bodies of the enemy, which had succeeded in leaving the town on the previous day, or had avoided it and the cordon round it, by making a detour to the east. On Oct. 2 a column was overtaken at Kubbeth I Asafir, seventeen miles northeast of Damascus. This column was dispersed, 1,500 prisoners and three guns being taken.

The advance to Damascus, following on the operations in the Plain of Esdraelon and the Valley of Jezreel, had thrown a considerable strain on the Desert Mounted Corps. Great results were, however, achieved.

On Sept. 26, when the advance began, some 45,000 Turks and Germans were still in Damascus or were retreating on it. It is true that all units were in a state of disorganization, but, given time, the enemy could have formed a force capable of delaying my advance.

The destruction of the remnants of the Fourth Army and the capture of an additional 20,000 prisoners prevented any possibility of this. The remnants of the Turkish Armies in Palestine and Syria, numbering some 17,000 men, of whom only 4,000 were effective rifles, fled northward a mass of individuals, without organization, without transport, and without any of the accessories required to enable it to act even on the defensive.

I determined to exploit this success and to advance to the line Rayak-Beirut. The occupation of Beirut would give me a port, with a road and a railway leading inland to Rayak and Damascus. An alternative and shorter line of supply would thus be obtained.

The Desert Mounted Corps, leaving the Australian Mounted Division at Damascus, moved on Rayak and Zahle on Oct. 5. No opposition was encountered, and both places were occupied on the following day. At Rayak, the junction of the broad-gauge railway from the north and the meter-gauge lines to Beirut and to Damascus and the Hejaz, were found on the aerodrome the remains of thirty airplanes which had been burned by the enemy before he retired. Large quantities of stores and rolling stock were captured, most of the latter in a damaged condition.

BEIRUT OCCUPIED

In the meantime the 7th (Meerut) Division had marched from Haifa to Beirut. Leaving Haifa on Oct. 3, it marched along the coast. Crossing the Ladder of Tyre, it was received by the populace of Tyre and Sidon with enthusiasm. On Oct. 8 it reached Beirut, where it was warmly welcomed, the inhabitants handing over 660 Turks, including 60 officers, who had surrendered to them. Ships of the French Navy had already entered the harbor.

On Oct. 9 I ordered the Desert Mounted Corps to continue its advance and occupy Homs, leaving one division at Damascus. At the same time I ordered the 21st Corps to continue its march along the coast to Tripoli. Armored cars occupied Baalbek on Oct. 9, taking over 500 Turks who had surrendered to the inhabitants. The 5th Cavalry Division, which led the advance, reached Baalbek on Oct. 11, and, crossing the watershed between the Nahr Litani on the south and the Orontes on the north, followed the valley of the latter river, past Lebwe, and reached Homs on Oct. 15, having marched over eighty miles since leaving Rayak.

The station buildings at Homs had been burned by the enemy before he evacuated the town on Oct. 12.

On the coast, Tripoli was occupied by the 21st Corps Cavalry Regiment and armored cars on Oct. 13. No opposition was encountered. The Corps Cavalry Regiment was followed by a brigade of the 7th (Meerut) Division. The occupation of Tripoli provided a shorter route by which the cavalry at Homs could be supplied.

FROM HOMES TO ALEPPO

Having secured Homs and Tripoli, I determined to seize Aleppo with the least possible delay. The 5th Cavalry Division and the Armored Car Batteries were alone available. The Australian Mounted Division at Damascus was over 100 miles distant from Homs, and could not be brought up in time. The 4th Cavalry Division at Baalbek was much reduced in strength by sickness, and needed a rest to reorganize. Time was of importance, and I judged that the 5th Cavalry Division would be strong enough for the purpose. The information available indicated the presence of some 20,000 Turks and Germans at Aleppo. Of these, only some 8,000 were combatants, and they were demoralized. Moreover, reports from all sources showed that considerable numbers of the enemy were leaving the town daily by rail for the north.

The armored cars had reached Hama without opposition on Oct. 20. On the following day the 5th Cavalry Division commenced its advance. On Oct. 22 the armored cars reached Khan Sebit, half way between Homs and Aleppo, as the enemy's rearguard left the village in lorries. A German armored car, a lorry, and some prisoners were captured. The enemy were not encountered again till Oct. 24, when a body of cavalry were dispersed at

Khan Tuman, ten miles south of Aleppo. Five miles further on the armored cars were checked by strong Turkish rearguards and had to remain in observation till the cavalry came up.

On the afternoon of Oct. 25 the armored cars were joined by the 15th (Imperial Service) Cavalry Brigade. That evening a detachment of the Arab Army reached the eastern outskirts of Aleppo, and during the night forced their way in, inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy.

Early on the morning of Oct. 26 the armored cars and the 15th Cavalry Brigade, moving around the west side of the town, followed the enemy along the Aleppo-Katma road and gained touch with him southeast of Haritan. The Turkish rearguard consisted of some 2,500 infantry, 150 cavalry, and eight guns. The Mysore Lancers and two squadrons of the Jodhpur Lancers attacked the enemy's left, covered by the fire of the armored cars, the Machine Gun Squadron, and two dismounted squadrons of the Jodhpur Lancers. The Mysore and Jodhpur Lancers charged most gallantly. A number of Turks were speared, and many threw down their arms, only to pick them up again when the cavalry had passed through and their weakness had become apparent. The squadrons were not strong enough to complete the victory, and were withdrawn till a larger force could be assembled.

ARMISTICE SIGNED

That night the Turkish rearguard withdrew to position near Deir el Jemel, twenty miles northwest of Aleppo. The 5th Cavalry Division remained in observation, astride the roads leading from Aleppo to Killis and Katma, and occupied Muslimie Junction. It was too weak to continue the advance to Alexandretta till the arrival of the Australian Mounted Division, which had already left Damascus to join it. Before the latter could arrive the armistice between the Allies and Turkey had been concluded, and came into force at noon on Oct. 31.

The 5th Cavalry Division captured fifty prisoners and eighteen guns in Aleppo. The Turks had carried out demolitions on the railway at Aleppo and Muslimie Junction be-

fore retiring, but had left eight engines and over 100 trucks, which, though damaged, are not beyond repair.

Aleppo is over 300 miles from our former front line. The 5th Cavalry Division covered 500 miles between Sept. 19 and Oct. 26, and captured over 11,000 prisoners and fifty-two guns. During this period the 5th Cavalry Division lost only 21 per cent. of its horses.

Between Sept. 19 and Oct. 26 75,000 prisoners have been captured. Of these over 200 officers and 3,500 other ranks are Germans or Austrians.

In addition 360 guns have fallen into our hands and the transport and equipment of three Turkish armies. It is not yet possible to give accurate figures, owing to the rapidity and the extent of the advance. In the first three phases of the operations material and equipment were hastily abandoned by the enemy in a mountainous area, extending over 2,500 square miles, while in the remaining phases a further advance of over 300 miles has been made. The captures, however, include over 800 machine guns, 210 motor lorries, 44 motor cars, some 3,500 animals, 89 railway engines, and 468 carriages and trucks. Of these many are unserviceable, but none have been included that are beyond repair.

General Allenby's report ends with tributes to his staffs and troops. He praises the infantry for breaking through the strong enemy defenses in a few hours, thus enabling the cavalry to accomplish its mission. The Desert Mounted Corps had taken 46,000 prisoners and had been mainly instrumental in destroying the Seventh and Eighth Turkish Armies. General Chaytor's force had taken 10,000 prisoners in the valley of the Jordan and the hills of Moab. The Arab Army also had rendered valuable assistance, both by cutting the enemy's communications and by intercepting portions of the fleeing Fourth Turkish Army north of Deraa, inflicting heavy casualties.



Massacre of the Greeks in Turkey

Story of the Tragic Fate of Hundreds of Thousands of Christian Noncombatants in the Levant

A special correspondent of The London Morning Post, writing from Constantinople on Dec. 5, 1918, summed up the Turkish atrocities against the Greeks as follows:

THE Greek massacres organized by the Turks and Germans, like the Armenian ones, had for their object the extermination of a race.

Already after the Balkan war and before the great war the deportation of Greeks had begun in Thrace. Under the pretense of finding an asylum for the Mussulmans turned out of Europe after the Balkan wars and of securing the safety of the Asiatic coasts opposite the debated islands of Chios and Mitylene, 250,000 Greeks were expelled and obliged to emigrate to Greece proper, leaving all their possessions behind them. This persecution continued uninterrupted until the outbreak of the European war. Then started the most savage persecution the world has ever known. While the pre-war persecution had for its object the expulsion of the Greeks from Asia Minor and Thrace, the second persecution was intended to stamp out the Greek race in Turkey.

During the first persecution the Greek Government did everything possible to protect their co-nationals, but during the second outbreak King Constantine impeded every possible movement for the amelioration of the lot of that unfortunate race. Reports sent to the Government by dignitaries of the Orthodox Church in Asia Minor were suppressed. Numberless documents dealing with these massacres were stolen from the Government archives and destroyed. On one occasion the Bishop of Pera traveled from Constantinople to Athens for the purpose of imploring the King to protest more energetically. He was not received by the King but by Queen Sophia, who cut the conversation short with the words: "Return immediately to Con-

stantinople. The will of the King is that you live on good terms with the Turks."

GERMAN GUILT

It is easy to prove the complicity of the Germans in these massacres. In the persecution of the Greeks after the Balkan war the German hand was plainly visible. Von Jagow already in April, 1914, excused this system of persecution by claiming that every Greek in Turkey was a Pan-Hellenist and therefore dangerous to Turkey. The Emperor himself whitewashed the Turks by saying that the persecution was carried out by the baser agents of the Ottoman administration and not by the Government, which was trying to put things in order. German agencies, such as the Deutsche Palestina Bank, were carrying on a virulent propaganda, urging Mussulmans to cultivate hate for the Christians and to have no commercial dealings with them. It was natural that the Germans should support any policy against the Greeks and Armenians, who were the only commercial people in Asia Minor and would therefore be a hindrance to German penetration after the war.

Germany was perfectly aware of the conditions signed at Adrianople in June, 1915, between the Bulgarians and the Turks, for the persecution of the Greek element. The conditions were: (1) The establishment of a Turco-Bulgar commercial union as the complement of the political union. (2) The seizure of the commerce of the Orient from the hands of the Greeks. (3) The establishment in the Orient of Mussulman agencies for the importation and exportation of goods for the exclusive use of Mussulmans, who were to break off all commercial

relations with the Greeks. (4) A restriction of the privileges of the Patriarch and his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. (5) The prohibition of the teaching of Greek in future. (6) The conversion to Islam by force of the people in the Christian settlements and the imposition of mixed marriages.

POLICY OF EXTERMINATION

Herr Lepsius, a German, who went out on a special mission to Constantinople, declared in July, 1915, that the Greek and Armenian persecutions were two phases of a single program of extermination of the Christian elements, so that Turkey might become a purely Mussulman State. Talaat and Enver were the real masters of Turkey, and whatever they did was done with the knowledge and connivance of the German Headquarters Staff in Constantinople. The proof of General Liman von Sanders's complicity was apparent, though in a letter written the other day to a Constantinople paper he tries to shift the blame. In March, 1917, M. Kallerghis, the Greek Minister in Constantinople, protested to Talaat, as Grand Vizier, against the deportations of Greeks in the Aivali district. Talaat for once seemed amenable to reason and promised to telegraph to Liman von Sanders telling him to cease the deportations. The German General replied that if the deportations ceased he would not guarantee the safety of the Turkish Army, that military necessities in time of war outweighed political necessities, and that he had referred the matter to the German Grand Headquarters Staff, who entirely approved of his action.

The methods by which the persecution was carried out were: (1) The abolition of privileges; (2) the enrollment of the Christians; (3) contributions and requisitions; (4) forcible conversion to Islamism; (5) deportations; (6) murder. To begin with, the Turkish language was imposed on all schools, and Turkish inspectors drew up a schedule of the hours of work. Turkish geography and history, using Turkish names, had to be taught. The Patriarchy was abolished, as were also the Metropolitan's rights as regards the probate of wills and the

seizure of goods and persons. When the Patriarch protested against the kidnapping of young girls by Turks he was told that he had no right to interfere, as it was a matter which concerned their parents exclusively. When he protested against the deportations from the Marmora coast Talaat replied: "It is not the duty of religious chiefs to mix themselves up in affairs foreign to their jurisdiction, and they would do well to confine themselves to their religious duties." All property held by the Greek civil and religious communities was confiscated and became the property of the State.

"MILITARY NECESSITY"

The populations who were the first to suffer were the Greek colonies of Thrace, of the coast of the Sea of Marmora, and of the coast of Asia Minor. The excuse was military necessity. The inhabitants were accused of supplying allied submarines with food and oil. It is quite probable that this was true as regards some of them, but it was no excuse for maltreating and massacring whole populations. The first step was the enrollment of Christians in the army. After the establishment of the Constitution a law was passed by which all Christians up to the age of 31 were liable for military service, those above that age being considered exempt as having already paid the military tax.

On Turkey's entry into the war a decree was signed and promulgated by which all men up to the age of 48 were liable, but those who belonged to the reserve classes could obtain exemption on payment of \$225. The object of this was twofold. Those not accustomed to military service naturally preferred to pay the tax, while those who had not the money either had to sell their poor possessions to raise it rather than undergo the awful treatment they knew was in store for them, or else escape from the country and become deserters. The Turks, however, did not intend to use the Christians for actual warfare.

They were formed into labor battalions and sent into the interior. These battalions were employed in road-mak-

ing, building, excavating the Taurus tunnel, and cultivating the fields and gardens of the Pashas, and were made to march hundreds of miles to all parts of the empire. The burning plains of Mesopotamia tried their emaciated forms as well as the intensely cold mountains of the Caucasus. They died by tens of thousands. Their daily ration was half a loaf of filthy bread, eked out sometimes with a little dried fish or two olives. They had no clothes. Whole battalions died of typhus, cholera, &c. Many were actually massacred by their Turkish guards, who got tired of watching them. A reliable informant tells me that 150,000 Greeks in these battalions died. At Koniah the Christian cemetery was entirely filled with the bodies of these unfortunates, who were buried five and six in each grave.

About two hundred and fifty thousand Greeks from Thrace and the coast of Asia Minor succeeded in escaping to Greece, and forty thousand of these are now serving in the Greek Army in Macedonia. The many desertions gave the Turks an even greater opportunity for atrocities. The property of all deserters was duly seized, and families were deported to the interior. No difference was made between deserters and those expelled by Turks but not removed from the roll. The treatment of families was the same. Owing to there having been 300 desertions in the district of Kerassunda, 88 villages were burned to the ground in the course of three months. About thirty thousand inhabitants, mostly women and children, were obliged to march in midwinter to Angora, and were not allowed to take a single article with them. One-fourth of them died en route. The town of Aivali in December, 1914, was surrounded by Turks. They proceeded to arrest all the men of Greek nationality and to outrage their wives and daughters. The Governor was extremely satisfied and said: "One or two more raids like that and we shall have exterminated the last male. We will then kick the women into the sea."

COMMERCE RUINED

Meanwhile, the system of confiscation and requisitioning was bringing Greek

and Armenian commerce to a standstill. Entire fortunes were confiscated under no pretext whatever, and stores were completely pillaged. Any Mussulman had a right to walk into any Christian house and take anything he wanted. A system of contribution also was instituted throughout the land. Under threats of violence and imprisonment each Greek community was forced to contribute large sums for the telephone service, the clothing of the troops, the construction of barracks, the provision of agricultural machinery for Turkish Beys, and the upkeep of the fleet—all this besides the usual heavy taxes.

The Germans then instituted the system of *corvées*. The Christians were obliged to cultivate the lands of the Mussulmans. No time was allowed to them to cultivate their own fields. If they attempted to gather their own harvests or till their own fields a cordon was put round the village, and no one was allowed to leave. The water was then cut off and the people were left without anything to eat or drink. After a few days a band of Bashi-Bazouks were sent into the village to pillage and murder, and then the remainder of the population were given the choice of deportation over the mountains to places hundreds of miles distant, or a lingering death from hunger and thirst. Deportations en masse were decided upon by the committee at the beginning of 1915. A conservative estimate fixes the number of deported during the war at 450,000.

LAW OF DEPORTATION

The two great centres of Hellenism, Constantinople and Smyrna, alone escaped destruction. The number of Greeks was too great for those colonies to be exterminated. To make matters more sure, a special law on deportation was passed. The Christians were not allowed to live in the Christian villages. They were thrown into prison or sent to labor battalions, while the women and children were sent into the interior, where they were divided up among the Mussulman villages in the proportion of 10 per cent. of the Mussulman population. These were possibly the saddest pilgrimages the world has ever seen. Barefooted,

without food or water, beaten by guards, attacked by brigands, never resting, they wandered on to their distant destination.

Thousands died by the wayside of fatigue and suffering. Mothers gave birth to infants and left them on the road, being compelled to follow the column. They were allowed to take nothing with them, and were forbidden to enter the villages en route to purchase food. As they left their own villages the roofs of the houses burst into flames, the sign that another Greek village had been wiped out. Hundreds of young girls were detained by the Turks and were forcibly converted to Islamism. At Panderma General Liman von Sanders built an orphanage for Christian girls converted to Islam and compelled the Christian population to contribute £10,000 toward its upkeep. With regard to the families placed in Mussulman villages an express order was given that no provisions should be sold to them unless they were converted to Islam. The Christian refugees were only allowed 20 centimes a day until they became converted. After

the deportations from the Marmora and Asiatic coasts it was the turn of the Greek colonies on the Black Sea.

TERRIBLE FIGURES

Rafet Pasha, the late Governor of Bitlis, was sent to Samsoun with express orders to become a scourge to the Greeks. He did the work thoroughly. Over a hundred and fifty thousand were deported in this district and in Trebizond. Fearing the fate of the Armenians, hundreds of young girls committed suicide by drowning themselves in the rivers. One hundred and eight villages in the province of Samsoun were entirely evacuated and burned down, but the total number was probably many more, as no report has even yet been received as to the fate of many flourishing villages in the mountains. To sum up, 450,000 Greeks are known to have been deported and are dead; 150,000 were placed in labor battalions and are dead; 250,000 fled from Asia Minor and Thrace to Greece, and 350,000 were deported after the Balkan war and before the great war. And these tragic events, in spite of the armistice, are still happening.

Hindenburg's Admission That He Faced Surrender

Field Marshal von Hindenburg admitted at the time of the armistice, Nov. 11, 1918, that if Germany refused the armistice terms he would be compelled to surrender to the Allies. A statement to this effect was made before the German National Assembly at Weimar on Feb. 8 by Konstantin Fehrenbach, Vice President of that body. He said that he was present on Nov. 10 at a meeting in the Chancellery at which, after Dr. Solf, the Foreign Secretary, had read the terms of the armistice, a telegram from Field Marshal von Hindenburg was read, in which the German commander requested that the armistice conditions be accepted forthwith, as he could not hold his army together any longer. The army was already deserting him, the Field Marshal declared, and if the allied conditions were not accepted he would be forced to capitulate with his entire forces.



INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR

A Promise Fulfilled



—By Louis Raemaekers.

This cartoon was originally published in *Land and Water*, London, March 2, 1916, with the following text: "*We shall never sheathe the sword until Belgium recovers all, and more than all, that she has sacrificed.*"—Mr. Asquith, Nov. 9, 1914."

[American Cartoon]

Plastered



—From The Dayton News.

[American Cartoon]

The Doorknob Has Hatched!



—From The New York Tribune.

[German Cartoon]

Bolshevism

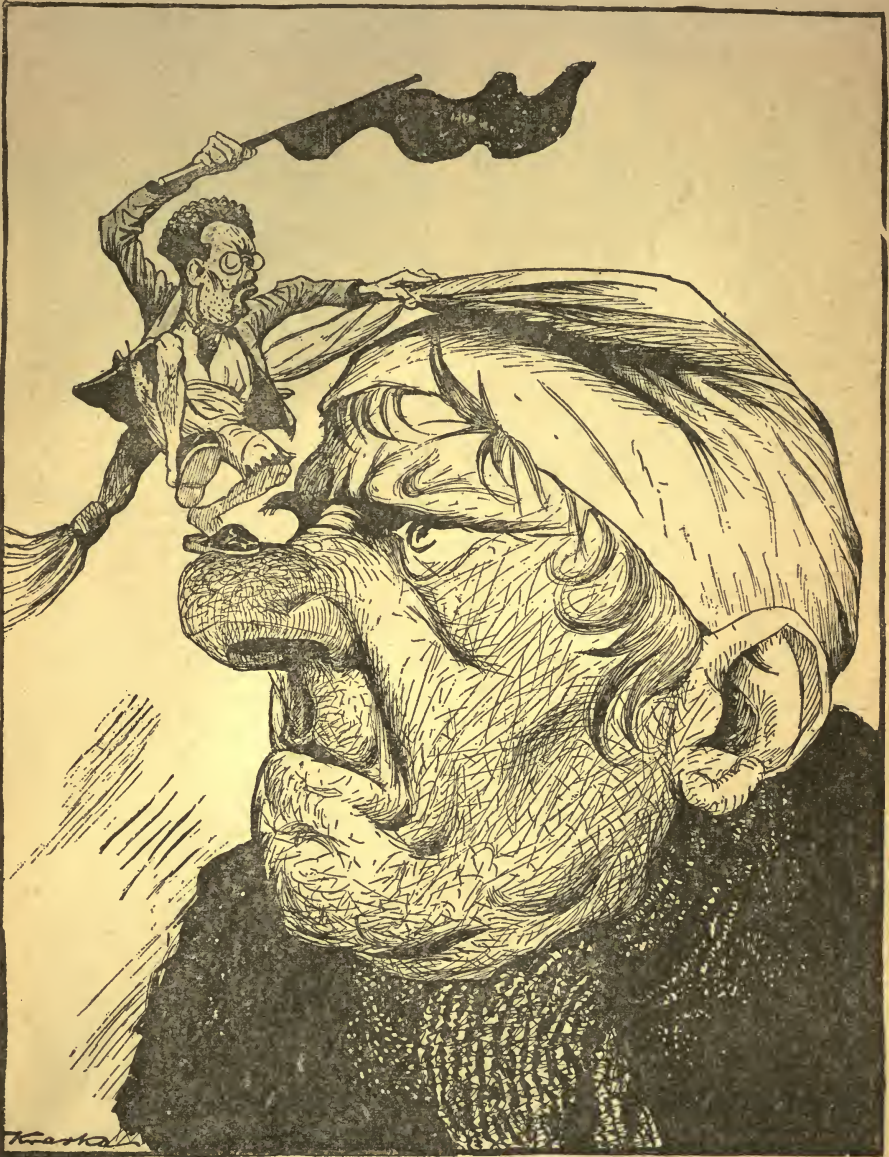


—From *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

THE BOLSHEVIK: "We will show the world that the people also have the right to commit stupidities."

[German Cartoon]

How Long Will He Stand It?



—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin.

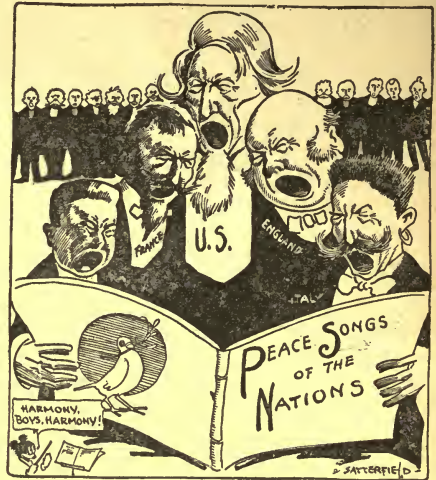
Good German Citizen, how long are you going to let this Spartacan imp pull you around by the nose?

[American Cartoons]

It Hurts, But He's Got to Do It



The Leading Chorus



The Belgian Way



Every Day Is Washday



—From Newspaper Enterprise Ass'n, Cleveland.

It Looks Good, But—



—Chicago Tribune.

The Wages of Bolshevism



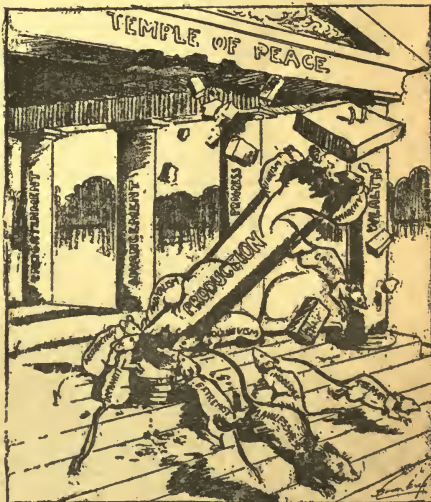
—San Francisco Chronicle.

Russia's Kilkenny Felines



—San Francisco Chronicle.

Undermining the Temple



—San Francisco Chronicle.

[Colombian Cartoon]

The Last Message



—From the *Bogotá Cómico*.

PRESIDENT WILSON. "Tell the Senate to mend these trousers, for if I wear them in this condition I may be disgraced at the Peace Conference."

[Dutch Cartoon]

Santa Claus Wilson



—From *Die Nieuwe Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.
“No Bolshevism, Scheidemann! Only good children get presents from Santa Claus.”

[German Cartoon]

Parting



—From *Simplicissimus*.

“O Strassburg, O Strassburg!”

[French Cartoon]

The Marseillaise at Strasbourg in 1918

"Now I die
happy!"

—Lucien Jonas
in *Les Annales*,
Paris.



[American Cartoon]

Another Fellow Who Thinks He's Samson



—Chicago Tribune.

[American Cartoon]

The New Arrival



—New York World.

[German Cartoon]

Uncle Woodrow as Santa Claus



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin, Dec. 7, 1918

"If Fritz will keep order I will in time reveal myself to him in a sympathetic form."

[German Cartoon]

The Homecoming of Odysseus



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

[French Cartoon]

The Modern Knight Errant



—From *La Baionnette*, Paris.

The Young America, Champion of Justice and Liberty.

[American Cartoons]

The Wrestlers



—*Newark Evening News*.

Envoys Extraordinary



—*New York Herald*.

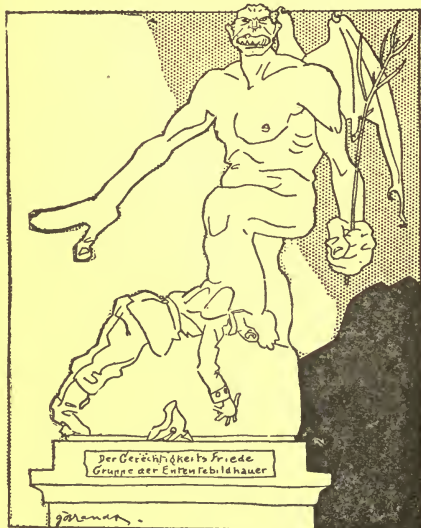
Old Father Rhine



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

"Have no fear, my children, I will always remain German, even if they make me wear a French cap."

The Entente Sculptor's Work "A Just Peace"



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

GERMANY: "So that's what a righteous peace looks like!"

Pedestal for the "Just Peace"



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

MME. FRANCE: "Having prepared this pedestal of hate, revenge, and blood-thirstiness, I am ready for Wilson's arrival."

The End of Kaiserism



—Simplicissimus, Munich.

"We shed no tears for him—he left us none to shed."

[German Cartoon]

The New Germany



—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

One step to right or left means destruction.

[English Cartoon]

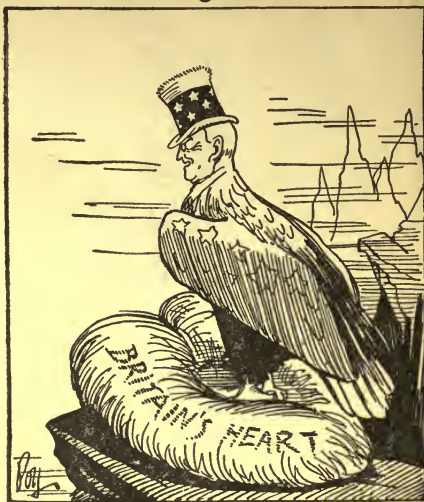
Hard Lines!



—Passing Show, London.

[English Cartoon]

The Eagle's Nest



—Evening News, London.

[German Cartoon]

Becoming Cheerful Again

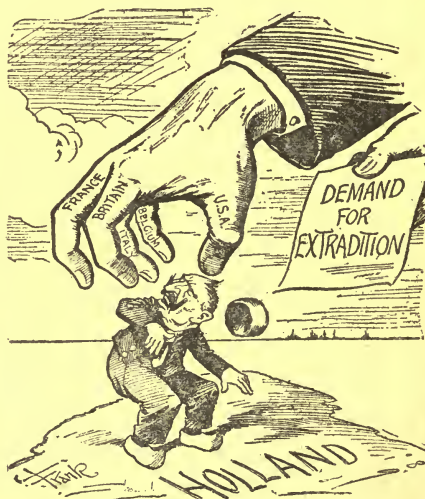


—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

RUMANIA TO THE PEACE OF BREST-LITOVSK:
"You hateful thing, get out!"

[English Cartoon]

The Fingers of Fate

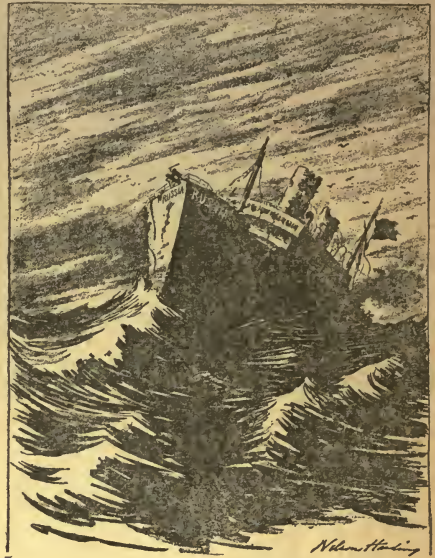


—Reynolds's Newspaper, London.

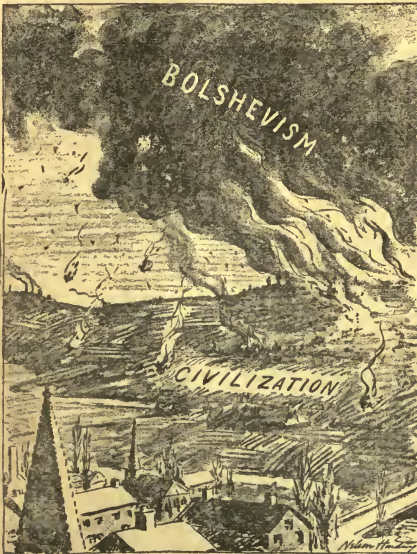
Ghosts of War



A Dangerous Derelict



The Red Peril

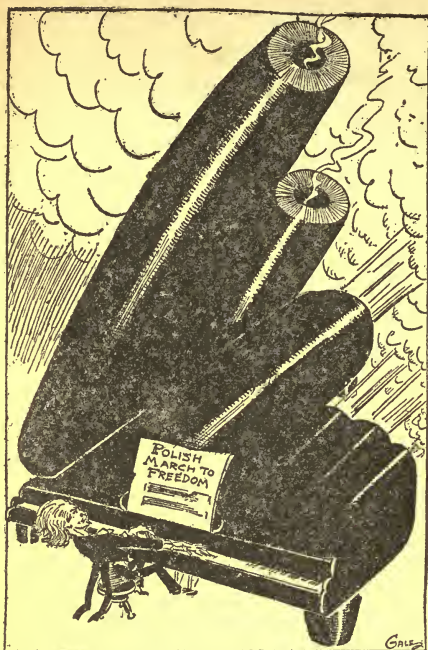


Breaking Through the Clouds



—From The Brooklyn Eagle.

Paderewski's Latest Composition



—Los Angeles Daily Times.

"Gee!"



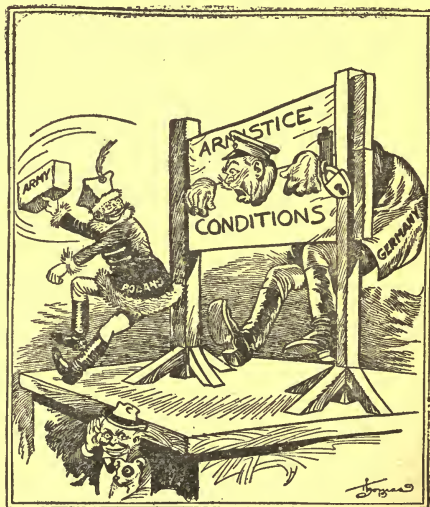
—Omaha World-Herald.

After Years of Waiting

Left by the Receding Wave



—Dallas News.



—Detroit News.

Aug. 20. 1919

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